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# biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly

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# biography
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*Biography* is a forum for all well-considered biographical scholarship. The aim of *Biography* is to stimulate the critical judgment of life-writing by presenting new information, sharper definitions, fresh interpretations, and well-argued evaluations.

**For information on manuscript submission and subscriptions, see inside back cover.**

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**Articles**

*Marvin Rintala* 1 Family Portrait: Churchills at Drink

Many British politicians have been heavy drinkers. Winston Churchill was certainly among them, but his drinking was more an expression of his personality than of his occupational environment. The root of his drinking was the life-long depression caused by the coldness of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, himself a heavy drinker. Winston Churchill's heavy drinking was in turn reflected by that of three of his children, Diana, Sarah, and Randolph, all of whom lived and died in sad circumstances. The most helpful background for visualizing Winston Churchill at drink would therefore be his family circle, not his fellow politicians, except for F. E. Smith, his chief drinking companion. Assembling that family circle might have been difficult.

*Greg Mahr* 24 Pessoa, Life Narration, and the Dissociative Process

The author describes the life story of the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa. Central to Pessoa's creative work was a dissociative experience in which he became a series of "other" poets that he called heteronyms. The implications of dissociation for life narrative and the creative process are explored.

*Herman Rapaport* 36 The New Personalism

Taking H. Aram Veeser's *Confessions of the Critics* as its text, this article discusses the new personalism in terms of a major contrast between older forms of personalist writing that emphasized the individual as a unique personality facing unique situations, and newer forms of personalist writings that emphasize the self as a typical or collectivized subject who is defined in terms of the banality of the everday. Among the authors reviewed are Michael Bérubé, Marianne Hirsch, Gillian Brown, Jane Tompkins, Candace Lang, Linda Orr, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.


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## Sketches From Life

*Patrick K. O'Brien* 50 Political Biography: A Polemical Review of the Genre

My "polemic" deals with the biographies of statesmen who operated in the context of established systems of law, conventions, and accountability, and not with dictators and more or less absolute monarchs. I argue that unless a biographer contextualizes his/her subject in order to deal with (a) problems of validation; (b) the counterfactual problem of dispensability; and (c) connections between the "life" and the achievements, then the genre is not useful for understanding political institutions, historical change, and the role of statesmen in history.

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### Articles

*Bette H. Kirschstein* 153 The Remasculinization of the Artist and Author in Ford Madox Ford's Life Writing

Ford Madox Ford's lifelong ambivalence about the "manliness" of his profession led him to a number of efforts to affirm his masculinity, the most sustained of which took place in his life writing. When famous artists and authors appear in his autobiography, memoirs, literary portraits, or biographical sketches, he often "remasculinizes" them, presenting them as conventionally, and sometimes exaggeratedly, virile.

*Maria H. Frawley* 175 Elizabeth Gaskell's Ethnographic Imagination in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*

This article examines ethnographic strategies and rhetoric invoked by Elizabeth Gaskell in her influential biography, tracing its roots both to Charlotte Brontë's own self-representations and to a specific historical moment in mid-nineteenth-century British culture associated with imperialism abroad and with internal colonialism at home. *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* reveals the complex correspondence between the language and nostalgic impulses of the "biographer-persona" and the ethnographer, both situated at an important juncture of cultural history.

### Sketches From Life

*Dale Salwak* 195 Philip Larkin — An American View

Dale Salwak combines affectionate memories of his meetings and correspondence with the English poet Philip Larkin and personal enthusiasm for his work with a candid assessment of his reputation in America since the "revelations" of Andrew Motion's biography and Anthony Thwaite's edition of the *Selected Letters*. Should the revelations in any way deter us from wanting to read Larkin's work? Should they affect our assessment of the work, other than perhaps to open wider possibilities of interpretation? These are among the questions Salwak addresses as he examines some reactions to Larkin's life, work, and reputation since his passing.

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**Articles**

*Ronald J. Morgan* 275 "Just Like Rosa": History and Metaphor in the *Life* of a Seventeenth-Century Peruvian Saint

Jacinto Morán de Butrón, the seventeenth-century hagiographer of St. Mariana de Jesús, compared his beloved "Lily of Quito" to the world-famous St. Rose of Lima. The metaphor of Rose and Lily had broader implications, however, reflecting the author's conscious desire to advertise the merits of his native province of Quito as a worthy companion to the more affluent and esteemed Lima.

*Batya Weinbaum* 311 Shifting Gears in Life History Research: The Case of an Assimilated American Jewish Woman in Palestine/Israel, 1989–1991

Superficial identification of interests can exist across borders, lifestyles, and political beliefs. It can also leave those who collect life histories vulnerable to well-spun, innaccurate metaphors. An American Jewish feminist scholar examines her own oral history research in Israel to show how, following an initial identification, her separating herself from her subjects caused her to change her categories of analysis.

**Sketches From Life**

*Panthea Reid* 328 Stephens, Fishers, and the Court of the "Sultan of Zanzibar": New Evidence from Virginia Stephen Woolf's Childhood

The famous 1910 "*Dreadnought* Hoax" (in which Virginia Stephen [Woolf] was photographed wearing a beard and blackface) was preceded by another hoax. Her brother Adrian has seemed a passive participant in both. Unpublished family documents, however, suggest that, emboldened by Virginia's example and Stephen family habits of rivalry and mockery, Adrian Stephen may have conceptualized the 1905 "Sultan of Zanzibar" hoax, thereby setting the stage for Virginia's involvement in the later hoax.


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**Articles**

*G. Thomas Couser* 421 Raising Adam: Ethnicity, Disability, and the Ethics of Life Writing in Michael Dorris's *The Broken Cord*

Michael Dorris's *The Broken Cord* (1989) combines elements of several life writing genres—for example, Native American autobiography, autoethnography, parental memoir, and disability memoir. Its mixture of genres raises questions about the ethics of parental life writing and the representation of people with disabilities. Ultimately, despite its reformist intentions, the book echoes rather than revises traditional inscriptions of race and disability.

*Sandra J. Peacock* 445 Biography and Autobiography in Eliza Butler's *Sheridan, A Ghost Story*

Eliza Butler's 1931 biography of Richard Brinsley Sheridan anticipates current debates in the art of lifewriting. Her experiments with narrative and thematic structures prefigure recent biographical strategies, and her musings on the relationship between past and present parallel current concerns. When read with her own autobiography, Butler's *Sheridan* reveals a lively interplay between biographer and subject.

*William Todd Schultz* 463 Finding Fate's Father: Some Life History Influences on Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*

This article describes various ways in which Roald Dahl's life-history —the early loss of his father and sister, a tragic accident involving his only son Theo, additional unexpected trauma, and the tendency to seek what Henry Murray called "claustral" spaces—sheds light on certain themes contained in *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, and in several other of Dahl's works as well. As many writers do, Dahl made use of fiction in *Charlie* to rescript difficult memories, and to replace an accident-perfused reality with a sort of just universe in which chance stood no chance at all.


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*Phyllis E. Wachter* 482 Annual Bibliography of Works about Lifewriting, 1997–1998

This year's annotated list of books, collections, special issues and annuals, articles and essays, and dissertations about lifewriting covers the period from 1997 to August 1998.

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# Editor's Note

Although not approaching the telephone book dimensions of our last issue, a glance at the Table of Contents of *Biography* 21:1 will confirm that if nothing else, we are still providing a fairly broad forum for diverse opinions from a variety of fields. I suspect, for instance, that both Marvin Rintala and Patrick O'Brien would have some reservations about each other's essays, just as Greg Mahr's account of Fernando Pessoa, or Herman Rapaport's comments on the new personalism, occasioned by the publication of H. Aram Veeser's *Confessions of the Critics*, might raise some questions in the minds of a number of our reviewers.

Our criteria for publication remain pretty much the same. First, the essays must make a contribution to their own fields. Second, the essays must add something to the unfolding theory of life writing: others working in different fields should be able, if only by analogy, to profit from the writer's efforts. And third, the essays must simply be interesting. Ideally, someone just glancing through *Biography* should be caught by an odd fact, an intriguing argument, a compelling voice—so caught, that only reading the article will lead to release.

We're currently preparing for a subscription drive, and part of that process will be yet another appeal, through a variety of media, for article submissions. Though our acceptance rate is quite low, regardless of the decision, all essays receive readers' comments, and our average turnaround time is three months—two months for revised essays. *Biography* very seldom solicits contributions, so accepted essays are not squeezed out by commissions, and the lag between publication and acceptance is at present roughly a year. We are very interested in seeing your most interesting work: for more details on submission, see the inside back cover.

One final note: many thanks to Michael Oishi, currently at the University of Washington, for his assistance during the preparation of this issue.

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*Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Lord Chancellor F. E. Smith (Lord Birkenhead), and Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill in 1922. Photo courtesy of the author.*

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# Family Portrait: Churchills at Drink

*Marvin Rintala*

An aged Winston Churchill immediately detested the portrait painted of him by Graham Sutherland because it made him look like "a drinking sot."[1] Although that portrait had been commissioned to honor Churchill's eightieth birthday by donations from hundreds of Members of Parliament, and may have been intended to hang eventually in the Palace of Westminster, its subject quickly acquired copyright to the portrait and never allowed any public viewing, even in reproduction.[2] It therefore could not be included in catalogues of the artist's work, or scholarly publications dealing with that work. The only published versions of the portrait are reproductions of a few press photographs taken before the official unveiling, and the quality of the most widely used of these photographs was severely criticized by Sutherland.[3] These photographs are nevertheless all that remains of the painting, which was secretly destroyed by Clementine Churchill not long after it came into her husband's possession.[4]

That the artist intended to draw attention to his subject's drinking is highly unlikely. No verbal criticism by Sutherland of that drinking appears to have been recorded, though in visiting Churchill's homes for sittings, the artist certainly noted that drinking (Berthoud, 192). Churchill's private reaction to the portrait was thus entirely in his eye as the beholder—a reaction which revealed more of himself than any painting did, or perhaps could.

## The Water of Life

Projecting an image of drunkenness was far from Churchill's wishes. In his youth he had "the utmost contempt for people who got drunk," and that contempt outlasted his adolescence. As Home Secretary he "squirmed with embarrassment" at the drunken incoherence in the House of Commons of his Prime Minister, H. H. Asquith. After that Prime Minister sacked him as the First Lord of the Admiralty during the British disaster at Gallipoli, Churchill nevertheless, or perhaps therefore, plied


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Asquith with champagne and brandy the evening before he planned to attack his former chief in the House of Commons. Churchill's diagnosis of Asquith, whose drinking destroyed his political career, was certainly accurate. Even after Asquith had fallen from power and was a threat only to himself, Churchill still ridiculed his continued drunkenness.[5]

Churchill himself nevertheless drank, even in the presence of imagemakers. During the Battle of Britain in 1940, Cecil Beaton, arriving at 11 a.m. to photograph the Prime Minister, discovered him drinking port (Barrow, 108). That Churchill was already drinking at that hour was not unusual; that he was not drinking whisky was.[6] Nor would such whisky have been the first alcohol in Churchill's daily routine. Heavy drinking often endows a drinker's daily schedule with a characteristic, distinctive rhythm,[7] and this was true of Churchill's drinking day. A bottle of white wine was part of his breakfast, taken in his own bedroom. Clementine Churchill breakfasted elsewhere, often in her own bedroom. Their children never saw their parents having breakfast together, and seldom saw their father before lunch. Often that father, feeling as if he wanted to stay in bed all day, would do precisely that, at least until noon, regularly receiving numerous domestic and governmental subordinates, and even some eminent personages, while still abed but already drinking. All of Churchill's morning drinking, therefore, was in the absence of other members of his family, and generally Churchill drank alone. This was not social drinking. His subordinates were not encouraged to partake, although an occasional eminent personage would be offered a drink by the recumbent host.[8]

Sometimes the daily transition to social drinking would be eased by a shared pre-lunch sherry. The most visible drinking of Churchill's day, though, was done over lengthy communal meals. His eating habits, and his use of (often unlit) cigars, were as determined as his drinking, suggesting a high degree of orality, which can be an indication of addiction.[9] Champagne flowed at both lunch and dinner—always expensive, and as Churchill lamented during the Second World War, sometimes difficult to acquire. But served it always was, even when, as in 1915, he owed nearly £500 to one wine merchant.[10] Since expense did not always assure quality, however, it may be exaggerated to speak of Churchill's "taste for the best in champagne" (Hough, 133). Consumption can be merely conspicuous. Dining at Churchill's home, for instance, Lord Beaverbrook declined to drink the stale champagne he had been given, whereupon

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his host drank it. Brandy, also the costliest, followed the champagne at both lunch and dinner, and there would often be additional alcoholic beverages at meals, ranging from beer to whisky to sherry to white wine to port to liqueurs.[11]

However prolonged they were by such extended drinking, lunch and dinner did not complete Churchill's drinking day. Late afternoon was one unfilled gap. In many British homes, that would have been time for tea, but Churchill detested tea and never drank it. On one of his last visits to the House of Commons, he snapped at a new Member of Parliament who kindly offered him a cup of tea: "Don't be a bloody fool. I want a *large* glass of whisky!" This is what Churchill received, generally without having to ask, every late afternoon at home, and was what sometimes surprised guests were served at that hour as well.[12]

Although brandy and champagne might be substituted, whisky also generally ended Churchill's drinking day. The long evenings, stretching to his unpredictable but late bedtime, were spent with whisky, and at that hour, his official staff would often be pressed into bartending duties. Few interruptions of each evening's main activity were allowed. Not even air raid sirens alerting London to German planes in two world wars caused Churchill's glass to be laid down.[13] Only sleep could do that.

Churchill's day and his drinking day were coextensive, or as an experienced observer of a *Variety of Men*, C. P. Snow, put it: "He just drank day after day, every day and all day, all through his life" (120). Churchill's last drink of the day, a sip of water from a bedside glass, was often the first water he had drunk that day (Howells, 150). True to its Gaelic roots, whisky for Churchill was the water of life—or certainly of his life (Kersaudy, 248). Since he had whisky, he did not need the real thing.

## The Thirst Begins

Why his life needed so much watering was a question which Churchill himself avoided. Of the eight million words he wrote, largely about himself (Weidhorn 1979, 121), none appears to address this matter. Given his general distaste for psychology, and for introspection in particular, this avoidance is perhaps understandable, but it is more puzzling that Churchill's drinking has been avoided, or even dismissed, by so many of his biographers.[14] The causes of an activity which absorbed so much of Churchill's life surely should be taken into account when we try to understand that life, and Churchill's own silence on the subject should encourage, not discourage the study of its causes.

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One possible explanation for Churchill's heavy drinking is that he spent his entire adult life in work environments especially conducive to such drinking. Intemperate drinking is often a work-related group activity (Sonnenstuhl, 26), and whether during his years as an officer in the British Army, or during his many decades as a professional politician, in both of these working environments there was much collegial and fraternal drinking, in which Churchill was expected to participate.

While attending Sandhurst, the training academy for British Army officers, Churchill learned to drink almost all the forms of alcohol he later favored. Stationed in India, the young soldier Churchill learned to drink whisky.[15] At age twenty-four, Churchill prepared to join the British war against the Boers in South Africa by packing sixty bottles of expensive champagne and whisky, and regrettably, some rather undistinguished 1865 brandy. But his mother, then a much publicized volunteer on a hospital ship moored off South Africa, soon remedied that situation by dispatching some 1825 brandy.[16] In late 1915, self-exiled from politics to rejoin the wartime British Army, Churchill chose to serve on the front line, where hard liquor was readily available, rather than at battalion headquarters, where it was not. His first request when arriving for duty on the Western Front was for a drink, and to assure adequate quality he then asked his wife to send him some brandy—which she did, though Churchill still had room to draw from a subordinate's alcohol supplies. Before departing the Western Front several months later, he ceremoniously treated his subordinates (and himself) to champagne at lunch.[17]

That Churchill drank even more heavily after leaving the military suggests that his political environment was even more conducive to the consumption of alcohol than the British Army. People for whom personal power is an especially high value are likely to drink heavily,[18] and politicians in many nations are expected to socialize, not the least with each other. In the West this often involves alcohol, and drinking with parliamentary colleagues was one professional obligation Churchill had no problem performing.[19] Most of his time at the House of Commons was spent in the smoking room, where alcohol was sold and freely consumed. Nor was alcohol simply a backbenchers problem. Alcohol abuse at the highest levels of the British political elite was common; other prime ministers beside H. H. Asquith and Churchill were heavy drinkers. Thus neither his political duties nor his colleagues helped Churchill's sobriety.[20]

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The degree to which a drinker's environment accepts alcohol abuse helps determine whether that drinker denies he or she has a problem. Even a few strategically placed teetotalers can do much to change an occupational drinking culture, but teetotalers were scarce in the British political elite. Nancy Astor and John Reith, for example, were far from being Churchill's preferred companions, and had little impact on his environment. As for the Prohibition Party, its first successful parliamentary candidate was E. A. Scrymgeour, who became an M.P. on his sixth attempt, when in 1922 he defeated one of Dundee's two incumbents, Winston Churchill.[21]

Though he frequently drank with other politicians, Churchill had no use for the casual companionship of pubs and most London clubs, preferring long sessions at home with only one or two of his heavy-drinking political intimates. Such guests came from a very small pool. His closest friend and most important political ally, David Lloyd George, drank modestly, "an outstanding exception" to the high consumption of alcohol by British politicians.[22] Lloyd George was by no means a wet blanket, though, and Churchill drank freely in his presence, but long evenings and longer weekends occupied with alcohol did not appeal to Lloyd George, even in the company of his best friend. Lloyd George would not therefore serve as the reliably comfortable drinking companion Churchill needed. That was F. E. Smith's part in Churchill's life.

An articulate Conservative politician known for his imperialist sentiments, Smith needed no inducement to drink. Perhaps the most bibulous of British politicians, when drunk he was quarrelsome, rude, and prone to becoming prone. Viewed by his own party leadership with deep distaste, he died in 1930 of cirrhosis of the liver caused by alcohol poisoning. As Smith was dying, Churchill apparently felt it had become his duty to take up his friend's resistance to loosening British control over India, a decision that sentenced Churchill to a decade in the political wilderness, where he drank even more heavily, and when alcohol, in various containers, began appearing in his paintings. Churchill afterward conceded he had been wrong about India, but he never conceded he might have been wrong about Smith.[23]

Their own heavy drinking did not prevent Churchill's fellow British politicians from commenting, often acidly and behind his back, about his drinking, much as Churchill had about Asquith. Nor were such comments confined to British politicians. During the Second World War, British admirals

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concluded privately that Churchill was unable to make clear naval policy decisions because of excessive alcohol consumption, and in April 1940, while Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada discussed the problem of Churchill being, as Mackenzie King's diary put it, "tight most of the time."[24]

Such reactions suggest that Churchill's drinking was exceptionally heavy even for a politician. Clearly much more was involved than just his work environment. Churchill consumed so much outside the parliamentary setting that his drinking expressed not only his occupation but his personality, and the latter expression was far more important. Flowing at least as much from who he was as from the kind of work he did, his drinking, like that of many other alcohol abusers, cannot be separated from his entire way of being in the world (Fingarette, 109). Drinking literally identified him.

Deep depression was clearly a contributing factor. As Churchill himself put it, "I find alcohol a great support in life" (Blake and Louis, 504). Although distinct phenomena, depression and heavy drinking are often simultaneously present, and it is often difficult to know which came first. Though heavy drinking may more often precede than follow depression, such was not the case with Churchill. Depressed before he drank, the water of his life was in fact poisoned. Because alcohol is a toxin which produces depression, Churchill's drinking only assured that he would remain depressed.[25] His "great support" was therefore not a crutch but a further impediment.

The source of Churchill's need for a crutch seems inextricably linked with his father. Randolph Churchill's disregard was the most important origin of that severe depression from which the son suffered already in childhood. Borrowing from British folklore, his nanny Elizabeth Everest called this depression his "black dog." Traditionally one of the guises of the Devil, "black dog" was the term Churchill used throughout a life marked by continual and sometimes intense depression.[26]

Though he acknowledged it was from a distance, Churchill revered his father. As H. H. Asquith's daughter understood, Churchill "worshiped at the altar of his Unknown Father" (Bonham Carter, 14). A half century after Randolph Churchill's death, he was the person with whom his son most wished to speak, and in a dream at about that same time, which Churchill soon wrote down as a short story, such a conversation did take place. In the dream the son describes what has happened in

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this world since his father left it; the latter, much impressed with his son's account, adds "I loved you dearly."[27]

That such an expression was only made in his own dream was the greatest wound of Winston Churchill's life. However deeply repressed, depressives commonly resent an actual or fantasized childhood lack of parental love (Storr 1972, 80). Beneath his reverence for his father, there certainly lay resentment, and in Churchill's case at least, the lack of fatherly love was not fantasy, but painful reality. Few fathers can have desired their son's respect less than did Lord Randolph Churchill. The son could recall only four intimate conversations with his father, and when, at age twelve, he innocently asked him "Did you go to Harrow or Eton?" there was apparently no answer. Such paternal silence was typical. Lord Randolph Churchill repelled all his son's efforts to know him, even shooing him away from the morning meal he was not allowed to share when the boy tried to say good morning to his breakfasting father. The son therefore knew little about his father, who knew even less about his son—nor did he try to learn more. He did not know his son's age, or which public school he attended, and when he finally learned the latter, he made only one visit to Harrow, which was one more than he had made to his son at an earlier boarding school. When not displaying icy detachment and indifference, Lord Randolph Churchill angrily criticized his son, but whether he hated or only disliked Winston, fatherly love was absent.[28]

Few shared Winston Churchill's reverence for his father. Lord Randolph's rapid rise in the Conservative Party had been followed by an even faster fall. His romantic marriage to a beautiful American heiress, Jennie Jerome, soon disintegrated into a marriage of convenience, as his own once handsome physical appearance badly deteriorated. His eyes were "glazed with wine and drooping with mercury" (Bentley, 278). The mercury, whose serious side effects included tremors, was prescribed by his doctors for syphilis. Lord Randolph Churchill died at age forty-five, when his older son was twenty years old, of general paralysis of the insane induced by this disease. The alcohol had been a long-standing complication, which his doctors repeatedly but unsuccessfully urged him to give up. A heavy drinker even as an Oxford undergraduate, he had problems there with the police despite being the younger son of a duke. Before Lord Randolph Churchill's marriage to Jennie Jerome, her American parents heard reports that he drank too much, which he denied. Though his political career glittered briefly, in later years Lord

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Randolph Churchill was often seen drinking heavily, including one evening in the House of Commons on the anniversary of his father's death. That father had attributed an injudicious, but not necessarily intoxicated, speech by his son to drunkenness. According to his own son, Lord Randolph Churchill generally drank brandy. According to Lord Randolph, champagne, burgundy, and port were also favored drinks. He also used both belladonna and laudanum, a form of opium widely used in Britain at the time.[29]

### The Thirst Continues

If the causes of Winston Churchill's drinking were essentially to be found in his family life rather than in his political environment, so too were the consequences. Unlike H. H. Asquith, Churchill never fell from power because of his heavy drinking, surviving caustic comments from allies and friends as well as rivals. The policy consequences of his need for alcohol were apparently minimal. It surely made him more critical of temperance policies than he otherwise might have been, but perhaps fortunately his political career came after that period in the late Victorian era in which temperance issues were most bitterly contested in British politics, making his opinions on the subject of less consequence to his career and to British policymaking than they would been at that earlier time.

It was Churchill's family which bore the brunt of his drinking. His wife's situation was far from easy. Clementine Churchill's own unhappy childhood had been caused in part by her parents' drinking. Soon after her marriage she came to dislike F. E. Smith, whom she blamed for encouraging her new husband's drinking, and she also feared their visits to Churchill's heavy-drinking aristocratic relatives. When she finally understood that her husband's inner needs, not his associates, drove him to alcohol, she urged him to limit his drinking. He replied that he had taken more out of alcohol than it had taken out of him.[30] He does not seem to have considered what it may have taken out of those closest to him.

Clementine Churchill's children were not much of a consolation to her. When her two year old daughter Marigold died unexpectedly, of a septic throat, her husband was surprised that her response was a succession of wild shrieks like those of an animal in pain. Less audibly distraught, three weeks later he left alone for his summer holiday. Two other daughters, Diana and Sarah, grew up to become heavy drinkers, and whether or

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not women are especially likely to suffer from depression before or along with heavy drinking, both Diana and Sarah Churchill were profoundly depressed. In 1963 Diana Churchill, the eldest child, took her own life with a drug overdose at age 54. Though her father was by then too senile to grieve, her mother was not.[31]

Since she became an actress, Sarah Churchill's drinking was much more visible than her older sister's. Heavy drinking can be triggered by immediate events in the drinker's life (Fingarette, 107), and Sarah Churchill's heaviest drinking was of that sort. For example, after the suicide of John Winant, once American ambassador to London and her former lover, she drank even more. Her father frequently triggered such episodes. "Am I not a human being?" she asked, after he had insulted a man she loved, but apparently she received no answer. Nor perhaps did she expect one, since she assured her father in the same letter that she would "never again subject you to any of my friends, nor indeed them, to your contempt." She kept her promise; her parents learned of her second marriage, to Anthony Beauchamp, from newspapers. Perhaps this silence was for the best, given what her father had replied when his daughter told him of her decision to leave her first husband, the entertainer Vic Oliver: "You cheeky bitch—I wouldn't let you leave me!" Not that Churchill had approved of the earlier marriage. Some years earlier, her father had used private detectives in a vain attempt to dig up dirt on Oliver so she would not marry him. Her second marriage did not flourish either. Some years later, estranged from his wife, Beauchamp would commit suicide.

As for Sarah Churchill, while in America shortly before Beauchamp's death, she was charged with, and pleaded guilty to, a charge of drunkenness. Winston Churchill's own drinking, and their estrangement, prevented him from personally intervening in his daughter's problems, though he did pay for her to spend several months in a Swiss clinic. Her stage career now ruined by her drinking, Sarah Churchill could not have paid for such expensive treatment. The cure was unsuccessful, perhaps inevitably given its isolation from the location of the causes of her illness, and she was again arrested, this time in Britain, for drunkenness. Her third marriage, to Lord Audley, soon ended when he died of a heart attack. The widowed Lady Audley was drunk at her father's deathbed watch, and so drunk at his funeral that she was removed from the procession after it left Westminster Abbey. After both her parents had died, when she herself was dying of drink, Sarah Churchill confided, "I

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don't mind going, because I know Papa is waiting." Among her few lasting achievements were portraits she painted of her parents. Neither has a face, but if blankness can have degrees, her father's portrait is even more faceless than her mother's. As a father, Winston Churchill had never been close to her—so distant in fact that neither parent nor child could ever really see the other.[32] Neither did Churchill see Diana Churchill, whom he painted as faceless (Coombs, 138-9).

Winston Churchill's only son, Randolph Churchill, also tried hard to get closer to his father, whom he loved and admired. The father believed that he and his son had "a deep animal love for one another," but lamented that "every time we meet we have a bloody row." This was not much of an overstatement. Though many of these quarrels were widely publicized, others, occurring in the bosom of the family, were probably even more bitter. The root of the son's complaint was that his father's treatment of him had changed: "When I was thirteen and fourteen years old you did me the compliment of treating me almost as if I were a grown up." Later, he complained, "my portion is snubs and insults, flouts and jeers, cries of 'shut-up.'" His father's attitude had indeed changed. He had loved his young son, but though he may still have loved, he certainly did not like, the adult that son became. Though sometimes petty, the snubs and insults were real. Churchill sometimes tried to keep his son from traveling on the same train, and when Lord Beaverbrook suggested that Randolph Churchill be invited to join the Other Club, one of Churchill's few fraternal drinking venues, the father blackballed his own son. One cause for the father's disgust was his son's gambling debts. In 1950, for instance, £520 of Churchill's writing royalties paid off his son's debts to bookmakers. The father was most offended, however, by the son's behavior while drinking, and since like his father, Randolph Churchill drank every day, all day, this meant Churchill was offended by the sum total of his son's behavior.[33]

In large part, the adult Randolph Churchill was, of course, his father's creation. With Churchill's encouragement, the son had initially modeled himself on his father, and after that father died, the son boasted that he had known him as well as anyone. This was to say the least a substantial exaggeration. As an adolescent, however, Randolph Churchill had noted at least one aspect of his father's identity, observing how at dinner one evening, when his father had seemed angry with a particular policy of the British government, "some 1865 brandy cheered

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him up." This aspect of his father's behavior the admiring son could emulate, and he did. On a train returning from a holiday in France, for example, the father ordered a double brandy, and so did the adolescent son. When the father said "I forbid you to drink that, you are far too young," the son responded "Nonsense, father. Don't be ridiculous." When the son picked up his glass, the father tried to wrestle it away, and its contents spilled on his sleeve. Youth had been served, and the father surrendered, in a battle that would have been lost soon enough in any event, since the father's only argument was age.[34]

A sympathetic cousin observed that Randolph Churchill might have lived longer if his father had not encouraged him to drink in his youth, and while the conclusion is harsh, it is not without foundation. If men, and perhaps women also (Knapp, 39, 66), are generally introduced to heavy drinking by men, this was certainly the case for Randolph Churchill. Not only his father, but also his admired godfather, F. E. Smith, tutored him in drinking, reinforcing his impression that heavy drinking is what men do, as part of being men. Certainly that is what Randolph Churchill's father and godfather were doing, and by inviting the adolescent to join in, Churchill went further than even his own father, for all his weaknesses, ever had. After his brief flirtation with parental responsibility on the holiday train, Churchill not only tolerated his young son's drinking, but went on to make his son part of his own drinking problem. When father and son (then eighteen) visited North America in 1929, the son's consumption of brandy while crossing Canada was much noted. What was less apparent was his role in his father's drinking, noted in the plan that Randolph Churchill on leaving Western Canada wrote about in a letter to his mother:

> We are now on the ship bound to Seattle, American soil and Prohibition. But we are well-equipped. My big flask is full of whisky and the little one contains brandy. I have reserves of both in medicine bottles. It is almost certain that we shall have no trouble. Still if we do, Papa pays the fine, and I get the publicity. (Gilbert 1977, 345)

There was in fact no trouble crossing the border, and once in the United States, the son dutifully, and covertly, kept his father's coffee cup filled with brandy. When supplies ran low, it was the son's assignment to procure additional alcohol—for his father, but also for himself. Proudly Churchill wrote to his wife that the American hotels had no liquor, but that "Randolph

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acts as an unfailing Ganymede. Up to the present I have never been without what was necessary." Presumably not many fathers would send an adolescent son out to violate the law in a foreign land by seeking out bootleggers, but even fewer would have judged that filling a father's flask would transform that son into the youthful cupbearer to the gods. Thankfully in Los Angeles the son's services were no longer required, Clementine Churchill was told, because everything, including "every kind of liquor" was being paid for by a local banker.[35]

Small wonder then that from the age of eighteen Randolph Churchill regularly drank double brandies, or that within a few years he was mixing whisky, champagne, and port. At twenty-two, having abandoned Oxford, lunch at his London club would include a large sherry, a pint of beer, and four large glasses of port. Two decades later his alcoholic diet had become simpler: whisky taken constantly. Regardless of the kind of alcohol, the quantity consumed became vast, and its consequences almost constantly visible. At fifty-seven, suffering from cirrhosis of the liver, Randolph Churchill literally died of drink. Though visited daily by his physician, as his still sympathetic cousin noted, "no doctor could reverse a trend started by a boy in his teens."[36]

The greatest sadness of Randolph Churchill's life was not that he died from drinking, but that his aggressive drunken behavior alienated virtually everyone he encountered. Harold Macmillan wrote that Randolph Churchill managed "to have a row or make a scene" wherever he went, but he inflicted his deepest hurts on his family, and not merely his father. Entirely inaccurately, the son referred to his mother as one of the stupidest women alive. At a family dinner in 1944, Randolph Churchill struck his sister Sarah in the face, prompting the Prime Minister to call for a police officer to remove his son. After much unpleasantness, both of Randolph Churchill's marriages ended in divorce. His first wife, Pamela Digby (later Pamela Harriman), felt "always up against the drinking, and just couldn't take it," and he physically abused his second wife, June Osborne. The child of his first marriage, proudly named Winston Churchill during the Battle of Britain, was subject to his father's drunken rages, which he learned to avoid by waiting patiently at his father's London club while Randolph Churchill sat drinking.[37]

## The Thirst Ends

Declining the offer of a glass of champagne as he lay dying at ninety, Winston Churchill's last coherent words were "I'm so

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bored with it all." He had once been told, by perhaps his boldest and most faithful lieutenant, that if he ever gave up drinking he would die, and on the morning of January 25, 1965, he did so. It was the seventieth anniversary of the death of Lord Randolph Churchill. On an intervening anniversary, the son had noted, "It is the day my father died. It is the day that I shall die, too."[38]

*Prime Minister Winston Churchill, General Alan Brooke, and General Bernard Montgomery on the bank of the Rhine, 26 March 1945. Thrust into the ground behind Churchill is his walking stick, a wedding present in 1908 from King Edward VII. Photo courtesy © of the Imperial War Museum, London.*

## NOTES

1. For Churchill's view of the portrait, see Burke, 288; N. Rose, 416. The phrase "a drinking sot" is from Young 1966, 306.
2. Cooper, 58-9; Berthoud, 183-4, 300. For the copyright, see Berthoud, 226.
3. Berthoud, 226, 196; Arcangeli; Cooper, 58. For the portrait reproductions, see Berthoud, Plate 58; Blake and Louis, Plate 44; Hayes, 135.
4. Chisholm and Davie, 486; W. Churchill, jr., 81; Pearson, 383; N. Rose, 416; Robbins, 170; Soames, 662-3.

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5. For his contempt for drunkenness, see W. Churchill 1963, 127. For his reaction to Asquith, see R. Churchill 1969, 1,069; Hough, 311-2. For Asquith's drinking, see Rintala 1993. For Churchill's continued ridicule of Asquith, see Gilbert 1990a, 786; Koss 1976, 255-6.
6. J. Churchill, 131; Brendon, 165; Manchester 1988, 10; Pelling, 413; N. Rose, 240; R. Taylor, 419-20.
7. Fingarette, 101-02; Steinglass et al., 64, 169-70.
8. On not breakfasting together, see S. Churchill 1981, 38. On staying in bed, see Bryant, 150; Hunt, 52. On receiving guests there, see Macmillan 1969, 552; Gilbert 1990b, 557.
9. For the prelunch sherry, see J. Churchill, 132. For Churchill's eating habits, see N. Rose, 240; Amory, 489; Pearson, 360; A. Taylor et al., 210, 242; Wheeler-Bennett, 182. For cigars, see R. Churchill 1966, 339-40; Gilbert 1990b, 151; Nel, 42; A. Taylor 1981, 98; W. Thompson, 251. For orality and addiction, see Eriksen, 61.
10. For Churchill's champagne habits, see Brendon, 165; Chandos, 160-61; J. Churchill, 130-31; Gilbert 1990b, 50, 342, 824, 1,280; Horne, 360; Hough, 414; Howells, 150; Hunt, 63; James 1984, 528; Manchester 1988, 13, 25; Pawle, 235; Pearson, 21; Pelling, 413; Stanford, 133; Wheeler-Bennett, 183; Williams and Nicholls, 205. For the debt to the wine merchant, see Gilbert 1973, 1,098n.
11. For the Beaverbrook incident, see Young 1966, 309. For Churchill and brandy, see Brendon, 165-6; Chandos, 160-61; J. Churchill, 130-31; Gilbert 1990b, 50, 342, 824, 1,280; Hunt, 63; Manchester 1988, 13, 27; Pelling, 413; Wheeler-Bennett, 183; Williams and Nicholls, 205. For other alcoholic beverages, see Brendon, 165-6; Charmley, 490; Gilbert 1986, 54; Gilbert 1990b, 50, 342, 884, 1,327; Hough, 414; Howells, 37; King, 107; Manchester 1988, 13, 27; Nicolson 1967, 251; N. Rose, 240.
12. For Churchill on tea, see Howells, 137, 150. The House of Commons incident is from Blake and Louis, 516-7. For Churchill's late afternoon whisky, see Brendon, 165; J. Churchill, 131; Gilbert 1990, 373; Pelling, 413; Wheeler-Bennett, 183. For guests' reactions, see Bright-Holmes, 409; Gilbert 1990b, 547; Muggeridge, 167.
13. For Churchill's evening drinking, see King, 267-8; Young 1966, 313; Brendon, 166; J. Churchill, 131; Wheeler-Bennett, 183; Hough, 415. For the air raid references, see Hough, 325; James 1984, 318.
14. For Churchill's attitude toward psychology, see Moran 112, 426; A. Taylor et al., 213. For dismissal of his drinking, see James 1987, 262n.; Morgan, 259.
15. For Churchill's drinking at Sandhurst, see R. Churchill 1967b, 689; W. Churchill 1963, 126. For India, see W. Churchill 1963, 126; Manchester 1983, 252; N. Rose, 240.
16. For the South Africa preparations, see R. Churchill 1966, 439; Pearson, 101. For his mother's contribution, see Hough, 121.

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17. For his service on the Western Front, see Hough, 296, 298, 320; De Groot, 22-23. For his wife's compliance, see Pearson, 155.
18. Lasswell, 95; McClellan et al., 99, 112-3, 117, 119, 161, 334, 336.
19. Post and Robins, 72; James 1984, 149, 333; Nicolson 1967, 436.
20. Shuckburgh, 178; Skidelsky, 367; Colville 1986, 289; Wilson, 423.
21. For the effect of the drinker's environment, see Vaillant, 220. For the effect of teetotalers on drinking culture, see Sonnenstuhl, 83-113. For Astor and Reith, see Barrow, 67; Young 1974, 250. For the Prohibition Party, see Walder, 330; Douglas, 164; Gilbert 1990a, 174n, 887; Craig, 577-8; Robbins, 88.
22. For Lloyd George, see Rintala 1995, 69-85; Morgan, 275. The quotation is from Mosley, 104.
23. For Smith's drinking, see Cannadine, 148; Pearson, 168; Young 1974, 88, 126; K. Rose, 233; Campbell, 705, 646, 804; Dutton, 212; Pelling, 351. For Churchill's drinking in the 1930s, see Cannadine, 150; A. Taylor et al., 243; Coombs, 46, 146, 148. For Churchill and India, see Ball, 116; Gilbert 1977, 370; Pelling, 351; James 1970, 397; Moran, 195.
24. For British politicians' views, see Charmley, 239, 668; Cannadine, 132; Colville 1986, 239; Hough, 505; King, 253; Manchester 1988, 233; Roskill, 101-02; Young 1974, 113, 186, 192. For the admirals, see Roskill, 101-02, 243. The quotation is from Granatstein, 117.
25. For drinking and depression, see Merikangas et al., 367-72; Goodwin, 83, 86, 114; Kaplan and Sadock, 251, 257; Kleinman and Good, 28, 353, 355, 359; Knapp, 125; Vaillant, 81, 381.
26. For his father's disregard see Leslie, 12; Storr 1980, 109-10; A. Taylor et al., 221. For the "black dog," see Dorson, 145-6; the Everest reference is from Morgan, 50. For Churchill's depression, see Moran, 180n; James 1987, 263; Park, 302; Rintala 1995, 143-8.
27. For Churchill's distant reverence for his father, see Gilbert 1990b, 776. For the dream, see Gilbert 1990b, 364; Colville 1981, 30; Weidhorn 1974, 217. The final quotation is from Gilbert 1990b, 370.
28. For Churchill's resentment, see Manchester 1988, 30. For the intimate conversations, see Gilbert 1990b, 776n; R. Churchill 1966, 93; 1967a, 144. For Lord Randolph's disregard for his son, see Foster, 387, 383; Bonham Carter, 14; Manchester 1983, 127, 135; Woods, xxiii; R. Churchill 1967a, 193, 113, 127, 391; Brendon, 5-6; Martin, 10; Morgan, 560; Manchester 1988, xxiii; Pilpel, 9. The breakfast incident is from Fleming, 134.
29. For treatment of syphilis, see Foster, 218; Weisse, 5. For Lord Randolph's death, see Churchill and Mitchell, 172; Foster, 59, 96, 374; Pelling, 27; Robbins, 4; Smith, 55; A. Taylor et al., 230. For his drinking, see Cannadine, 134; Foster, 218-9; Blake and Louis, 12; Foster, 12-14, 18, 43, 122, 180; Pearson, 33; James 1960, 27, 255; Rowse, 333; W. Churchill 1963, 127. For his drug use, see Hough, 47; Goodwin, 67.

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30. For Clementine Churchill's childhood, see Pearson, 120. For her dislike of Smith, and of her husband's relatives, see James 1991, 36; Morgan, 239; Pearson, 167. For her request to her husband, see Reynolds, 225.
31. For Marigold's death, see Soames, 264; Gilbert 1990a, 613. For Diana and Sarah Churchill, see Blake and Louis, 13; Cannadine, 136, 149; Hough, 375, 380, 491; Pilpel, 276. For women's depression and drinking, see Goodwin, 64. For Diana Churchill's death, see S. Churchill 1981, 316; Gilbert 1990b, 1,349; Hough, 491; Pelling, 627; Payne, 374.
32. For Winant, see Pearson, 356. For Sarah Churchill's letter, see Gilbert 1990b, 451. For the marriage to Beauchamp, see Gilbert 1990b, 496, and for Beauchamp's suicide, see Gilbert 1990b, 1,249. For her father's reaction to the Oliver marriage, see Pearson, 270, 273, and to the divorce, see S. Churchill 1981, 98. For her American arrest, see Gilbert 1990b, 1,257. For the Swiss clinic, see Pearson, 412, 390. For her stage career, see Leslie, 141. For the British arrest, see Gilbert 1990b, 128b. For the Audley marriage, see Gilbert 1990b, 1,346. For Churchill's funeral, see Pearson, 417, 419. The "Papa" quotation is from Pearson, 422. For the portraits, see S. Churchill 1967, opposite 32 and opposite 80. For her view of her father as distant, see S. Churchill 1967, 29.
33. For Randolph Churchill's admiration for his father, see Halle, 45; Nicolson 1968, 339; Quennell, 148. For his father's response, see Gilbert 1990b, 308. For their quarrels, see Chisholm and Davie, 449; Colville 1981, 36-7; Dilks, 511; Leslie, 31; Davie, 732. For the son's complaint, see Gilbert 1982, 921, 1990b, 766. For his father's change in attitude, see Gilbert 1977, 345; Colville 1981, 36. The train reference is from Gilbert 1990b, 765, 767, and the Club blackballing is from Pearson, 379. For the gambling incident, see Gilbert 1990b, 533n.
34. For Randolph Churchill's emulation, see Pearson, 386-7. His boast of familiarity is from C. Thompson, 215. The quotation about the 1865 brandy is from Gilbert 1977, 339. The train incident is from Westminster, 230-31.
35. For the cousin's observation, see Leslie, 34. For Randolph Churchill emulating his father and Smith, see Charmley, 220-21; W. Churchill, jr., 245; Green, 5; Leslie, 5; Pearson, 19. For men and drinking, see Goodwin, 65; Hamill, 17, 57. For the son's drinking in Canada, see Hough, 375. His letter to his mother is from Gilbert 1977, 345. For their activity in the United States, see J. Churchill, 86; Hough, 375-6. Churchill's letter to his wife is from Gilbert 1977, 346, 348.
36. For Randolph Churchill's early drinking, see Manchester 1988, 5; Ogden, 81; Pelling, 411; Leslie, 35; Young 1974, 281. For his later drinking habits, see Pearson, 385; Hough, 490; Smith, 74, 94, 99; Ziegler, 221; Chisholm and Davie, 498; Ogden, 374; Oxbury, 73;

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Pearson, 279, 292, 302; Stannard, 114, 117, 120, 124-5; Ziegler, 309. For his death, see Leslie, 185; Pearson, 14. The final quotation is from Leslie, 206.

37. For Randolph Churchill's drunken behavior, see Ogden, 88, 91-2; Blake and Louis, 14; Hough, 395; N. Rose, 257. For Macmillan's reaction, see Macmillan 1984, 467. For the reference to Clementine Churchill, see Quennell, 149. The 1944 dinner story is from Smith, 123. The Digby quote is from Smith, 76, and the Osborne reference is from Quennell, 150. For Randolph Churchill's relations to his son, Winston, see W. Churchill jr., 45; Smith, 190.

38. For Churchill's last words, see Hough, 499; Soames, 646. For the reference to Lord Randolph, see S. Churchill 1981, 337; James 1960, 369. The final quotation is from Colville 1981, 30.

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## The Heteronyms of Fernando Pessoa

Alberto Caeiro — Born in 1889 in Lisbon, lived his life in the country. An only child, his parents died when he was young; subsequently raised by an aunt. Completed primary school only, no profession, died of TB at age twenty-six. Wrote about ninety poems, forty-nine of which are part of "Keeper of Sheep." Wrote entirely in free verse.

Ricardo Reis — Born in Oporto in 1887, a physician educated by Jesuits, knew Latin and Greek. Dark, short, strong, and wiry. Lived in exile in Brazil after 1911. Wrote odes in the manner of Horace. Wrote regularly, but his total output was slight.

Alvaro de Campos — Born in 1890, a naval engineer by profession, widely traveled. Lived in Lisbon. Tall, hunched, used a monocle. Clearly Pessoa's favorite, and the most productive of the heteronyms. Wrote very loud, rhetorical verse.

Bernardo Soares — Semi-heteronym, author of the autobiographical *Book of Disquiet*, described by Pessoa as his own voice, "without ratiocination and affection." Wrote prose only.

C. Pacheco — Experimental surrealist poet, also a disciple of Caeiro. Author of only a few poems.

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# Pessoa, Life Narrative, and the Dissociative Process

*Greg Mahr*

Though the traditional continuous life narrative implies a stable self construct, the self is in fact a retrospective construct; its apparent seamlessness can be illusory. Dissociation, especially the dramatic forms it may take in multiple personality, is an important phenomenon which illustrates the complexities and discontinuities in the experience of the self. The American Psychiatric Association defines dissociation as a disruption in the usually integrated functions of consciousness, memory, identity, and perception of the environment. Dissociative phenomena are central to the dissociative disorders, such as psychogenic fugue, multiple personality, and depersonalization disorder, and to the somatoform disorders, like conversion disorder, as well. Dissociative states are also common phenomena in cross-cultural contexts; possession states, trances, and mystical states have prominent dissociative elements.

The most dramatic form of dissociative pathology, dissociative identity disorder (formerly known as multiple personality disorder), is usually identified in the complex interpersonal context of psychotherapy. But since patients with dissociative disorders can be suggestible, concerns have been raised that dissociative identity disorder is in fact iatrogenic (Aldridge-Morris, Merskey). The life and creative work of the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa is therefore of special interest because it offers us the rare possibility to examine dissociation in a context "uncontaminated" by therapy and the possibility of therapeutic suggestion. Pessoa became a great poet only after a powerful dissociative experience involving the creation of other identities, an event strongly reminiscent of dissociative identity disorder. In this case, though, dissociation appeared to resolve for Pessoa certain tensions implicit in the modernist sensibility, and allowed him new possibilities of creative freedom.

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## Pessoa's Life and Work

Although little known in the U.S., Pessoa is considered by many critics to be one of the great masters of twentieth century poetry. Born in Lisbon in 1888, he was the child of a retired military officer turned theater critic, who died when Pessoa was five. Pessoa's mother remarried when he was seven; his stepfather was a diplomat, and from age eleven to seventeen Pessoa lived in South Africa. Very successful academically despite his extreme shyness, he won several literary prizes. He returned to Portugal and studied at the University of Lisbon. Fluent in French and English as well as Portuguese, Pessoa slipped into an uneventful life as a commercial translator. He published one book of poetry, and occasional articles in literary magazines. Although extremely introverted, self-effacingly humble, and odd in his behavior, a large circle of literary friends considered him warm and even witty. A heavy smoker, and an increasingly heavy drinker in his later years, he died at age forty-seven of liver cirrhosis, leaving it to his friends and acquaintances to publish and popularize his work after his death.[1]

Throughout his youth Pessoa had written poetry, but his output was meager and of poor quality. Since childhood, however, he had also shown a tendency toward dissociation and depersonalization. One of his earliest memories, for instance, was of writing letters to himself at the age of six, signed Le Chevalier de Pas. Then on March 8, 1914, at the age of twenty-six, Pessoa suddenly felt poetically inspired. The title of a poem, "The Keeper of Sheep," occurred to him, and sitting down to write it, he poured out thirty poems in a style and of a quality unlike anything he had previously written. According to Pessoa's own account, he was not so much inspired as possessed: "what followed was an apparition of someone in me to whom I at once gave the name Alberto Caeiro. Forgive me the absurdity of the phrase: my master had appeared in me." Nor was this possession a simple substitution, for as Pessoa goes on to write:

> once Alberto Caeiro had appeared I soon tried, instinctively and subconsciously, to find disciples for him. I took my potential Ricardo Reis away from his false paganism, I discovered his name, and I made him consistent with myself, because by that time I could *see* him. And suddenly, totally unlike Ricardo Reis in origin, yet another individual occurred vividly to my mind. Spontaneously, on my typewriter, without a break or correction, the "Triumphal Ode" of Alvaro de Campos came into being. (Rickard 25)

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In a single day, and apparently during a single writing session, an obscure minor poet became a giant of modern poetry.

But who are Caeiro, Reis, de Campos, and the rest? Pessoa himself was certain they were not pseudonyms, for as he understood it, "a pseudonymic work is, except for the name with which it is signed, the work of an author writing as himself." He called them heteronyms, for "a heteronymic work is by an author writing outside of his own personality: it is the work of a complete individuality made up by him, just as the utterances of some character in a drama of his would be." Pessoa insisted that "these individualities must be considered distinct from that of their author" (Rickard 27), and in a letter, he attempt-ed to explain, from a psychological perspective, their source:

> the mental origin of my heteronyms lies in the constant and organic tendency I have towards depersonalization and make-believe. . . . These phenomena, luckily for me and for others, have taken on a mental form in me; by that I mean that they do not show themselves in my practical outward life in contact with others; they explode inwardly, and I live them alone with myself. (Rickard 24)

The phrase "explode inwardly" is a vivid one. If there are such things as multiple personalities, Pessoa was not one, but he was adamant that his lifelong tendency towards vivid experiences of dissociation and depersonalization went far beyond the pale literary practice of simply creating an imaginary character. Like many people, Pessoa confessed that since childhood "I have tended to create around me a fictitious world, to surround myself with friends and acquaintances who never existed." This practice was a constant in his life: "Ever since I have known myself to be the one I call ME, I can remember giving, in my mind, precise shapes, movements, characters and histories to various unreal figures." What distinguishes Pessoa's experience from that of many other imaginative people, however, was first, that this experience extended throughout his adulthood; second, that these figures were "just as visible, just as much my own as the phenomena of what we perhaps wrongly call 'real life'"; and third, that he could not confidently assume his own priority—"I don't know of course, whether they really didn't exist, or whether I'm the one who doesn't exist" (Rickard 24).

Nor could Pessoa explain away his heteronyms by granting them the easy status of literary characters. Certainly it is

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common enough for novelists and dramatists to speak of their characters as if they were real, just as it is common for readers engrossed in a novel to think of the characters as real, or for people reading a book or watching a film to focus so much on that constructed world that they "shut out" their "real" surroundings. This is a common form of dissociation, and one which accounts in part for the long tradition, especially in epic poetry, of authors who claim that they are not themselves creators, but rather instruments of a higher power. When Homer cries, "Sing oh goddess, the ruinous wrath of Achilles," or Milton asks to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, both are participating in the long tradition of authors presenting themselves as scribes.

Despite some external similarities, though, this was not Pessoa's relationship to his heteronyms. Nor can they simply be thought of as dramatic creations; that is, the constructed voice of some persona. This was a matter of personal aesthetics. For Pessoa, the cardinal virtue of poetry was sincerity, which manifests itself not only through the author's dedication to exploring ultimate issues of meaning, but also through the conviction that poetry must truly depict the experience of one's internal life, the life of the mind and soul. Pessoa, however, was acutely aware that he was a poet living and writing in a time for poetry in which such sincerity tended to represent a bleak, fragmented, and alien sense of self. In this, Pessoa was struggling with the same issues of self-awareness that modern art forms grappled with in general. When Wallace Stevens writes "Poetry is the subject of the poem, / From this the poem issues and / to this returns" (143), he articulates that modernist notion that self-consciousness not only mediates between, but in some ways defines, both the poet and poetry itself. Such hyper-trophied self-awareness was particularly painful for a writer like Pessoa, who so loved the world and what he saw in it that his modernist self-awareness was continually fighting his romantic sensibilities for dominance.

Caeiro, the master to whom all the heteronyms are disciples, is the solution to Pessoa's dilemma. An uneducated, credulous, and passionate "sentimentalist," Caeiro writes of his unrepentant love for the world:

> If they want me to be a mystic, fine. I'm a mystic.
> I'm a mystic, but only of the body.
> My soul is simple and it doesn't think.

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My mysticism is not wanting to know.
It's living without thinking about it.
I don't know what nature is: I sing it.
I live on a hilltop
In a solitary whitewashed cabin.
And that's my definition. (Pessoa, *Poems* 20)

The tone here is permissible because Caeiro is not Pessoa: the vigorous lyrical voice seems to come from a different sensibility than that of the self-critical, diffident, and painfully self-aware modernist. This does not mean that the heteronym Caeiro is either naive or without irony. While haunting, Caeiro's first lines in "The Keeper of Sheep," which initiated Pessoa's long creative paroxysm, are dripping with irony: "I never kept sheep, / But it's as if I had done so" (9). A similar naive caginess appears in these lines by Caeiro:

I have no philosophy: I have senses . . .
If I speak of Nature, it's not because I know what nature is,
But because I love it, and that's why I love it,
For a lover never knows what he loves. (11)

A similarly engaged distance characterizes the more explicitly emotional verse of De Campos, another heteronym:

Come solemnly,
Come most solemnly full
Of a secret yearning to weep,
Because the soul is immense and life so meager, perhaps,
And all our gestures go no further than our bodies
And we can reach only as far as arms go. (42)

There is even a sense of dedicated sincerity in Reis, the sophisticated monarchist heteronym, who writes carefully constructed neoclassical verse:

Whatever stops is death, and is our death
If it stops for us. That very shrub now
    Withering, takes with it
    Part of my present life. (118).

These heteronyms, so distinct from each other, nevertheless can be grouped within that "school" of Portuguese paganism, founded by Caeiro, which Pessoa comes to produce, because they all share an even greater difference in relation to the

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customary modernist poetic sensibility. That Pessoa iden-tified strongly with this sensibility we can be certain of, thanks to *The Book of Disquiet*, an autobiography written by his semi-heteronym Bernardo Soares. The life described in this book is one tortured by self-awareness and self-doubt. Haunted by boredom, the hero wanders the streets of Lisbon, or stares out his office window. He notices and remembers things, but when he tries to write, he joins Stevens in speculating endlessly about writing and the process of awareness, creating the impression that this narrative, while resembling Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, is if anything even less concerned with plot and content.

> I float along, attention only on my senses, without preconceptions. I examine things like a person lost in his own thoughts. I see the way another person thinks. And a light mist of emotion rises absurdly in me; the fog lifting outside me seems to infiltrate me slowly. . . .
>
> Without intending to, I sense I have been thinking about my life. I didn't realize what I was doing, but that's what it was. I assumed I only saw and listened, that during this idle stroll of mine, I was nothing more than a reflector of given images, a white screen on which reality projects colors and lights instead of shadows. But there was more, without my knowing it. It was still my soul, denying itself. (58, 81)

Clearly such a consciousness cannot write spontaneous or impassioned poetry, because it simply cannot forget itself. For this reason, when Caeiro writes "I never kept sheep, / But it's as if I had done so," he demonstrates the capacity to entertain the notion of "as if," which at least one other part of Pessoa so painfully lacks. Through this web of dissociation, Pessoa could write apparently unselfconscious, lyric verse, without disobeying the modernist edict that poetry be the subject of the poem. Caeiro and the other heteronyms therefore make possible a separate but not insincere source of powerful writing. Or as Pessoa himself wrote, "What I call insincere literature is not analogous to Alberto Caeiro's, Ricardo Reis's or Alvaro de Campos's," because their sharp sense of otherness means their poetry is "written *dramatically*, but is sincere (in my solemn sense of the word) . . . just as what's spoken by King Lear—not Shakespeare, but a creation of his—is sincere" (Honig and Brown xii).

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## Discussion

Dissociation remains a poorly understood clinical phenomenon. Though Janet first chronicled dissociative phenomena in 1889, their precise description and explication remains elusive. Putnam describes two basic ways of conceptualizing dissociation: 1) as a psychophysiological process mapping out a continuum from normal forms like daydreaming to pathological forms like dissociative disorders, and 2) as a special state of consciousness in which normally associated information, such as specific feelings and memories, is "dissociated" ("Diagnosis"). Other recent conceptualizations have included autohypnotic theories (Bliss), cognitive science models (Bowers and Meichenbaum), and neurologically oriented theories based on analogies between dissociative experiences and partial complex seizures (Schenk and Bear, Mesulam). Hilgard's neodissociation theories, which postulate multiple mental control systems, also remain influential, and modern understandings of dissociative identity disorder, based on responses to childhood trauma, have helped elucidate dynamic mechanisms underlying dissociation (Putnam, "Dissociation"; Spiegel). Finally, from a cross-cultural perspective, by comparing multiple personality with possession states, Kluft has identified dissociation as a universal human experience.

Regardless of how it is conceptualized, dissociation obviously raises complex philosophical issues about the more traditional notions of the nature of awareness and consciousness, conscious control of behavior, and the nature and unity of the self. Responding to these challenges, the philosopher Daniel Dennett has recently proposed a model of consciousness which in some ways incorporates our understanding of dissociation. Dennett observes that consciousness is unitary only in retrospect. We construct a unified picture of our behaviors, feelings, and actions, much as we construct a static visual field by suppressing the continual whirl of saccidic eye movements. In Dennett's theory, the self or I is a "center of narrative gravity"; a specific narrative construct in the web of constant internal discourse that is consciousness.

Pessoa's phenomenological description of his own creative experiences fits the Dennett model of consciousness quite well. As a writer, Pessoa was comfortable with the tradition that forgetting the self was a necessary step for genuine and sincere creative work. If Homer, or Virgil, or Milton, or Pessoa had

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written only within the barriers of their own personal experience, or their own narcissism, they would have only written themselves. On this account, not until one steps outside oneself can one be truly inspired. Faced with the modernist aesthetic pressures of acknowledging involuted self-consciousness, however, Pessoa can only make this escape through a dissociation, which to be creative must verge on the pathological. Pessoa can write great poetry only if he can experience Caeiro not as part of himself, but rather as a visitation from "outside." At least for the duration of the creative act, Pessoa has to experience Caeiro, and believe in Caeiro, as Caeiro.

But just as for Dennett the sense of I, that "center of gravity," is only provisional or partial, Pessoa knew that there was no Caeiro. In this way, without becoming pathological, Pessoa could experience complex issues of awareness, belief, and sincerity, and the multiple levels of each which characterize and complicate those psychological disorders in which dissociation is a central element. A look at the features of dissociative pathology in multiple personality as they are described in common clinical parlance lays bare the importance of this distinction. The professional language is strongly metaphorical. We talk of a "host personality" and "alters" that control behavior or "take over." These alters are addressed by name, and variably share memories and awareness of the other personalities. Some alters are opposite sexed, children, or even animals. With further research and observation, the numbers of acknowledged personalities considered possible in cases of multiple personality has increased. Some recent studies identify dozens of alters (Merskey), and some multiples have even been described as multiple multiples, because some alters are in turn multiples themselves.

While perhaps clinically useful, this host-alter metaphor contributes to certain misunderstandings. We talk, for instance, as if multiple personality patients had other people, opposite sexed individuals, animals, or young children "inside" them. Hilgard's landmark work on dissociation reveals the problems such metaphorical language can engender. During a public demonstration of hypnotic deafness, a member of the audience asked the "deaf" subject if there were still some part of him that hears. To Hilgard's surprise, the subject responded with a finger signal that he did. Instead of dismissing this response by reminding himself that the subject presenting himself as deaf could actually hear, Hilgard postulated another entity or agent,

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a "hidden observer" that remained aware of stimuli that the "deaf" self would deny. Although in the midst of a narrative in which he was deaf, then, Hilgard's subject could simultaneously construct and present another narrative in which he acknowledged his ability to hear, and following the direction of his own metaphorical language, Hilgard described the event as one in which two narrative accounts were being provided by different selves, neither of which was the host.

Of course, experts who work with patients suffering from multiple personality disorder know that alters are not other people or personalities. Putnam describes alters as psychological structures which contain independently processed feelings and memories ("Diagnosis"). The lay public and legal system, however, remain confused by the metaphor, and still see alters as other personalities. But just as Dennett reminds us that every self, every "I," can be conceived of as a story, Pessoa's case effectively illustrates that other selves can also be conceptualized as narratives. Following Dennett, dissociation is best understood as a disruption or discontinuity not in the self, but in the narrative account of the self. In most stories we tell about ourselves, a single "I" is the agent of thought, action, and feeling. In patients with dissociative disorders, these stories are discontinuous: motives, thoughts, and actions are denied, not remembered, or ascribed to others.

For Pessoa, dissociation proved to be not pathological, but creative and even therapeutic: a response to the modernist "disease" of hypertrophied self-awareness which infected many susceptible individuals of Pessoa's generation. Just as perspectival painting can maintain a single viewpoint only when the world is the subject of the painting, so too the narrative "I" can maintain its integrity only as long as the external world is the center of narrative gravity. When the inflated self becomes both subject and object, it disintegrates. For Pessoa, this disintegration produced the self fragments he called heteronyms. In this way, the "as if" game of creating different and discontinuous narratives of self became a solution to a literary problem created by modernist awareness. Similarly, the "as if" process also occurs in dissociative states, complicating the process of constructing a life narrative. Here the case of Pessoa becomes instructive, and even illuminating. When the self is viewed as a discontinuous series of retrospectively constructed narrative voices, what then is the subject of a life narrative? Since the idea of the single voiced life narrative breaks down in the same

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way as the unified narrative self, a specific life narrative about Pessoa becomes merely another narrative strand in the never to be completed retrospective account of "his" life.

My account, therefore, is not of Pessoa, but of another "as if" Pessoa, the Pessoa seen in the light of theories of dissociation. But this Pessoa of dissociation is no more the "real" Pessoa than the shy clever man his friends knew, or the hesitant student of the mythical Caeiro—precisely because, in Ricardo Reis's words, "We're stories telling stories, nothing" (Pessoa, *Poems* 124).

**Summary**

The phenomenon of dissociation introduces new complexities into the process of constructing life narratives, since it reveals the integrated coherent self, the subject of traditional life narrative, as a retrospective construct that begins to disintegrate as self-awareness becomes more vivid. Pessoa's story illustrates the importance, and even the benefits, dissociation may have for creative experience. Pessoa became a great poet only after an uncanny dissociative experience in which he became the sensationalist poet Alberto Caeiro and a series of Caeiro's disciples. For Pessoa, then, heteronyms solved the problems that modernist self-awareness posed, by allowing him to write traditional, sensual verse that was nevertheless ironically self-aware.

## NOTES

1. For biographical information and critical responses to Pessoa, see Griffin; Honig and Brown; Parker; and Rickard.

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# The New Personalism

*Herman Rapaport*

Perhaps the 1990s will be best remembered by those of us in literary studies as the decade when critical theory gave way to, well, practically anything *but* theory. At the helm of this mass desertion have been movements espousing the marginal, the vernacular, and the subjective. Given this trend, it should not be surprising that a movement known as the "new personalism" has emerged, a movement that has taken center stage in such publications as Jane Gallop's kiss and tell account of her night moves with her dissertation advisor at Cornell in the 1970s, Jane Tompkins' recent exposé of her school girl days, and Alice Kaplan's frank disclosures of her sex life in France. In and of themselves, these writings may appear to echo the vulgar exhibitionism of tabloid television. Yet, if the new personalism has violated standards of academic decency, it has done so to push the limits of how academics can represent and make use of their experience. H. Aram Veeser's *Confessions of the Critics* contains not only a helpful, balanced, and wide-ranging introduction which discusses the recent popularity of personalist writing by academic critics, but also a large number of pieces by a diverse group of scholars which exemplify this new personalism, or analyze it critically. For as Veeser's anthology forcefully demonstrates, much more is at stake in the new personalism than a capitulation to vulgarity.

Because Veeser has collected so many strong essays, I ask to be forgiven in advance for being rather selective. For me, two articles stand out as a paradigmatic contrast which can help situate critically many of the other pieces: Marianne Hirsch's "Pictures of a Displaced Girlhood" and Michael Bérubé's "Life as We Know It." Hirsch comes from a Jewish family that survived the Second World War and emigrated to America, and as someone sharing a similar background, I can identify with her when she writes about crying for fourteen hours on the plane that brought her here. After all, as children our relations to Europe were somewhat different from those of

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our parents. Yet as Hirsch notes, our lives were "overshadowed by our parents' stories," of "hiding, persecution, extermination, and miraculous survival," which made it hard to have "enough sympathy for ourselves, for the serious dilemmas of our own lives" (123). Thirteen years old when she emigrated, Hirsch comes to terms with her American upbringing by reading her own cultural displacement through the parallel experiences of others. "The flight across the Atlantic is for me what the train ride through Canada is for Hoffman" (124), and like her friend Eva Hoffman, Hirsch had left her childhood in Europe. Merging her own voice and experiences with those of others, by letting other texts speak through her even as she answers them, Hirsch triangulates her own experience with those who lived similar lives, finding points of community.

In "Life as We Know It," Michael Bérubé does something different. He throws us in medias res within an emergency. His wife Janet is in labor, and experiencing a lethal heart rhythm. Labor is stalling, and when the infant's head finally starts emerging from the birth canal, the nurses are all down the hall. The denouement comes with an Apgar score of 7 and a diagnosis of Down syndrome. "Even as I type this," Bérubé writes, "I find that I'm tapping into physical and tactile memories etched somewhere in the contours of my neuromuscular map, evidences of a time when my every sense impression was so vivid as to be unreal" (190). Emphasis in Bérubé falls on the "I" of "I type," "I find," and "I'm tapping into." Unlike Hirsch, Bérubé is not reconstructing his experiences through the analogous lives of others. They're *his* experiences. When he concludes by noting what he now shares with George Will, Eldridge Cleaver, Lowell Weicker, Gene Stallings, and Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, Bérubé constructs a community out of people who can all interrelate on a one to one basis because each has "been there" alone and still is. Each has a child with Down.

For postwar Jewish immigrant children, matters don't quite work this way. For them identification forms around things lost before one was even born, or at best before one knew what was really happening—the basis for Linda Orr's historical fiction "Me and Not Me." Living a new life in the aftermath of an obliterated history, Hirsch skillfully assimilated to American life without ever forgetting that she wasn't really of this culture, these people, or their ways. Like many young Jewish immigrants she was living a kind of pretend life in the absence of another life that seemed more real, more privileged,

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important, and significant, though its components were memory and longing—and fear. Overwhelmed by such a past—and particularly by stories of family members who didn't survive—what does it mean to say "I"?

Consider Bérubé once more. He faces something that has happened in the here and now. The child with Down syndrome is not a lack. Real, physical, and tangible, he is an object in the psychoanalytical sense who fuels Bérubé's emotional energy. But what if, like Marianne Hirsch, you don't have such an object? What if the something you're trying to confront never materializes, remains fantasmic? Since it is very unlikely you will have a friend with extremely similar experiences, you will be driven to look for those few people you can find who are like and not like you, seeking fellow travelers even from very different backgrounds. Hirsch finds Mona, a recent arrival from Egypt, whose "family is also Jewish, but it means something totally different to them" (132). Of course, one is always lucky to make a friend, however the fit. But what if this found fellow traveler, resenting your identification, refuses to mirror your experiences back to you? Such a refusal is more likely for someone like Hirsch or myself, I would guess, than for someone like Bérubé who identifies with others whose children have Down. The difference lies once more in the presence or absence of an empathically facilitating object to transfer the identification. While Hirsch seeks others with similar gaps, Bérubé seeks others with similar children. Hirsch inserts pictures of herself as a child into her article as if to compensate for the lack of an empathic object that can serve as the ground for identification. As we will see, this is not quite how those pictures actually function.

I will fast-forward now to "Critical Personifications" by Gillian Brown, who is reacting to the current interest in promoting a personalism *without the person:* "When critics introduce something of themselves into their expositions of cultural forms (literary, cinematic, visual, or otherwise)," she writes, "they contribute new or different signs of personhood to the catalog of personifications" (105). Brown knows there is something vacuous about the phrase "something of themselves." It obviates admission that people necessarily introduce accounts of memories, experiences, and feelings into their writings. "Signs of personhood" might also be considered avoidance strategy if you assume that it replaces the more familiar locution, "personal attribute." A couple of sentences later, Brown suggests "that

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more recent modern descriptive categories or designations of personhood have also attained the status of exemplary agents" (105). Race, gender, and sexuality are called "forms of agency." Not traits or characteristics that a person has ("signs of personhood"), these markers "operate *as* persons—persons with whom individuals can identify themselves" (106).

Some may wonder whether this makes sense. And even if it does, would it be a case of the tail wagging the dog? While it's interesting to imagine that agency is constituted not by one's ego, but by all of one's physical and material attributes, should we be troubled by such undialectical languishing in what Sartre used to call the "en soi" or "in itself"? For Brown, personalist criticism theorizes the possibility of a subjectivity without a subject through a materialist turn to language. Subjectivity is thus read as so many "signs of personhood"—as external signs that typify one's identity, of which subjectivity is a part. What you wear, what you own, who you know, where you live . . . could all be "signs of personhood"—I am recalling Hirsch's photographs—that construct one's social identity or typicality. Whether I think these signs are really me or not me doesn't matter. It's how I am perceived by others that counts—how I am politically defined by the group according to type.

This in short would mean that I was being interpellated stereotypically, or impersonally, if you will. Using Althusser's language, we could therefore say that the Bérubé family has been interpellated by Down syndrome—interpellated by a chance genetic occurrence. Further, this same "sign of personhood," fundamentally the consequence of a random selection with some typicality (it's a "syndrome"), can even bring Bérubé and Eldridge Cleaver together. This is a community of accident: in Bérubé's case, given "Janet's age, thirty-six," the chances of her giving birth to a child with Down's Syndrome "were roughly equal to . . . 1 in 225" (189). What brings Hirsch into relation with Eva Hoffman, however, is what I would call a community of fate. This is not to rule out chance entirely—Hirsch's family might, for instance, have stayed in Europe. But in this case, chance is largely superseded by fate, since the Holocaust was not some random historical occurrence but has an entelechy known as the history of anti-Semitism. Because the Holocaust was planned and carried out with the active participation and passive complicity of many countries, it has the interpellative force of being intended *by* someone *for* someone. It was "meant," if not for me directly, then for my parents. (Close

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enough.) In this case the "sign of personhood" has another interpellative meaning. Of course, this could lead one to assume that given the way Hirsch is being interpellated, her essay would be more "personal" than Bérubé's. Curiously, it is not.

For her part, Gillian Brown isn't too interested in these sorts of interpellations. Only by translating the private into the public, the invisible into the visible, the atypical into the typical, Brown argues, do marginalized people achieve a social presence that has to be accepted for what it is. "Critical authority," she notes, "discovers an ideal model of itself in figures of the disenfranchised whose individual bodies come to count (or to matter more) when they become typical—standard forms of being" (108). This mirrors the Sartrean idea that the individual has no social validity other than as a socially recognized thing-in-itself: the *en soi* as a "standard form of being." In feminist terms, "collectivizing and publicizing female individual experience—hitherto private matters such as rape, sexual harassment, domestic violence, childbirth, menstruation, menopause, and employment and income discrimination—circulate types with which women can identify" (106). Though psychologically painful, rape and domestic abuse cannot simply be dealt with. They must become politically instrumental in improving the social status and rights of women. This is laudable. But it also suggests that when experience is translated into mere "markers" of personhood, one could be reduced to a social stereotype or statistic that by way of a certain marketing or polling mentality commands attention only when shared to a shocking degree. Hence the effects of personal trauma are downplayed for the sake of popular social reform. Within the context of interpellation, it would appear that from Brown's point of view one type of interpellation was being privileged over another: the collective over the personal, the public over the private, the political over the psychological.

This move toward the general, the typical, and the political is quite noticeable in some of Hirsch's passages:

> The late sixties offer many opportunities for group identity, but even as I protest the Vietnam War and become involved in curriculum restructuring, I do so from the margins. The Women's Movement changes all that; I join a consciousness-raising group in 1970 and experience a feeling of group allegiance for the very first time in my life. The perception of commonality, the feelings of connection and mutual recognition are exhilarating, and I become addicted to them.

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This self-description is rather anonymous. After all, could this not be said of many women of Hirsch's generation? Similarly, the snapshots of Hirsch growing up in America foreground the generality or typicality of the images. We are looking at an "everywoman," socially constructed in a certain way at a certain time. The interpellation is now ideological, and speaks not only to the chance of being raised an American, but to the fate of being historically constructed according to type. Whereas Bérubé remains focused on himself as the locus for a very particular set of experiences that are to be represented to an other in all their uniqueness, Hirsch moves very much in the direction of what I consider anonymity.

We're getting closer now to recognizing what characterizes the new personalism—a shift away from the particularity of the "me" to the stereotypicality of the "they." This is quite evident, for example, in Linda Orr's fiction, excerpted in her essay "Me and Not Me," where a studied banality of the "they" replaces the specificity and uniqueness of the individual. Orr trades distinctiveness for standard, if not hackneyed voices that incline toward the insipid. Her historical subject is Jean Zay, a political prisoner of the Vichy government executed shortly after D-Day. During his time in prison, Zay was visited regularly by his wife and very small daughter. Years later, the daughter asks the mother to relive these painful experiences in Orr's presence. Her account begins this way:

> The noon traffic was building up on the bridge that led onto the Avenue Dauphine. Exhaust fumes hung in the air despite a river breeze. Sultry clouds were low in the sky. Madame Zay, in her eternal black skirt and sweater, answered the door. She and Helene kissed cheeks. (152)

Needed to quickly establish a scene, these sentences are props with no aesthetic function. "She and Helene kissed cheeks" would be a more effective opening, plunging us in media res into an emotionally ambivalent relationship, pitting the closeness of mother/daughter versus the distance the war has put between them. As it is, the kiss is *en passant*, and has no special (or symbolic) meaning. Indeed, Orr carefully avoids symbolism, almost as if she were dumbing down the prose to "include" all those readers who don't like literature. This "personalist" approach to history thus avoids invoking the literary, much in the way of a book like *Black Beauty*. After all, these stories have

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political messages to convey, whether about cruelty to animals or about the mother/daughter bond under the pressure of state cruelty.

Bérubé is not interested in such rehabilitation of the banal, as his account of Down Syndrome suggests. He homes in on the reader in a way designed to make a startling and lasting impression. This engagement is his strategy for changing and shaping the consciousnesses of others, unaware or even uncaring of the realities of being a parent of a child with Down. And yet, effective as this is, it's still exemplary of what I would consider the "old personalism." Hirsch, in contrast, represents the new personalism, a personalism capable of dropping out the person.

Jane Tompkins' "Let's Get Lost" is also exemplary, and her political stakes are a bit clearer than Hirsch's. Tompkins worries about that typical teacher's experience of self-evaluation that goes under the rubric "how did the class go?" As a group psychologist could tell us, no one has an absolute fix on the collective "reality" of a class, so even if she expected accolades from her graduate students, Tompkins shouldn't have been too surprised when she got harsh criticism instead. As she soon discovers, individual students had a very different impression of the class than those which emerged when they spoke as a group. And this left a number of unresolved questions. But though she admits that "I'll never know the answer to these questions," Tompkins feels "it's okay not to know" (281). By thus refusing to personalize the experience by theorizing her way to a definitive answer, Tompkins allows herself to go along with the group in a way that lets the group be. Theorizing or working through the group's psychology would have been, in the end, a means to prevail over the group and negate its heteronomy—its various changes of states. Not theorizing, therefore, lets Tompkins act on the group's behalf, speaking *for* the other and *what has been typical for* the other, rather than speaking merely and defensively on her own behalf. In avoiding the unusual, Tompkins foregrounds the typical, even the banal: those responses we've all gotten from students who can always imagine that something other than what we actually did in the class would have been better. Bringing these typicalities to the fore, Tompkins says it's okay to let this be and not work it through. In this way, the teacher becomes one with the "they."

Apparently, then, the new personalism allows the self to accede to the typical, the commonplace, the usual, because the

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resulting collective or group identity—one's "identity papers"—tells us how matters stand with the "they." Hirsch drifts considerably in this direction in her search for the usual, the everyday, or the common for displaced kids growing up in America. Here typification is empowering, since access to such forms not only shows us how we are enunciated, or called into being as social persons, but even unearths the personal interpellations I was mentioning earlier. This seeking to empower individuals via types vouched for at the collective level of the "they" thus makes Hirsch's project political.

Because he privileges the force of individual personality coupled with experience, and never gets past an interpersonal register, Bérubé's essay is not. No doubt, there is a politics to Down, just as there is a politics to AIDS, but in Bérubé this politics works mainly on a one-to-one level, where emotional force, prompted by a strongly cathected object, must carry the day if the empathic content is to be transferred. Bérubé's essay is also less political because, as Brown would point out, his child's condition is not sufficiently stereotypical—not statistically compelling enough. After all, it's not as if he were talking about menopause, date rape, or sexual harassment, which have a higher statistical incidence. Of course, this form of reasoning has its own weaknesses. Bérubé, for example, might well ask what the statistical incidence is of Jewish girls arriving in America in the aftermath of the Holocaust—the answer is, not *that* high. Still the significance of the technique in Hirsch's essay now becomes quite apparent. By lifting the stress off her own individual experiences, she constructs many bridges that connect her to that political collective she spoke of so anonymously, where she felt "group allegiance for the very first time in my life."

If Hirsch's more politically oriented text represents a new form of autobiography that merits attention, Bérubé's more visceral and urgent essay strongly suggests that the old personalism will always remain viable. No doubt one will find cases in which authors occupy a middle ground, the best example in Veeser's anthology being Candace Lang, whose "Autocritique" creates a lasting impression. Lang's "identity papers" present her as a typical woman of a certain female academic majority, oppressed both by patriarchy and by her feminist colleagues, who in her view are overly anxious to speak for others. Unlike Hirsch, who welcomes the mediating voices of sympathetic fellow travelers, Lang does not want others dictating her desire.

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"While I admire immensely," Lang writes, "Tompkins's (and any woman's) courage to stand up and speak for herself (something I have too often failed to do), I do not care to have her speak for me (I am doing that myself now)" (47). Lang sets herself at a distance from those who decry critical theory as patriarchal and castrating. "I will lay my critical cards on the table," she asserts, "by declaring that I have never felt repressed, disfigured, disembodied, unsexed, or otherwise alienated by the constraints of logical or theoretical discourse; *au contraire*, I have always found it to be liberating and empowering" (46). Lang suspects that feminists' critical position on the constraints of theory easily shade into the stereotyping of women as beings who are inherently unsuited to logical reasoning. Whether intentional or not, the feminist attack on theory is pervaded by essentialist thinking about sex and gender. Lang argues that theory writing is not, as Tompkins suggests, an essentially masculine activity, nor does it necessarily elide or replace female experience. Just because Tompkins feels her experience as a woman has been preempted by critical theory does not necessarily mean that all other women have been as well. "Please speak for yourself," Lang says, "not for women" (47).

Clearly Lang and Tompkins have very different assumptions about whether women similarly situated in the profession of literary studies necessarily share the same experiences, and more generally about the sharability of any experience. Although no two people will ever give exactly the same account of a shared experience, critics like Tompkins assume that similarly situated social subjects will more than likely have experiences that could be called typical or commonplace. For example, despite the fact that we're very different people, I can recognize commonalities between my own immigration experience and Hirsch's. Despite the glaring differences—gender, national origin, family background, and so on—we were situated similarly in an American culture we did not entirely accept. To that extent, I would say that Hirsch can speak for me: her testimony testifies for me insofar as we were similarly situated in America as Jewish children who, rightly or wrongly, suffered the trauma of leaving a homeland (in my case, the *Heimat*).

In her effort to retain her individuality and independence, Lang emphasizes the self. When, for example, Lang attributes her lack of enthusiasm about getting on what she calls the feminist bandwagon to the fact that "I simply did not recognize myself in the feminist discourse I encountered" (47) she is

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conceiving of her life in terms of its differences from the experiences of others. In this, she has much in common with autobiographers who disclose themselves as inimical personalities. (One thinks of Sei Shonagan's *The Pillow Book* or Michel Leiris' *L'Age d'homme*, both considerably self-absorbed and critically reflective texts.) As for Lang, she clearly values critical distance. Even when she speaks of her "retired navy captain" father, a "womanizer" with a "violent temper" at home, the emphasis lies on the specific way *she* was shaped by that experience, rather than on the social situation as a shared general or typical circumstance.

There is thus something unsocial about Lang's position. Take, for example, these remarks on the personal essay's speaking voice:

> The friendly "I" that beams out at the reader from the "personal" critical essay can be as oppressive and subtly seductive as the detached, authoritative voice of the "impersonal" "third-person" text. Rather than elicit our consent by speaking as though it were the oracle of eternal truth, it entraps you by inviting you in for tea and appealing to your sense of humanity and *politesse* and perhaps, of femaleness, gayness, and so on. (50)

A certain Nietzschean skepticism informs Lang's response to this "friendly" I, or at the very least La Fontaine's suspicion that wolves like to parade in sheep's clothing: "As they say, get real: there is always a hidden agenda, and even the 'truest,' most 'sincere' autobiographical narrative in some way conforms to a motivated program of self-representation" (50). Yet, if I may say so, this wariness is also the hallmark of a conservative bourgeois position that advances one's own interest against the hidden agendas and motives of others. What Lang senses in the new personalism of Tompkins and others, therefore, is not a new form of intellectual writing, but rather the same old academic practice of piously taking the competitive high ground using whatever tactics will serve. And of course it is at this point that one must acknowledge that Lang's very opposition to writers like Tompkins and Hirsch makes her more typical of most academics. Thus at the moment Lang seems most individualistic and bourgeois, she is also the most typical kind of academic we are likely to encounter, or even be. Lang, of course, knows this better than anyone else. She knows that academic institutions, including Duke, have been encouraging their faculty to think of themselves as intellectual entrepreneurs, and

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that it is unlikely any of us can entirely escape a bourgeois mentality. Again, it is a question of situatedness.

Of all the contributors to Veeser's anthology, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak seems to have the deepest understanding of individual versus collective situatedness. Someday someone will be brave enough to write on incoherence in Spivak, whose contribution, "Lives," verges on disaggregation, but for now, let me say that if much of what she writes is strategically incoherent, it is also the work of a multiply situated social subject who does not want to collapse that multiplicity into a singular account that would make her life into a coherent narrative. By situatedness, Spivak has something other in mind than Sartre's clearly delineated human predicaments. For instance, she is willing to entertain the idea that whatever one happens to be doing or living at any given moment is itself a modality of situatedness. "Lives" therefore not only tells us about different times in her life when she was living and working under very specific circumstances, but also is intercut with a dialogue with Mark Wigley, the man from *Assemblage*, which often feels like what Heidegger called *Gerede* (idle chattter):

> Mark: mmm hmm.
> Gayatri: What do you mean "mmm hmm"?
> Mark: I said "mmm hmm." (216)

Moreover, given that it's Mark Wigley who is interviewing Spivak, she adapts to his interest in architecture and Derrida, making them part of her situation. Tompkins might have found such interests preemptive; Spivak claims ownership of the situation, willingly acknowledging all aspects of it as hers.

Three instances:

> I
>
> In 1971 I met Derrida. In 1973, with a small grant from the Carver Foundation, I went to France to discuss the Introduction [to *Of Grammatology*] with him. In the meantime, I had to teach myself some philosophy to write it. (212)
>
> II
>
> My institutional experience at Texas was the first example of something many times repeated. . . . I am invited as a "deconstructivist" out of touch with "the way things are" but able to add theoretical glamor; it is discovered that I know rather more about the way things are than perhaps my host; the scene changes. (212)

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III

> In 1987, I finally landed a serious salaried position in India, as visiting Professor at the Centre for Historical Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. . . . I discovered how riven the elite universities were by Cultural Studies and Third World Feminism stakeouts being fought out in the United States. (212)

While one could read these snapshots simply as part of an intellectual itinerary or curriculum vita, they are in fact redefining or reconstructing moments of a subject Julia Kristeva would say is always "in process." Although the same subject confronts each situation, their different places and times ensure that the subject is never entirely identical to itself. Spivak puts it this way: "I . . . found myself constructing Gayatri Spivaks who 'represented' various historical and geographic cases. How to distinguish this from a request to speak of the singularity of one's life?" (205) The point is that life is and isn't a singularity. We are and aren't the same person from one moment to the next. Yet this does not absolve us of the duty to live authentically by owning the experiences we have of the various situations we are thrown into. For Spivak, this authenticity is nothing more than the willlingness not to have the situation be anything different from what it is: messy, impure, open ended, fragmentary, inconclusive. Life situations are discontinuous, only partially realized, without closure: on this foundation her incoherence rests.

To put this in a way compatible with Spivak's theoretical musings, situatedness is not simply a violence that disrupts the construction of identity, but the historicality of the subject doing violence to its subjecthood. That this historicality is lived out as the banality of everyday life—say the ordering of bagels and spread in Spivak's dialogue with Wigley—is central to her understanding of the subject as multiply interpellated and positioned. In this Spivak differs considerably from Candace Lang, who struggles for an independent self-presence, but also from writers like Hirsch and Tompkins, who search for group identity. Nor when Spivak's various lives touch on a banality is it the insipid banality of a Linda Orr, but rather a banality that raises critical questions about the oddity of being situated in a certain way. Take Wigley's "mmm hmmm." When Spivak throws it back, she brings out the oddity, if not the inappropriateness of this banality. Though she owns the situations in

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which she finds herself, she never suspends her critical awareness of how she is being positioned. Perhaps most importantly, the situatedness of the subject in process need not mean that this subject will necessarily share experiences with others. I do not sense typicality in her work with Derrida or Mahasweta Devi. Her activities with subaltern groups are not typical. Her interactions with students are not staged as typical. Even her dialogue with Wigley is too specific in all its detail to be typical. Despite, then, a predominance of all those things we might well associate with the general, the usual, the everyday, singularity could be said to reign over typicality in Spivak's autobiographical musings.

From Spivak's perspective, Marianne Hirsch's photographs become so many residues of discontinuous, disaggregated situations that form part of what Spivak might call a life—or "lives." Hirsch's radical political moments of the 1960s, for example, could be periodized as partially realized situations first abrogated and then taken up again much later in her professional work as a mature academic. Her life before coming to America, her affinities with fellow Jewish female travelers, her college experiences, and so on, all serially unfold as "stills" that make up a history—one at times traumatic and violent—that disrupts any attempt to construct a seamless identity. Or to come back to Bérubé one last time, in his work this violence is more of a shocking epistemic break or catastrophe, which once experienced, must be lived out as a definitive change affecting one's entire being. Like Spivak, Bérubé advocates authentically taking possession of one's own situatedness in the world, and of coming to terms with that as best one can—and if this sounds patently existential in an Albert Camus kind of way, it is.

Though both Bérubé and Spivak declare that one cannot escape the necessity of owning one's fate, in Bérubé the situatedness of the subject results from large-scale dramatic events that forever shape the destiny of things, while in Spivak, the situatedness of the subject coexists with the disaggregation of situations, large and small, which intercut one's life in ways that cannot be coherently narrated. In and of itself life is not, in essence, a coherent entity. This view distances itself from both the new personalism of, say, Marianne Hirsch, and from older modes of autobiographical writing, of the kind practiced by Michael Bérubé. If, therefore, there is a new and vital interest in autobiographical writing by academics who have a critical or theoretical orientation, one must still recognize a considerable disparity

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among them over key critical assumptions that underwrite their work. Situatedness, interpellation, typification, group identity, the sharability of experience, and the banality of everyday life are but some of the issues which remain implicitly or explicitly controversial. Hardly a cohesive movement embracing a wide number of autobiographically inclined theorists, personalist writing as a critical tendency remains more eclectic than not. Yet, as I have shown, conceptual battle lines have been drawn between, say, the personalism of Candace Lang and of Jane Tompkins, or Michel Bérubé and Marianne Hirsch, or Gayatri Spivak and, no doubt, someone like Gillian Brown. Not only does this make for exciting reading, but it ensures that, whatever its mode, the new personalism will remain a vibrant domain of critical and literary activity for some time to come.

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# Sketches From Life

## Political Biography: A Polemical Review of the Genre

*Patrick K. O'Brien*

*This essay has also appeared in a slightly different form in* Contemporary British History *10.4 (Winter 1996): 60–66. For responses by Pauline Croft, John Derry, and Nigel Hamilton, see pages 67 to 86 of the same issue.*

Is political biography a serious enough genre to engage the attention of academic historians? Most of us, and for reasons I propose to elaborate upon, think not. Many historians would recognize that biography has its uses; for example, in turning up sources (especially diaries and correspondence) as a contingent part of a project concerned to expose everything that could possibly be uncovered about a subject between birth and death. Others, especially those who lack the evidence required to construct a prosopography for the analysis of group behavior, would also concede that a cache of documents encapsulating the activities and perceptions of a "representative" politician or minister is probably worth transforming into a *contextualized* biography. But even here most historians remain suspicious of claims (which by definition could not be substantiated) to the effect that a member of Parliament could be represented as, say, a normal backbencher of the period or that a particular minister's career and policies could be depicted as typical of those who held power at the time.

As historians see it, political biographers succumb all too often to one or the other (and sometimes to both) of two temptations: either they present their subjects as extraordinary and omnipotent, or alternatively, as predictable individuals whose characteristics and actions form the basis for generalizations about the governments of the day. The latter temptation, to infer


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or build context around a so-called representative individual, seems difficult to resist for periods of history when knowledge about the operations of the political system remains thin. Interestingly enough, the same temptation is also becoming strong for certain styles of social history, in which a solitary miller, priest, or peasant for whom abundant documentation survives is elevated to represent the *mentalité* of an entire social group. Finally, and offered all too often in defense of political biography, there is a widely accepted but unacceptable non sequitur that prominent political leaders "then and now" led moral and/or deeply fascinating lives that are surely uplifting or interesting enough to contemplate in the form of a political biography. Gladstone's life in politics could be read as an example of high integrity, and Disraeli's as one of fascinating duplicity. Nevertheless, political biographies, informed by otherwise laudable concerns to instruct and to entertain their readers, tell historians all too little about the core aspirations of their discipline, which are to acquire a proper understanding of evolving political institutions and processes, and an appreciation of the lasting achievements of significant individuals operating within those systems.

For such purposes, lives, however exemplary or gripping, are not terribly useful and could be a distraction even when illuminating evidence turns up as a by-product of writing a biography. There are, moreover, several other and more valid reasons why scholars should think hard before they invest time, and what is more serious, taxpayers' money in the research required to write political biography. First, such would-be biographers wittingly or (to be charitable) unwittingly join the crowded ranks of "amateurs" who occupy the borders of their own discipline. I do not need to list the names of celebrities who have written popular and profitable historical biographies accorded weight in the selections of "editors" who control the space for reviews and publicity in the posh Sundays, weekly magazines, television, and elsewhere. For that establishment, biography remains an acceptable way of dealing with political and other forms of history. Short of time and in perpetual motion towards opinion and judgment, our literati must find modern historical scholarship, with its banks of validated and invalid knowledge, with its theories and disciplined modes of discourse, altogether too difficult to contemplate. What better way

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to deal with the past in the late twentieth century than through the lives of leading politicians, particularly when their private habits and foibles can be exposed as sleazy and salacious?

Lytton Strachey fathered this style of political biography. In reaction to Victorian obsessions with exemplary lives, he included the eccentricities, follies, and vices of the kingdom's regal, political, military, and church leaders in order to expose just how like the rest of us they really were. But the demolition of greatness and goodness has become all pervasive. In our post-modern culture, where so many styles of private life are recognized and tolerated, prurience and denigration now seem tedious and decadent.

Meanwhile "blockbusters" continue to pour off the presses, catering to a widespread aspiration to understand history, which is in effect met and manipulated by the culture industry in ways that are inseparable from the treatment of modern politics and politicians by tabloid newspapers. Everything you neither wished nor needed to know about an historically significant figure is written down. Samuel Johnson's advice to "avoid trivia but to look for the significance of the trivial" has been ignored. Even with an apparatus of headings and subheadings, the overall effect is a chaotic collage (often a pottage) of disconnected private and public life explaining little about a man's achievements and with no points of closure except death. Sex is carefully uncovered, but health and money, which worry us and preoccupied "them," are almost avoided as taboo subjects.

Is there perhaps more to the professional historians' ostensibly gratuitous disregard for biography than the envy of academics who either refuse or are unable to compete in the cultural marketplace for money and reputation? Yes there is, but first we must recognize that historians are educated to deal with group rather than personal behavior, in part because their discipline has been deeply permeated by the social sciences. What sociology, economics, and latterly anthropology have encouraged historians to do is to absorb individuals, however outstanding and famous, into a corpus of supposedly scientific theory rooted in hard facts that has developed for more than a century now in reaction to Victorian and earlier modes of explanation extolling and exaggerating the influence of great men on the course of history. (Women, of course, hardly figured in the story.)

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Furthermore, the only social science that has continued to theorize systematically about individuals also arouses skepticism among all but that small minority of historians who continue to find psychological categories and vocabularies alluring when they come to present, and above all to account for, the behavior of political leaders. As disciplines, history and psychology do not however mix at all well together, and the importation of psychological modes of explanation into history is usually accorded short shrift by many historians. For their part psychologists accuse historians of reading their work superficially and of denigrating the intellectual rigor and scientific status of their research. That may well be the case, but historical evidence rarely allows for the application of psychiatric analysis or psychological theories to the activities of dead politicians. Furthermore, too many published examples of psychohistory stand properly convicted of straining circumstantial and indirect evidence to the point of incredulity. That, together with the successful assault on its pretensions to be scientific, is why historians are prominent among a growing body of intellectuals who rejoice in the apparently irreversible demise of Freudian theory as a potentially illuminating approach to the study of famous historical actors. When pressed, historians might however concur that diaries and letters, which really are internal soliloquies and not self-fashioning public relations exercises for posterity, do turn out to be useable sources for the analysis of individual behavior—provided, of course, that oedipal allusions are treated with no greater respect and weight than other influences on the formation of a political personality and his or her exercise of power. After all, historians detect so many impulses to personal actions and achievements in the realm of politics that they see no particular reason to reduce their origin to episodes of sublimated sexual desires or other infantile tensions and repressions, even when these critical interfamilial relationships from childhood can be properly documented.

Prima facie, cognitive psychology seems to offer more to historical biography than Freudian vocabularies, particularly when the historian is trying to make the case that his subject's political achievements were somehow outstanding or innovatory, or to argue that someone displayed qualities of leadership that transcended what might normally be predicted for holders

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of a high political office confronted with similar challenges and problems. As a discipline, cognitive psychology has been concerned to theorize about the thought processes and characteristics associated with people with the innate qualities required for the exercise of innovative leadership. To this end its practitioners have plundered the evidence assembled by historians about the great and famous for several domains of human endeavor, including warfare, the arts, sciences, technology, and business, as well as politics. And yet, most of the qualities of character and traits of personality that emerge time and again from the substantial prosopographical samples of historically famous statesmen, soldiers, artists, and scientists, when put together as data bases by psychologists, turn out to be rather commonplace. For example, traits such as "intrinsically motivated, self-confident, manipulative, curious, intelligent, hard-working" occur repeatedly—alas in varying and unspecified degrees of intensity—among the famous for whom all that biographical information has been so carefully collated. Furthermore, historians suspect that those who wrote obituaries, memorials, and biographies often fashioned personalities for their subjects after, rather than before, they achieved recognition on the stage of political power. Ex ante studies or even well-documented perceptions of their personalities and innate capacities for leadership, which could carry so much more conviction than an ex post life, are rarely possible to construct. Furthermore, it could well be the case that political leaders now acclaimed as great and innovative were surrounded by rather large groups of contemporaries, almost certainly within and even beyond the domain of politics, who possessed a rather comparable set of personality traits, qualities, and qualifications for high office. These others simply did not obtain the chance to display themselves in government—an observation which seems to leave the attempt to define, and thereby to explain, the characteristics required for innovative political leadership stranded.

Economic historians have derived sustenance from economic theory, social historians insights from sociology, and cultural historians illumination from anthropology. Political historians who insist on the role of the individual are less fortunate. They really have no social science to help them to understand the people they select for biographical treatment. Psychiatric probes

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are now discredited, and cognitive psychology seems to offer very limited assistance. Thus by default, history pegged onto the childhood, adolescence, career, retirement, and death of a politician reverts to a readable biographical narrative in the form of a life story, which is a literary and rhetorically persuasive device for writing about, and all too often exaggerating, the significance of its subject. This does not mean that more serious proponents of the genre have not taken trouble to read widely in order to contextualize the achievements—and sometimes the failures—of politicians. Nevertheless, what is normally and understandably set out at length on the printed page is the immediate ambiance or milieu of a career in politics, gleaned admittedly in large part from primary sources, such as diaries, correspondence, and private papers, which are often investigated skillfully in the manner of historians. But proper attention to historical sources and methods is not enough to make the genre respectable, because surely the basic justification for political biography is that the individual concerned was remarkable, and remarkable in ways the historian is required to specify and to document, because he transcended the limitations of a particular office of state. Otherwise the case for political biography seems disabled and is certainly reduced to weaker claims: namely, and to paraphrase, that those who occupied high office performed their allotted tasks effectively (or even incompetently) *given* the legal, institutional, political, financial and other constraints surrounding their room for action.

Few political biographers, as a glance at their prefaces and conclusions will show, are prepared to research and publish a brief for mere efficiency or even for outstanding devotion to duty. Most biographers are not convinced that the halls of political fame are/were indeed full of dispensable men, and that in writing the life of a man or woman who attained high office they are in effect centrally concerned with the performance of a particular job for the court, the government, the state, or the nation that could have been accomplished with comparable effect and zeal by any number of politicians or other people alive at the time. Indeed, if biographers granted this premise, they would then have to agree that the only significant illumination to be gleaned from political biography is how and why a particular individual came to occupy high office. Some do implicitly cede the point, but overimpressed with Darwinian

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metaphors, they nevertheless equate the attainment of high office with high achievement, presumably because in the competitive struggle for power, the meritorious and the brightest come out on top and whatever they accomplish must be for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Most political biographers entertain far higher aspirations for themselves and their research than the rather pedestrian place assigned to their genre by those who write other forms of history. Indeed such biographers assert and seek acclaim and significance for the people they study. They earnestly believe that their subjects made a real difference. But to convince historians at large that the biographical approach to the study of history is something more than media driven and market led, biographies must begin to utilize large areas of modern historical scholarship that are often conspicuously missing, and not only in the writings of amateurs on the borders of professional history. First and foremost, the political system, and not simply the ambiance, within which their subjects operated needs to be outlined and grasped in its entirety. Secondly, the offices held by ministers and servants of the crown should be comprehended not merely as a component part of that system, but understood in the round in relation to the domain of social, economic, strategic, and other activity that an office or department of state had been established to regulate, improve, and occasionally to transform. Thirdly, decisionmaking procedures, as well as the range of personnel and other institutions involved in strategic policymaking nominally under the direction of the presiding politician, need to be fully appreciated. And finally, the historical precedents, contemporary examples, and analogues related to innovations and substantive achievements in policy ascribed to an indispensable or significant politician should also be brought into the frame for appraisal.

In brief, unless the outcomes of a policy or set of policies are recognized by historians as significant, and until those policies can be attributed in large measure to the ideas and leadership exercised by prominent politicians, then these lives, however deeply researched and readable, contribute very little to our understanding of the history of government and politics. These conditions, which reassert the argument that the role of the individual can only be delineated and understood within a fully contextualized biography that convincingly links a life to

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a properly validated achievement, are commonplaces in the writing of biographies of creative artists, authors, novelists, musicians, scientists, and technologists. Why then has it become necessary to reformulate points taken for granted for biographical studies outside the domain of politics, and at a time when historical writing is being swamped by thousands upon thousands of pages of political biography? Perhaps most of these books should not be classified as political biographies, but more accurately as "lives of politicians." Such books may be fascinating or occasionally elevating to read, but most fall way short of standards set by the attempts to link lives to achievements and outcomes in domains of creative endeavor. Perhaps that occurs because politics is, or has become, the kind of domain where, and despite the rules and perspectives that their discipline provides, historians find significant achievements problematical to define, and find it even more difficult to agree when it comes to attributing successes and failures to particular politicians. Perhaps the centuries of political history (and certainly the libraries of political biography) really are full of dispensable men after all?

Nothing said here will, alas, stem the tide of market forces. Just as there are scholars of the performing arts who prefer to contemplate actors rather than acting, players rather than plays, so too in history the sheer volume of political biography represents a triumph of form over substance.

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# Reviews

Frank J. Sulloway, *Born to Rebel: Birth Order, Family Dynamics, and Creative Lives.* New York: Pantheon, 1996. 653 pp. $30.00, ISBN 0-679-44232-4.

Frank Sulloway's first book, *Freud: Biologist of the Mind,* was deeply researched and deeply ambivalent about Sigmund Freud. His second book, seventeen years later, is also deeply researched, but not at all ambivalent about its most frequent biographical example, Charles Darwin. Sulloway's admiration for Darwin is unbounded, and Darwin has inspired his general approach to the book's central concern: the psychological effects of sibling rivalry.

Darwin gave Sulloway two ideas that work in tandem. Just as biological species seek a successful environmental niche, Sulloway argues, each human child searches for a niche within the family. And just as biological species are more likely to survive if they find a divergent niche, so children seek a distinctively different family niche from their siblings. Sulloway employs these Darwin-inspired assumptions to organize and explain a great deal of information about human behavior. Firstborn children tend to occupy the family niche of parent surrogate, and by doing so they gain parentally bestowed attention, approval, and resources. Laterborn children, who remain at least for a time weaker and more ignorant than their firstborn siblings, cannot readily take over that niche. Therefore they develop different behavior patterns and different personalities from firstborns, in order to gain a share of parental attention. Having found family niches appropriate to their birth order, firstborns and laterborns direct the same behavior toward situations outside the family, and they continue to do so as adults.

Starting with these basic assumptions, Sulloway confirms them through massive statistical analyses of diverse sets of biographical data. In science, in politics, and in religious movements, he finds that firstborns maintain tradition and hold to conservative positions. Laterborns are, as the book title announces, "born to rebel." Sulloway demonstrates, for example, that laterborns were much quicker to adopt the Darwinian evolutionary viewpoint than were firstborns. Younger firstborns gradually caught on as their resistant elders died off, but by Sulloway's calculations, on average "an 80-year-old laterborn was as open to evolutionary theory as a 25-year-old firstborn" (35). Sulloway finds similar reactions of firstborns and laterborns to nearly two dozen other scientific innovations, from glaciation theory to continental drift and from early psychoanalytic theory to physical indeterminacy. Likewise in the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution, laterborns marched in the vanguard while firstborns held as long as they could to the old authority systems.

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The main thrust of Sulloway's arguments is advanced through these quantitative analyses of hundreds or thousands of data points at a time, presented in carefully designed graphs. But the book contains nearly as many pictures of individuals as of statistical distributions, and Sulloway makes effective use of biographical sketches to illustrate his points. Darwin himself appears over and over as a prime instance of the theoretically rebellious but modest and sensitive laterborn. Specific laterborns are often contrasted with firstborns similar in background *except* for birth order—sometimes from the same family—to show how sibling divergence led them to dramatically different careers and beliefs. At first glance, Sulloway appears to be as nomothetic as any biographical scholar can get; he is always looking for the general rules behind the particular behavior pattern. But he is clearly fascinated with all those individual lives as well, and describes key aspects of many of them.

Often these individual examples are discussed not merely as illustrations of general points but as further tests of Sulloway's hypotheses. He insists that he wants to know the circumstances under which his birth order model doesn't work, so he can determine how to make it better. In responding repeatedly to such challenges, Sulloway makes it clear that the model is not as simple as it first appears. The final model is substantially interactionist and situational, with such variables as parent-offspring conflict and shyness complicating the picture significantly: e.g., "Parent-offspring conflict makes honorary laterborns out of some firstborns" (123). But birth order remains, in virtually all of Sulloway's statistical analyses, the overriding variable in predicting who will hew to a conservative course and who will rebel, whether in science or religion or politics.

Sulloway's demonstrations of birth order effects, in diverse populations and in response to diverse issues, are so impressive that they cannot be ignored. Indeed, they should henceforth be consulted by any biographer who wants to understand as fully as possible why a specific subject chose a life path different from that of his or her siblings. But though Darwin inspired Sulloway to adopt this explanatory approach, we—and Sulloway—may be able to improve upon it by reconsidering certain Freudian concepts. That's because Freud turns out to be a more direct progenitor of Sulloway's approach than Darwin is.

Sulloway proposes that Darwinian evolutionary processes are directly involved in birth order effects: "Extensive individual differences have been preprogrammed by Darwinian evolution and are constantly being augmented by family experience. Millions of years of biological evolution have seen to it that siblings turn out to be very different from one another" (253). But what exactly has been "preprogrammed" here? Sulloway offers no evidence that laterborns consistently inherit a different set of behavioral tendencies than do firstborns. Laterborns are not in that sense actually "born to rebel";

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they don't get some gene combination or genetic mutation that makes them greater behavioral innovators and thus more probable survivors and prolific parents than firstborns. Any "preprogramming" is presumably in the direction of potential for behavioral variation, and of motivation to get enough parental attention to survive childhood. In those regards, firstborns and laterborns are born equal. Within the family pressure cooker (and at least to some extent outside of it), they then develop behavioral strategies that may get them at least as much parental attention and resources as the siblings they're competing with. But they don't pass these strategies genetically to their offspring. They may teach some of their acquired strategies to their children; Sulloway documents certain behavioral patterns across several generations. But the unavoidable fact is that every laterborn who becomes a parent must start off with a firstborn child, and every firstborn parent who has more than one child gets at least one laterborn. In a sense, the evolution of firstborn and laterborn behavior patterns begins again with each new generation of each family. That process is Darwinian only by analogy.

So how are Sulloway's concepts Freudian rather than Darwinian? In two ways: first, in terms of behavior patterns that develop through intense early family emotional interactions; and second, through the generalization or projection or transference of these childhood behavior patterns onto people and situations outside the family. Sulloway argues that firstborns and laterborns, having found a particular behavioral style that helps them deal effectively with siblings and parents, then apply the same style to other interactions in new emotional and intellectual territory. Darwin didn't discuss such matters; Freud did.

When Freud discussed them, he emphasized the child's interaction with parents rather than with siblings. But he didn't leave siblings entirely out of the picture; he noted sibling rivalry in theory, in myth, and in individual case histories. Perhaps Freud *should* have elevated sibling rivalry over Oedipal conflicts, since he himself was more concerned with protecting his close maternal relationship from the inroads of his younger siblings than from the competition of his middle-aged father. Sulloway, on the other hand, acknowledges that a major moderating influence on birth order effects is conflict with a parent—he doesn't stipulate which one, but chances are pretty good in our culture that it will be the same-sexed parent. So he and Freud may be closer, in terms of the actual family patterns most important to their subjects' adult behavior, than the writings of either one acknowledge.

Of what importance is it that the processes Sulloway describes are more Freudian than Darwinian? For one thing, close attention to internal family dynamics rather than to a biological-evolutionary concept of overall selection pressure suggests the likelihood of more complex behavioral and emotional patterns than Sulloway has yet explored. He usually discusses the child's relationship with the parents

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as though the parents are a single unit whose approval and resources the child seeks with a single strategy. But children do distinguish between mother and father, and they typically direct different strategies toward each. For example, Freud's competition with his siblings was mainly for his *mother's* love. Toward his father Freud largely felt shame. Shamed by him or ashamed of him on various occasions, Freud responded by seeking to go beyond his father, to triumph over him, even though Freud also felt guilty about wanting to do so. Freud simplified this set of feelings toward mother and father into the standard Oedipal dynamic, just as Sulloway tends to reduce his data to a standard sibling-conflict dynamic. Sulloway may well be correct that sibling conflict is often more important when it comes to political or scientific "rebellions." But the large number of possible family dynamic patterns besides these two is obscured by a focus on either or both, and some of the rest may be more significant in other areas of adult endeavor. Speaking of those "other areas," I'd hazard a guess that even the orthodox Oedipus conflict might turn out to be more important than sibling rivalry among male creative writers (the subject population in which Freud first noted the Oedipus conflict). While I and other researchers continue to explore such propositions psychobiographically, I'll look forward to seeing Sulloway test them statistically.

Sulloway's own writing style is clear and lively, and he often uses humor as well as example to maintain reader interest without pandering to a "popular" audience. But I'd like to register one complaint about his choice of language: his unnecessary demonization of firstborns. Sometimes this is part of his humor, as in his observation concerning the lesser effect of parent-child conflict on laterborns: "Who needs to have Attila the Hun for a father, or the Wicked Witch of the West for a mother, if you already have a domineering older sibling?" (121-2). But as in these instances, it often reads as a hostile overinterpretation of his data:

> Firstborns find it particularly hard to admit their mistakes. (161)
>
> Relative to their younger brothers, firstborn males seem to be budding "terrorists." . . . During radical revolutions, firstborn predilections for tough-minded policies can result in large-scale terrorism. (285)
>
> Excessive violence and a penchant for cruelty are firstborn traits. (293)
>
> For every later-born dissenter who suffered death in an effort to challenge despotism, there were usually firstborn rulers and magistrates who signed the death warrants. (361)

At the same time, laterborns are often idealized:

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> Laterborn political leaders, who seem to be more flexible than firstborns, have also done a better job of keeping their countries out of war. (298)
>
> With the birth of modern society, numerous local cultures have owed their liberating social values, and their respect for individualism, to Reformation laterborns who successfully rebelled. (283)
>
> The fruition of the Scientific Revolution is the greatest of the laterborn triumphs I have discussed in this book. By winning this battle over the rules of knowledge, younger siblings successfully transformed this creative domain of human inquiry into a process of perpetual rebellion. (367)

Well, maybe laterborns are most often the good guys of history, and firstborns are the bad guys. But it's probably more productive to consider how the complementary qualities of firstborns and laterborns have each contributed in their own ways to the disasters and triumphs of human history, rather than describing one group in the worst terms possible and the other in the best. Sulloway does acknowledge certain positive contributions by firstborns, but he reports them grudgingly: "The scientific originality of firstborns, which is indisputable, lies in clever puzzle solving, pushing established theories into new but socially acceptable territories. Firstborn Jonas Salk . . . and most Nobel Prize winners provide good examples" (356-7).

Sulloway probably has a statistical analysis already in progress, or at least an informal scatter-plot, that tabulates positive and negative reviews of his book as a function of the reviewers' birth order. I proudly acknowledge being a firstborn, but according to the book's Appendix 11, "How to Test Your Own Propensity to Rebel," I am also a 100% honorary laterborn. Maybe that's why, in spite of the book's general animus toward firstborns, I feel comfortable with the following conclusions and recommendations.

This book is fun. This book is useful. This book is stimulating. Read it. Study it. Give it as a gift to your younger siblings and your laterborn offspring.

*Alan C. Elms*

Mary Rhiel and David Suchoff, eds. *The Seductions of Biography*. New York: Routledge, 1996. 219 pp. $16.95, ISBN 0-4159-1090-0.

William S. McFeely's rhetorical question in the Preface to this collection, "Why biography?," begs its opposite: Why not biography? Why has so little of the burgeoning postmodernist criticism been devoted to biography? Why, the editors Mary Rhiel and David Suchoff ask, when biographies are published and relished as never before, and

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when the lives of women and minorities are being written and interpreted in increasing numbers, should "biography as a genre . . . suffer from a lack of legitimacy"? (1). There are a variety of reasons, some directly or obliquely addressed by the compelling essays in this collection. Both New Criticism and poststructuralism strove to put the author and biographical criticism off limits, and succeeding waves of historical and ideological approaches to literary study have demoted formalist studies of narrative genres. Two other reasons for professional misgivings about biography pertain more closely to the kinds of cultural studies represented in Mary Rhiel's and David Suchoff's collection: the interrelated preferences for the personal and for the present. Postmodernist criticism craves intimacy and immediacy, in however skeptical a fashion; for this, the interventions of the biographer, and the complex histories of biographical narrative, would only get in the way. Most current critical discussion of life-narrative features recent autobiography as a form that gives birth to unrecognized, inchoate selves abreach the rigid discourses of the past. Biography brings in the midwife, a complicated genealogy, and other ethical and historical interference.

Numerous essay collections on life-narrative have appeared in recent decades, though most are exclusively or primarily concerned with autobiography. *The Seductions of Biography* is a rarity not for its multiculturalism, its recognition of genders and sexualities, or its conjunction of poststructuralist theory with late-humanist recognition of "real people," but for its focus on biography rather than autobiography.[1] Yet the contributors' nonformalist preoccupations seem to mute the significance of this unusual focus, as though yielding to the more common desire to read biography and autobiography on a continuum. McFeely asserts that no one will "wast[e] time trying to achieve the unattainable: a definitive statement of what biography, or its cousin, autobiography, is" (ix). Fair enough, and as I will note, this collection of essays appropriately blends biographical and autobiographical modes in its own pages. Yet I think the question of definition should not be dismissed if by asking it we might probe the prejudice against biography and the affinity for autobiography that pervade contemporary criticism. It is rather a matter of the seductions of autobiography.

Before I consider further the contemporary discomfort with biography per se, I should characterize *The Seductions of Biography* more fully. "The life story of this volume" (vii) might be sketched prosopographically: at the junction of the Andrew F. Mellon Foundation and the Center for Literary and Cultural Studies and the W.E.B. DuBois Institute at Harvard, a year of discussions and a conference induced a group of professors of history, literature, art history, writing, and women's and African-American studies to collaborate on a collection. According to the fragmentary narratives in the "Contributors" list as well as internal evidence, the twenty-two participants teach at

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major institutions along the East and West coasts of this country; there are two midwestern exceptions, one lone nonacademic, and several who publish primarily for nonacademic readers. To a Martian or a time-traveler, other group characteristics would be conspicuous: a high level of literacy in popular culture; a fascination with media spectacles of violence (the videotape of the Rodney King beating comes up twice [38-9, 206]); the assumption that sexual practice is one of the first things to find out about public personality (consider Marjorie Garber on the equivocal bisexualities of celebrities, or Maurice Isserman on Michael Harrington who, though straight, "was intrigued by the notion of the gay lifestyle" [80]). The group also shares an affinity for paradox, indeterminacy, and polysyllables—and yet a scholarly attachment to historical detail and a writerly wish to tell a good story.

The editors, building on the blueprint of the conference, have found an effective organization for this assembly of personalities, styles, and stories to tell: five parts or chapters, each briefly introduced (K. Anthony Appiah's and Marjorie Garber's introductions are some of the richest pages in the volume), each including three or four essays of approximately conference-paper length, some of which retain a "spoken" manner. The copyediting is distractingly poor, which unfortunately comes as no surprise for a volume in one of the Routledge series (Culture Work, general editor Marjorie Garber). The pieces interact well within the parts, and though their quality and salience to the whole varies, there is no piece that one would wish away.

In spite of the essays' shared immediate occasions (conference, collection), and the collection's ideological consensus (against the monologue of the European male), there is an unacknowledged diversity of scenes of narration. Some of the essays would be recognized as short biographies, testimonies to the essayist's research: for example, John D'Emilio on the gay civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, Maurice Isserman on Michael Harrington, Hayden Herrera on Frida Kahlo. Others dramatize the interaction of a series of presenters (interviewer/editor/biographer/critic) with a politically-celebrated autobiographical subject: for instance, Jean Fagan Yellin on Harriet Jacobs, Dorris Sommer on Elena Poniatowska's *testimonio* of a Mexican woman, Jesusa Palancares. Still other essays are apologia for the biographer who has been attacked for exposing the secrets of the dead: Blanche Wiesen Cook on Eleanor Roosevelt; Diane Wood Middlebrook on Anne Sexton and on Billy Tipton, a female jazz musician who passed as a man. Some essays, more scholarly than narrative in manner, analyze textual features of multiple lives, or speculate on interactions of genres, including fiction, film, or television, in historical contexts: Marita Sturken's "Personal Stories and National Meanings"; Sherley Anne Williams on her own auto/biographical novel; Marilyn L. Brownstein on Virginia Woolf's and Walter Benjamin's parallel "catastrophic encounters" with world war and the historicity of life-narratives.

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Yet in the range between direct biographical representation and theoretical inquiry, and in spite of critical distance, each of the essays more or less participates in the long tradition of secular hagiography, the collective biographical representation of worthy models. What else motivates the effort to memorialize lost traces, particularly of exemplary African-Americans, women, or homosexuals? The recuperation may be nevertheless sophisticated and resistant to "hagiographical treatises" (94), as in Michael Eric Dyson on Malcolm X; Richard J. Powell on the painter William H. Johnson; Jeffrey Louis Decker on the entrepreneur Madam C. J. Walker. Sources vanish or cancel each other, myths proliferate, the narrative of subjectivity deconstructs, difference bleeds into performativity, yet identification, desire, admiration, rivalry all resurface in the biographical relationships suggested here. For many of the contributors, biography was an all too personal compulsion: they were bitten by the bug to write a scholarly biography of a famous American cultural or political figure of this century (usually resembling the biographer in gender, sexuality, or other telling ways), and lived to tell the tale.

It is a gallery of mirrors, perhaps, as contributors and subjects mutually reflect. In practice as well as in theory, we seem incapable of sitting down to write the story of another without writing the story of ourselves. The collection includes first-person utterance throughout, often apologetically framed: "Let me indulge in a bit of autobiography" (McFeely x); "I am sorry to say that I want to write about myself" (Rose 133). The concession to the self often betrays a sense that the speaker has been violated either by her/his subject or by the audience of the written life. This is characteristic of many essays on biography, from collections on women's lives to mainstream volumes that exhibit the art or craft of biography: criticism of biography becomes life-narrative of the biographer/critic.[2] Phyllis Rose confesses to a guilty appetite for the "psychic food" of another's life, and recounts having been paralyzed by the mixture of identification and exploitation in her biography of Josephine Baker (132-5). Like the memoirs of children of famous people, biographers' testimonials often resemble dual elegies, laments of possession and loss.

If criticism of biography blends with autobiography, why would I press the distinction between the two modes? Because when biographers wax self-revelatory, I read it as a symptom of an ethical discomfort that is not only interesting, in the way of all confessions, but is also a clue to the relative neglect of biography in favor of autobiography these days. It seems as though autobiography were assumed to be more pure or less dangerous (if not textually transparent): a simple exchange between me, my shadow, and my reader, rather than a transaction among a subject (probably dead), the biographer (probably on the take or make), and the audience (probably looking for role models or skeletons). Many also imply that biography partakes of old-fashioned hero-worship and bourgeois self-help,

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whereas autobiography is as ironic and patched as the latest youth culture.

Take for example the final essay in *The Seductions of Biography*, Clark Blaise's "Your Nearest Exit May Be Behind You: Autobiography and the Post-Modernist Moment." Blaise does attempt a definition of autobiography (differentiated from memoir) as "the opposite of biography," and as a distinctly postmodern and democratic form. Not only is autobiography according to Blaise an instrument for the artist of decentered subjectivity, it also completely sidesteps the nagging questions of biography: "We have seen repeatedly in this conference that biography's identification with achievement causes the biographer to struggle with questions of tact, delicacy, ethics. These are questions which the autobiographer cannot for even a moment consider" (201). This assertion is remarkable less for its deliberate misconstruction of autobiography than for providing a key to what is tacitly being avoided when so many critics turn their backs on the history and the rhetorical and political engagements of biography as a distinct form of life-narrative.

I don't mean to fall into the mode of praise or blame that is so difficult to avoid in biography. One of the attractions of this collection is its air of celebrating impurity in an intermixture of genres and subject positions. There is a lot to be said for a promiscuous approach to the interactions of participants in life-narrative: all are implicated, but none are unduly censured or exempted. I am merely trying to press further the questions that these essays themselves frequently raise, questions that I call ethical, concerning the social and discursive interaction among author, textual subject, and audience. The choice of the term "seductions" for the volume's title is telling; it implies consent, whereas when biographies raise hackles they tend to provoke the vocabulary of rape, theft, appropriation.[3] Some of the power and violence involved does surface in these essays, as in the recurring pun, "to take a life"; Barbara Johnson acknowledges, "to interpret is to treat as dead, perhaps even to kill" (120-21). There is no innocent narrative; what is curious is the vestigial belief in the comparative innocence of autobiography, that it is better to take one's own life than to have it taken from you. Blaise and others in the volume seem relieved when a narrator is found to speak authentically for a self rather than for an observer of that self. I would relate this ethical bias against the mediation of biography to the historical bias toward the contemporary.

The historical horizon of this collection, as of others I cite, is narrow, in the interest of a social horizon ever more broad.[4] "Remember when all big biographies were of famous, scrupulously straight white men?" asks Blanche Wiesen Cook (69). This would have to be a false memory, however, unless "big" were tautologically defined as "masculine eminence." Centuries of biographies of women, ethnic and religious minorities, workers, the unfamous—some of which were

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full-length as well as short—should challenge the postmodernist construction of a uniformly Carlylean past. Critics often exaggerate the traditional bias of biography toward the normative masculine subject for the sake of an intervention on behalf of new narratives of the obscure. Hence "the absence of Augustine and Rousseau, of James Boswell and Dr. Johnson, or . . . Plutarch" (xi) in *Seductions*. But there is a price for the presentism of postmodernist studies of biography, and I don't refer to a slighting of great works. I mean the difficulty confronting contributors in a contradiction between their theoretical denial of conventional individualism and their continuing (liberal) desire for greater individual recognition.

The paradox of a postmodernist critique of biography shapes the collection, in articulate as well as submerged ways. Marjorie Garber's succinct question, "If there is no 'self,' how can there be biography or autobiography?" (175), resonates with Anthony Appiah's "commonplace . . . that postmodernity obliges us to live 'after the subject'" (9). Yet the essayists all consider it of utmost importance to gain recognition for the particular lives they study. Appiah subscribes to the commitment to trace "collective identities," the "intersection of personal and national histories" (10). As Appiah points out, "There were lives and selves before the subject—Augustine's, for example—and there are selves and lives after the subject" (11). Marjorie Garber adds "That biography—and, even more, autobiography—is a species of fiction-making is a truth so old that only a willed cultural amnesia can make it new" (175). There are signs of that wish to forget in this collection, just as there is residual mimeticism and even universalism. The essays "affirm the relevance of biography to our basic yet seductive need to tell the story of our selves, and thereby to construct the multiple cultures in which we live" (4). The collection, in other words, gathers essays that attempt to turn a very old habit, telling lives, to new cultural uses, and while they think hard about their own practices, they also want to get a rhetorical job done by any means of representation, including the most traditional. Perhaps even more disturbing to contemporary perspectives than the acts of appropriation committed by recent biographers are the seductions of didactic life-narratives of an earlier era. What do we gain by denying the complexity of earlier practice, that biography of past centuries also entertains split subjectivity and the fiction-making of all life-narrative? Why efface the didactic (rhetorical and ethical) function of biography for the collective construction of subjects, today as in the past?

When John D'Emilio declares that the neglected "Bayard Rustin should rank as a key figure in the history of twentieth-century American political activism," and traces an uneven career determined by Rustin's notoriety as a gay man in an age of homophobic panic (59-68), D'Emilio performs the function of the traditional biographical presenter, though the characteristics of the models have changed and he would deny that there is a single, perpetual gallery of representative

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men. The epistemological and ontological questions of biography "after the subject" remain inseparable from the ethical questions provoked by social exchange of personal stories. Who is telling the lives? Whose lives are telling? What of a life is told, and how and by whom is it taken? The contributors and editors have braved these and other irresolvable issues confronting anyone who asks, "Why not biography?" As I suggest, their collection stands out for its ability to resist the postmodern seductions of autobiography, and yet these evidently are irresistible. All the more reason to urge contemporary critics to acknowledge a longer, more complex history of biographical narrative, and to resist the allure of autobiography long enough to ponder why biography makes a difference for all our selves.

*Alison Booth*

NOTES

1. Among the more closely related collections are those by Bell and Yalom, and by Epstein. The collections of studies of autobiography from a feminist or multicultural perspective are simply too numerous to tally; see, for example, the Personal Narratives Group's *Interpreting Women's Lives*. Postmodernist or cultural-studies collections on autobiography include the recent works by Ashley, Gilmore, and Peters, and by Smith and Watson.
2. Many collections take the form of biographers' autobiographical testimony: see, for example, Meyers, Zinsser, Pachter, Mandell, Antler et al., Iles, and Chamberlain.
3. Barbara Johnson and Phyllis Rose both cite Janet Malcolm's famous analogy between the biographer and the burglar (120, 135). Often the controversies focus on feminist biographies of women writers which seem to add one more crime against the feminine victim. As Malcolm was responding to the Sylvia Plath uproar, so Diane Wood Middlebrook recalls the outrage about her own biography of Anne Sexton (*Seductions* 123-9). Blanche Wiesen Cook considers the objections to her biography of Eleanor Roosevelt as part of an "ongoing romance with the Victorian closet," a desire to keep our female ancestors "asexual spinsters" (73, 70).
4. *The Seductions of Biography* refers to narratives of the last century as well as this. There are of course contemporary collections with a broader historical scope, such as Domna C. Stanton's *The Female Autograph*, and studies of early-modern and eighteenth-century women's autobiography by Felicity Nussbaum, Patricia Spacks, and others.

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Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, eds. *Getting a Life: Everyday Uses of Autobiography*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996. 415 pp. $19.95, ISBN 0-8166-2490-9.

It is interesting to ponder the connections between autobiography and the literary canon, and to note the historical phases of their interaction. Initially, the two would hardly have been mentioned in tandem with one another: autobiographies were simply not a part of the trinity of the epic-lyric-dramatic world of literature. And when autobiographies became valid textual artifacts worthy of consideration, the bourgeois subjectivities whose formation they represented were only narrowly interpreted, mostly as the accounts of the lives of white/European bourgeois men. But times and interests change, and

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power becomes more diffused, and with the onset of social critical movements such as Marxism, feminism, and cultural studies—with the refocusing of the critical lens on other groups, that is—the autobiographies of those others also began to emerge and to become a part of the larger critical discussion that has continued to challenge the assumptions of the literary canon. Of course, nothing is simple, as this book constantly points out—for once postmodernism and its skepticism concerning the unified self launched a major, perhaps fatal attack on the still extant remnants of Enlightenment thinking, it appeared as if the autobiography, at least in its traditional form as the presentation of a Self, would perhaps retreat again into obscurity—outdated, clearly invalid, and needing to be discarded.

What Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson accomplish in their newest anthology is, however, a paradoxical response to such negativism, in such a differentiating way that one cannot say that they have either re-centered the autobiography (as in "The Autobiography") as a subject worth critical investigation, or that they, despite their postmodernist framework, have contributed to its demise. What they have done instead is to broaden the discussion of the form itself, expanding its meaning and enriching its implications for the ways in which it influences our everyday lives. The result is a quite remarkable collection of essays treating a great variety of autobiographical possibilities in coherent, engaging, and immensely interesting fashion. The sheer wealth of the approaches and ideas evident in their collection is exciting, but at the same time, one of the great strengths of the book is its consistency: every piece appears to have been carefully and thoughtfully edited to conform both in style and language to the whole. It is thus a book that I was able to read through without feeling disrupted as I moved from chapter to chapter, making my own connections along the way, gathering specific information but also getting a wonderful sense of the entirety that is presented. For this is not just a book about autobiographies and their use in everyday life. It is also about larger issues of identity formation and its various processes, and in that way, it challenges, however obliquely, those who scoff at the possibility that such processes take place all the time, are indeed a vital part of our existence.

The consistency that the volume presents does not, however, produce a boring sameness. The range of topics is remarkable: everything from the medical histories we all accumulate over time, to the professional histories represented by the academic Vita; from the performance of the life of a man afflicted with multiple sclerosis, to the performances of guests and experts on talk shows; from the oral accounts of recovering alcoholics, to those of the survivors of incest. In most cases, the articles also manage to incorporate their theoretical insights felicitously, yet given the frequent presence of Foucault, Lejeune, and de Certeau, indicate the many useful ties to postmodernist thought: to what the editors describe in their fine

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introduction as the context of their world, with its considerable skepticism of the rational, humanist self. That is, at the same time that they repeatedly point out the importance of autobiographical forms, they also indicate their considerable variety, their myriad applications, their clarifying, conforming, but also resistant roles in our lives. The volume is also immensely personal: the editors and authors of these pieces are rarely absent, even if their presence is occasionally (and rightly) problematized. The volume ends, in fact, with a brief and intriguing account by Julia Watson, whose concerns with identity and autobiography in daily life were made all the more immediate when her wallet was stolen while the book was in its last stages of preparation: "How do they know who I am till they see what my cards say?" (394).

As the introduction to this book states, the selection is meant to "trace the inscriptions and the practice of autobiographical subjectivity in everyday situations in postmodern American life" (17). The focus is thus American, the time the 1990s, but within those national and chronological categories the variety is notable. The editors announce their intention, in fact, of contributing to so-called "'backyard ethnography,' the focus of which is on the everyday practices of autobiographical narrating in America rather than the 'high culture' of published, 'artful' autobiography" (17). Beginning with what nowadays seems increasingly to be at the beginning of most current scholarly work—namely the body—the book continues through the larger subcategories of the public subjectivities revealed through the media; the move from private to public represented by the speaking out of the unspeakable—personal sexual histories, survivor discourse, and the paradoxical relationship between the "self" and the autistic; the relationship between family and individual represented by the oral history of an "ordinary" woman, transracial adoptions, and the ostensible objectivity of genealogical investigations; and the presentation of identity in the postmodern institutions of the recovery group, the university, and the legal system. There is thus a constant oscillation between public and private, that which we need to say and represent when we present ourselves, but also the limitations and barriers and tensions and resistances that exist when the private and the public clash. The editors describe the book as a "new inquiry into autobiography," and I am inclined to agree with them: so much of what is reported upon and described here is by its everyday nature familiar, yet the happy mix of consistent form and diverse content, and the great variety of approaches and topics signal the innovation that the book offers.

Even if I try to view the volume as a whole in terms of its contribution to the study of autobiographies, of personal narratives, but also of issues concerning identity formation in current-day America, I nevertheless want to make specific reference to individual chapters in order to point out some of the interesting and vital points

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that are offered. In this respect, "Taking It to a Limit One More Time: Autobiography and Autism," Sidonie Smith's discussion of the conflicts and paradoxes that arise when the apparently self-less autistic individual composes an autobiography, is useful for the volume as a whole, with its attempt to show both the diversity of autobiographical practices as well as the more encompassing issue of identity formation—the limits and the possibilities of autobiography, in other words, but also another way to question the validity of the unified-self concept by illustrating the variable of context in the construction of a self. Here, the particular clash between the obvious need to "verbalize" a self and the frequent silence that is characteristic of some forms of autism reveals some of the complexities of the assumptions surrounding autobiographies and their construction. The paradox of seeing an autistic individual as an autobiographical subject thus throws the entire project into confusion. As does the nonspeaking subject presented in William Chaloupka's "(For)getting a Life: Testimony, Identity, and Power," with its concern with issues of identity and power politics and its Foucauldian analysis of the Oregon car thief who threw the legal system into a quandary—indeed, into inaction—by refusing to provide even his name.

In contrast to these extremes of silence and resistance, there is the utter talkiness considered in Janice Peck's fine piece, "The Mediated Talking Cure: Therapeutic Framing of Autobiography in TV Talk Shows," with its focus on the ways in which television talk shows regulate and manage the social conflicts that their self-describing participants present. In one of the few instances when the volume takes explicit account of the category of class, Peck's analysis of the autobiographical danger of emphasizing the individual over the structural offers both an acknowledgment of the lack of class discussion in the United States, as well as some differentiating skepticism about the ways in which psychotherapy seems consistently to blame the individual and not the system. Complementing this essay are "Twelve-Step Teleology: Narratives of Recovery/Recovery as Narrative," Robyn R. Warhol's and Helena Michie's account of the "master narrative" of the AA oral autobiography, another good analysis of the impossibility of the unified self, and "Survivor Discourse: Transgression or Recuperation," Linda Alcoff's and Laura Gray-Rosendale's stiffly written but revealing discussion of "two claims—speech as an important object of conflict and disclosures as increasing domination" within the oral discourse of incest survivors (199).

The complexities of autobiographical presentation are made apparent in H-Dirksen L. Bauman's "'Voicing' Deaf Identity: Through the 'I's' and Ears of an Other," that discusses the ASL interpreters of deaf people who are telling their stories in any number of practical contexts. Here there is an interesting interaction of biography and autobiography, since the self-representation of the deaf individual is presented by another in what amounts to a "first-person biography,"

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according to Bauman. At the same time, I missed contextualization here: interpreters, after all, are present in other circumstances, with languages aside from ASL, and I would have appreciated a broader investigation of interpretation in general in its often problematic connections to the oral autobiography. I had a similar reaction to Martin A. Danahay's "Professional Subjects: Prepackaging the Academic C.V.," which seems to me only to scratch the surface of how C.V.s serve as representative of the corporate university, thereby contributing to the institution's power. The very topic of academic Vitae cries out for an extended discussion of class, which is scantily presented here, not to mention gender, which seems only tacked on: thus Danahay's criticism of the chronological aspects of the Vita as emphasizing an ideal academic life course never mentions the particular disadvantage of such a chronological account for women, who often do not fit the standard academic career pattern. The same sense of missed opportunities was apparent for me in Susan Ostrow Weisser's thoughtful piece, "'What Kind of Life Have I Got?' Gender in the Life Story of an 'Ordinary' Woman," which entices me with its implications of the role of the interpreter/critic in the analysis of such a life story. But here too, it is not only gender—and that is amply discussed—that needs to be considered, but also specificities of both class and nationality, which are mostly missing. And Philip Baruth's "Consensual Autobiography: Narrating 'Personal Sexual History' from Boswell's *London Journal* to AIDS Pamphlet Literature," while performing some wonderful leaps between eighteenth-century England and the world of AIDS in America today, seems to me, in its emphasis on the obviously pressing need for truth in autobiographical narratives between potential sexual partners, to avoid discussing how Boswell and his potential bed partner Louisa, for example, deliberately make things up. The role of fantasy, exaggeration, and decorum is a mighty one in a self-narrative, yet that is largely ignored here.

For a diverse collection such as this one, there is remarkably little theoretical (or other) obfuscation. Some pieces stand out as models of clear and articulate analysis: Kay K. Cook's "Medical Identity: My DNA/Myself," for example, with its musings on how our medical autobiography, represented in such varied forms as the medical history and the report of our DNA structure, truly overwhelms how we perceive ourselves. This piece is also exemplary for the book itself, with its specificities as well as its generalities: gender, for example, as a vital factor in all such medical autobiographies. The same clarity is also notably present in Julia Watson's "Ordering the Family: Genealogy as Autobiographical Pedigree," with its intriguing comparison of genealogy and autobiography: pointing out, in other words, what it is that autobiography is *not*, namely any claim at all to objectivity. Sandra Patton's "Race/Identity/Culture/Kin: Constructions of African American Identity in Transracial Adoption," aside from being one of only two contributions in the volume that explicitly focus on

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the category of race, presents a useful discussion of the debates between those who challenge transracial adoption (specifically the National Association of Black Social Workers) and the more amorphous group encouraging such, and also offers useful contextualization for such debates that, after all, have to do with how identity becomes socially constructed.

Other contributions discuss the pornographic or pathological self-presentations evident in performance pieces by artists and writers focusing on disease (Linda S. Kauffman's "Bad Girls and Sick Boys: Inside the Body in Fiction, Film, and Performance Art"); a somewhat bewildering account of a joint effort to write a biography of Arnold Schwarzenegger that ultimately became autobiographically entangled (Louise Krasniewicz's and Michael Blitz's "Morphing Identities: Arnold Schwarzenegger—Write Us"); a useful expansion of the everyday autobiography in its investigation of personal want ads (Traci Caroll's "Want Ads: Reading the Personals"); and a welcome discussion of the difference between the interpreter/writer and the teenage mothers involved in the making of a video (Salome Chasnoff's "Performing Teen Motherhood on Video: Autoethnography as Counterdiscourse"). This last essay nevertheless is perhaps the only piece in the volume to suffer from an excess of jargon that ends up ironically clashing with the far more interesting everyday aspects of the description (for an example of how jargon as an authorizing presence jars here, see especially 129-30, when Judith Butler is invoked in one of her muddied passages).

This is a terrific book. Smith and Watson have once again presented us with an intriguing and valuable addition to the ongoing critical discussions of autobiography as form. Their volume is informative, lucid, and accessible, not to mention playful and idiosyncratic in ways that seem appropriate to the postmodern world in which they and we live. I hope that their clearly productive collaboration will continue.

*Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres*

Paul E. Szarmach, ed. *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996. 390 pp. $24.95; ISBN 0-7914-2716-1.

Hagiography is a special form of biography with its own attendant issues and problems. Primarily a medieval European genre, these lives of saints are an especially challenging area of literary and historical study in Anglo-Saxon society because of the complexities of manuscripts in relationship to their Latin sources. *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts* provides an excellent introduction to their study for a scholar unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon

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hagiography, but rapidly moves into the deep waters of the technical apparatus necessary for such a study—manuscript provenance, paleographic considerations, and linguistic changes requiring extensive source analysis. Editor Paul Szarmach, well known for his path-breaking work in the study of Old English homilies, has assembled a group of essays from an impressive list of specialists in the Anglo-Saxon field. Their combined years of experience in the study of the written culture of the Anglo-Saxons, and the detailed analyses of these texts and contexts, make this an indispensable work for specialists, if a bit daunting for those new to, or unfamiliar with, the complexities of Anglo-Saxon studies.

The chief contribution of this volume to Old English literary studies is the fulfillment of its stated aim: to redirect Anglo-Saxonists' interests toward the much neglected field of prose (ix). Anglo-Saxon poetry, with *Beowulf* as the focal point of contention, has reigned preeminent in literary studies, with prose works left to historians or others not as concerned with aesthetic values. As a consequence, the large collections of homilies, letters, and stories have languished on the shelf until fairly recently. This volume is the third in a series produced by SUNY that focuses on various genres of Old English prose (the first on homilies, the second on earlier Old English). This new attention to prose writing, combined with the ongoing work of the *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (SASLC) project, has had an unusual enlivening effect on our view of such texts. Usually, studies of early medieval prose have noted the high level of copying and the consequent lack of "originality" in such texts—one reason for their neglect. However, the more scholars identify the sources of copying and begin to understand the nature of this process, paradoxically the more they have argued for active agency on the part of the Anglo-Saxon authors who composed these texts. We are at an exciting place now where translation and copying are seen as revealing avenues into the mentality of early medieval authors and readers. The bilingual nature of these textual traditions (Latin and Anglo-Saxon) reveals the vernacularization of Christian ideas; the self-conscious mixture of different textual traditions in these "copied" texts reveals active, interpretive minds.

From the perspective of this journal and its readers, *Holy Men and Holy Women* makes accessible an untapped store of biographical narrative, albeit with its own arcane rules. The first essay is particularly adept at introducing the genre to neophytes. E. Gordon Whatley begins his introductory essay with a succinct definition of hagiography as a form of biography that exists in a complex web of religious and cultural phenomena: "Hagiography is narrative, but it is framed by lists, including calendars of saints' feast days, martyrologies, litanies, lists of relics and miracles, and even lists of manors and fields 'owned' by the saints for the ecclesiasts under their patronage" (3). He then plunges into lists of his own, cataloging the

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known prose saints' lives and the resources one would need to study them. As a research guide, it is a student's delight; and while it makes clear the heavy amount of language and source expertise required to embark on a study of Old English saints' lives, it also opens the door to new dissertations by highlighting the gaps in our knowledge. Much work remains to be done, but the tools are nicely laid out in this and subsequent essays.

The remainder of the essays are gathered into two parts, the first set addressing the contexts into which these stories fit, and the second examining particular narratives and their construction. Six of the fifteen articles concern themselves with the most prominent and influential author of the genre, Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham (ca. 955–ca. 1010). The essays vary in their approach, from surveying the historical context to engaging in postmodern literary analysis. All of them contain a great deal of technical information not designed for easy reading by those unfamiliar with medieval languages, literature, or history. However, the majority of essays in both parts transcend the narrow field of Anglo-Saxon studies to offer broader reflections on the genre relevant to those interested in the construction of biographical narrative.

Two of the contributions in Part One and three in Part Two are necessarily devoted to the more technical side of Anglo-Saxon prose scholarship, here reviewed more briefly than they deserve before I turn to the interpretive essays. In Michael Lapidge's article "Ælfric's *Sanctorale*," Ælfric emerges as somewhat eccentric and atypical in the way he constructs his list of saints, but the more we study his choices, the more we understand his rationale and motives. Lapidge's appendices, and the information in his and Peter Jackson's next essay, "The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary," provide essential information on source analysis for the studies found in this volume. D. G. Scragg's survey of "The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context," followed by an "Appendix: The Three Anonymous Lives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303," compiled by Scragg and Elaine Treharne, concludes that the existence of vernacular saints' lives before 1000 means that Ælfric was transmuting an existing genre. Joyce Hill's modestly titled essay, "The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Preliminary Survey," admirably untangles the complicated transmission of Ælfric's texts or parts of texts, producing tables charting the various editions and versions (241, 246-7). Hill also leaves the door open for further work on how stories and ideas are reused in new contexts by noting two different patterns of copying between homiletic fragments and the narrative saints' lives, and by noting the related effect of audience, monastic or secular, on this difference. As these essays demonstrate, the study of any Anglo-Saxon text is first and foremost a study of physical manuscripts, their provenance, scribal hand, language, transmission, sources, and relations—tedious but absolutely necessary before any conclusions about interpretive choices can be offered. What is extraordinary about

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this volume is that these scholars are in a position to begin offering their considered judgment on these authorial choices, and also are able to provide scholars with the tools to pursue the task further—taken up by some of the other authors in the volume.

In Part One, five of the essays look at various aspects of the historical context that illumine the process of writing saints' lives. Thomas D. Hill's essay, "*Imago Dei*: Genre, Symbolism, and Anglo-Saxon Hagiography," gives excellent definitions of literary terminology and offers a new and very apt phrase to describe hagiography. After showing hagiography's relationships to, and differences from, historical writing, liturgy, romance, iconography, and typology, he suggests "*emblematic narrative* as a mode of narrative in which inner experience, either psychological or spiritual, is reflected by the external events of the narrative" (45). By inventing a new phrase and explicating the worldview of authors and readers, he restores the coherence of these narratives, so often seen as wildly irrational collections of ahistorical miracles devoid of literary merit (43). Carol Neuman de Vegvar analyzes the prominence of "Anglo-Saxon Royal Women Monastics." While the information is not directly related to hagiography, she uses nicely detailed examples to provide an excellent thumbnail sketch of the material context, complete with black and white photographs of some of these material remains. Following the basic premise of the volume—that texts emerge from contexts—she develops a "contextual methodology" (79-81) that uses archaeology, architecture, and written sources to explore the monastic settings in which saints' lives evolved (although it would have been nice to have this excellent methodology more fully explicated at the beginning of the essay rather than at the end). Given the paucity of evidence for the early medieval period and the difficulty of studying it, this approach is a welcome bridge between the oft-divided disciplines of literature, history, and archaeology.

The political, social, and religious contexts are studied in David Rollason's "Hagiography and Politics in Early Northumbria," Mary Clayton's "Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England," and Barbara Abou-El-Haj's "Saint Cuthbert: The Post-Conquest Appropriation of an Anglo-Saxon Cult." Rollason's article gives a brief and illuminating survey of the political conditions affecting the composition of early saints' lives. Clayton's essay is perhaps the most relevant for those interested in the shaping of narrative. She outlines different theories of Christian lives and the models used in the making of a new saint's life, noting the shift from a purely ascetic eremitic life (an Irish model) to that of a teacher with a balanced private and public life (found in Bede's and Ælfric's writings). Abou-El-Haj's essay is more concerned with reception and the reconfiguring of a story at certain "critical historical junctures" (177); she focuses on the "strategic reception and appropriation" of the cult of Saint Cuthbert by the Normans after the Conquest, in a way that might interest

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ethnographers and others who study cultural identity and cross-cultural interaction.

The five essays in Part Two that focus on the prose narratives themselves and their construction offer literary and historical analyses of specific texts and collections, four of them Ælfrician. In focusing on the shaping of saints' lives, these essays connect well with Thomas Hill's essay in Part One and the notion of "emblematic narrative." M. R. Godden explores six saints in "Experiments in Genre: The Saints' Lives in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*." Godden touches on the issue raised by Joyce Hill: what is the relationship between saints' lives aimed at a monastic audience and those to be preached to a lay audience? Devoid of their liturgical context and therefore free of a particular time/place for reading, these lives show Ælfric attempting to create a new genre addressed to a secular audience, one in which he tempers the miraculous narratives with appropriate doses of exegesis (263). Godden's analysis of the relationship between narrative and homiletic *sententia* elaborates on the theme of the construction and reconstruction of meaning in narrative lives. On a narrower, more technical side, Frederick M. Biggs's "Ælfric as Historian: His Use of Alcuin's *Laudationes* and Sulpicius's *Dialogues* in His Two Lives of Martin," analyzes the particular ways that Ælfric used his sources, reaching a similar conclusion to other essayists, that Ælfric had a strong notion about what was appropriate in a sermon, in this case, historicity—a problematic constraint in hagiography due to the symbolic aspect of narrative features in these stories. The level of discrimination evident in Ælfric's choices demonstrates further the general thesis of this volume that copying was an active and thoughtful process. Similarly, Hugh Magennis in "Ælfric and the Legend of the Seven Sleepers" details Ælfric's "careful tailoring of his inherited material to his underlying doctrinal and hagiographical ends," such that he transforms "a legend rich in incident and human interest into a serene revelation of Christian mystery" (317). The human interest is lost in Ælfric's retelling, in favor of an increasingly abstract emblematic narrative consistent with Ælfric's doctrinal aims.

The last two essays, by Ruth Waterhouse and by editor Paul Szarmach, pursue postmodern literary analysis, with Szarmach's results much more successful and readable. Waterhouse's "Discourse and Hypersignification in Two of Ælfric's Saints' Lives" makes the salient (albeit obvious) point that modern readings of medieval saints' lives can lead to distortion unless the reader is aware of the medieval audience's perspective and worldview. Her comparison of a medieval reader and a modern reader is instructive, and might be useful for students, except that they probably would be unable to penetrate the dense jargon of "hypersignification" with its "encoder/encoding" and "decoder/decoding." This reviewer failed to see why "larger meaning," "writer/writing," and "reader/reading" could not function just as well. Setting aside, however, the jargon and fruitless comparisons

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to obviously wrong modern readings, Waterhouse does accomplish a cogent analysis of the theme of cleansing and bathing in the life of Æthelthryth, concluding that "attention to the microcontext of the discourse thus helps to balance and qualify a narrowly feminist reading that might see Æthelthryth as merely being pejorated [*sic*] by the presuppositions encoded in the text" (342). Szarmach wraps up the volume with an intriguing analysis of "St. Euphrosyne: Holy Transvestite," an anonymous life of a female saint who dresses as a man to pass as a monk for the rest of her life. Szarmach reads the story for its cultural meaning as well as its literary style, particularly focusing on the themes of sexuality and wealth represented in this father-daughter story. As a study in gender representation in narrative lives, this essay is provocative and relevant to cultural studies beyond hagiography.

Overall, then, this volume makes an excellent contribution to both Anglo-Saxon studies and biography, intersecting at the point of interest in the historical and literary analysis of narrative lives of saints. These dual interests contribute to some audience confusion: parts of the introductory essays are geared to those unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon or hagiography, but the level of technical detail may quickly overwhelm such readers. One example of this problem is the inconsistent placement of translations from the Anglo-Saxon—sometimes in the body of the text and sometimes in the endnotes, even within one essay—making it unclear as to whether readers are supposed to be literate in Anglo-Saxon or not. Nor is this volume meant to be taken as definitive in the field of Anglo-Saxon prose saints' lives, since many of the expert authors caution that much technical work remains to be done, and the relationships among texts (particularly the Cotton Corpus Legendary so central to source analysis) remain problematic. Nonetheless, this volume is a giant leap forward in interpretive strategy because it clearly and forcefully condemns the "scissors and paste" view of so-called copying, and grants original creativity to the early medieval authors who constructed these texts. By placing these narratives in their appropriate historical and literary contexts and establishing the medieval authors' self-conscious use of sources, these scholars have elevated these biographies and the lives they chronicle to a new level of meaning, contributing to our understanding of the way medieval Christians shaped the lives of those they sanctified and memorialized in their writings.

*Karen Louise Jolly*

Toby W. Clyman and Judith Vowles, eds. *Russia Through Women's Eyes: Autobiographies from Tsarist Russia*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996. 408 pp. $35.00, ISBN 0-300-6753-4.

Although personal writing by women has been attracting growing critical attention, nineteenth-century autobiographies by Russian

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women have remained practically unknown to general Western readers as well as to professional Slavists. They certainly have never been the subject of a major historical study. This book, an anthology of eleven previously untranslated texts, is therefore an important and timely first step toward securing a more prominent place for Russian women's autobiographical writing in a broader social-historical context.

The substantial (46 pages) and highly informative introduction explains the editors' ideological approach to women's writing and presents a survey of nineteenth-century Russian autobiography. Clyman and Vowles describe their approach as "broadly feminist" in the sense that "the recovery of women's texts and an insistence on the significant role that gender and sexual difference play in writing have traditionally been feminist literary projects" (5). Their approach could also be called "feminist" because it assigns a significant role to sex and gender in writing. Like Sidonie Smith, whose *Poetics of Women's Autobiography* they quote, Clyman and Vowles believe that "any discussion of woman's autobiography must situate her self-representational project in its cultural embeddedness. Most particularly, it must remain attentive to prevailing ideologies of women's sexuality and textual possibilities."

Apart from these general feminist leanings, Clyman and Vowles are not ideologically doctrinaire and avoid the traps of partisan ideological criticism. They neither insist on the separation of the "literary" from the "political," nor do they pursue the familiar feminist power talk. Ideological and literary approaches are well balanced throughout the introduction. In articulating the problems women writers faced in the nineteenth century, Clyman and Vowles never take women's writing out of the broad literary-historical context. Instead they emphasize the cultural and social peculiarities characteristic of most writing at the time. For example, the view that the writer was a "moral spokesperson," whose writing evoked a sense of social responsibility, was common to practically all Russian writers regardless of their sex. Writing was expected to be "ethical" and to provide practical guidance to or moral insight into real life. The majority of autobiographies in this book do in fact abound in ethical judgments and concerns.

The introduction serves as an essay on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russian autobiography. Clyman and Vowles touch on the origins of Russian autobiography as a private genre in the mid-eighteenth century and discuss how, with the development of publishing and under broad Western influence, autobiography enters the literary scene in the mid-1850s. Consistent with the orientation of their anthology, Clyman and Vowles focus on women's paths toward establishing themselves as autobiographers. From the mid-1850s until the October revolution of 1917, women's autobiographical writing, as well as women's writing in general, flourished. It illuminated the

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"Woman Question," the "cluster of questions and debates about woman's nature, her education and role in Russian society" (26).

The introduction, moreover, addresses structural peculiarities of Russian autobiographies and shows how they were greatly influenced by Sergei Aksakov's popular trilogy *The Bagrov Family Chronicle* (1856-1858). Clyman and Vowles demonstrate that most nineteenth-century autobiographies fall into one of three models based on Aksakov's trilogy: family histories, childhood accounts, and school autobiographies—all of which are represented in the anthology.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, women began to move from private family life into the public world. Medicine and education were two professional spheres relatively open to women, and the records of these new work experiences formed a new type of autobiography, which Clyman and Vowles call "work reminiscences." The autobiographical genre was also enriched by women of common origin, who—in the suffocating climate of their social environment—struggled to acquire education and professional status either for themselves or for their children. Their autobiographies, according to Clyman and Vowles, form a group of their own. Finally, the editors discuss how women continued breaking social taboos on their road to emancipation and how they adopted and followed progressive literary ideas and ideals. Clyman and Vowles single out two women's autobiographical models at that time: one inspired by Nikolai Chernyshevsky's radical political novel, *What Is to Be Done?* (1863), which encouraged women to be politically and socially active, and the other, based on "self-fulfillment and individualism rather than self-sacrifice and service to others" (43). "Bygone Days," by Emiliia Pimenova (1855-1935), exemplifies the former model, whereas the autobiography of Anastasiia Verbitskaia (1861-1928) represents the latter.

Clyman and Vowles succeed in the analysis of both the ideological and aesthetic dimensions of the texts in their anthology. For them, the autobiographer's self is both a historical "presence that exists in reality" and a fiction created by the autobiographer in the process of writing her life story (8). This theoretical position enables Clyman and Vowles to adopt Estelle Jelinek's definition of autobiography as a work that "each autobiographer writes with the intention of its being her life-story [or some portion of it], whatever form, content or style it takes" (9). Consequently, Clyman and Vowles exclude letters, diaries, and travel notes from their anthology.

Despite the excellent introduction, the main reason for reading *Russia Through Women's Eyes* is, of course, the autobiographies themselves. Through women's voices in the anthology, nineteenth-century Russian history becomes animated and personalized, and reflective of the incredible complexity of women's position in society.

The selection of autobiographical texts for the present volume is not guided by "aesthetic" considerations. When we read the texts, we realize how varied the literary abilities of their authors were. Some

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of the autobiographies are written by experienced writers, whereas others appear unskilled. What is important to the editors, however, is to present as broad a "range of classes, professions, political persuasions, and degrees of education" of women autobiographers as possible (10). Seven of the eleven texts are written by representatives of the educated gentry; the others are authored by women from social circles traditionally less likely to record and interpret their private lives: women of the merchant class, the serf class, and the lower bureaucracy. Each selection is introduced and carefully annotated by the editors.

There is hardly a happy autobiography here, perhaps with the exception of the Princess Elizaveta Lvova (1854-ca. 1910), who nostalgically reminisces about her happy childhood among her family's peasant servants. But the most striking feature of most of these eleven autobiographies is their nonconformity and nonacceptance of the traditional, prescribed way of life in a male-dominated society. Regardless of their origins, these autobiographers voice a strong desire for self-determination and freedom from the stifling social conventions.

Nadezhda Sokhanskaia's (1823-1884) opening autobiography, despite her preaching of Christian tolerance and forgiveness, is permeated with a feeling of disappointment with the dull and claustrophobic life to which many educated gentry women had to return after finishing their course of study at the Kharkov Institute. Another woman of the gentry, Sofia Khvoshchinskaia (1828-1865), an established writer and autobiographer, criticizes women's institutes for their brutal suppression of individual freedom and creativity. She provides a profound insight into the life of the institute, and draws unforgettable psychological portraits of her classmates. Aleksandra Kobiakova's (1823-1892) "An Autobiography" contains an indictment of the provincial merchant class and the fascinating story of how she became a published author.

The autobiographical notes written by Liubov Nikulina-Kositskaia (1827-1868), an actress, are especially precious because she describes her life in her serf family before her father bought his way to freedom, and because there are very few memoirs written by Russian actresses in the middle of the nineteenth century. Her passionate determination to pursue an acting career, and a lifelong dedication to it, resonates with the story of the first Russian woman medical doctor, Varvara Kashevarova-Rudneva (1844-1899), who sacrificed her personal life in order to become professionally successful. The problems she encountered in the medical field in her time—male chauvinism, double standards for men and women, harassment and arrogance toward her from male colleagues—are to some extent still experienced by women doctors at the end of the twentieth century. The difficult conditions under which many women doctors worked and the truly heroic behavior often required are

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described in Ekaterina Slanskaia's (1853-ca. 1904) "House Calls: A Day in the Practice of a Woman Doctor in St. Petersburg." Her graphic depiction of the life of her poverty-stricken patients is a tribute to the writing of the Natural School in the 1840s. Like Kashevarova-Rudneva and Slanskaia, Emiliia Pimenova attended medical courses, having escaped from her home through a fictitious marriage. Eventually, she became a well-known journalist. Her autobiography is a vivid example of the sacrifices women made in order to achieve individual freedom and become socially useful.

Natalia Grot's (1825-1899) memoir was written for her children rather than for publication, and appeared in print only after her death. A gentry woman with traditional views that the wife should dedicate herself to her husband and children, leaving the professional sphere to men, she expressed the conservative sentiment on the "Woman Question." Grot's views present a sharp contrast to the mostly progressive inclinations in the anthology's other selections.

According to the editors, Praskovia Tatlina's (1808-1899) "Reminiscences" is a rare life account written by a member of the middle estate employed in the lower ranks of the bureaucracy. This is a story of a woman who tried to find her self-fulfillment through educating her children and developing in them a sense of independence and secular values.

*Russia Through Women's Eyes* is a superb accomplishment in almost every way. It not only complements the existing Russian women's autobiographical literature in translation, but becomes a major contribution to the study of Russian autobiography in general and women's social history in particular. It highlights women's relationships to their families and society in the changing political, economic, social, and cultural climate of nineteenth-century Russia, and women's resistance to social suppression and male authority. Clyman's and Vowles' anthology emphasizes the plurality and richness of women's voices and the act of autobiography as a liberating gesture in the struggle for emancipation. Unquestionably, *Russia Through Women's Eyes* is an outstanding collaborative project of excellent scholars and translators dedicated to the study of women's autobiographies.

*Larissa Rudova*

Michael Gorkin and Rafiqa Othman, *Three Mothers, Three Daughters: Palestinian Women's Stories*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996. 234 pp. $25.00, ISBN 0-520-20329-1.

At a time when there is little to rejoice about in Israel and the Occupied Territories, it is encouraging to know that collaborations such as the one that produced this book are still possible. For several years, Michael Gorkin, an Israeli clinical psychologist, worked with Rafiqa

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Othman, a Palestinian teacher who was the first girl in her village inside Israel to go to college. She had first undertaken to teach Gorkin Arabic, and had then agreed, despite possible risks, to collaborate first on a project about traditional healers in the West Bank, and later about Muslim Palestinian mothers and daughters in the Jerusalem region.

The six oral histories that make up this book reflect the changes that have happened in education (the mothers are illiterate, the daughters educated to various degrees), marriage patterns, women's employment and politicization, and the reactions to such social transformations. The interviewees live close together but in three distinct locations: a village in the occupied territories to which the family had moved in 1948; a village inside Israel where the family had stayed; and a refugee camp. All of the interviewees talk about the Intifada, or popular uprising of the late 1980s. The couple in Israel seem ambivalent if not opposed to it; the women in the West Bank credit it with changing women's lives, because men were compelled to recognize women's contributions to the struggle as they fought fearlessly against Israeli soldiers unable to retaliate conventionally against these unconventional combatants. The mother-daughter pairs selected demonstrate the diversity in life choices, but "what is striking is that not one of the six women in this study questions the *right* of women to be involved" (5).

The first mother-daughter pair are from East Jerusalem. The mother had twelve children, and when she was pregnant for the thirteenth time she almost aborted the fetus. She changed her mind and gave birth to the second interviewee the year before the June War of 1967. She describes the decision to stay in her home, which was destroyed and then reconstructed. Their stories are utterly theirs, often eschewing political commentary, yet they provide a special prism on the life of Palestinians during the past fifty years. There is the war of 1948, which the mother experienced through the din of domesticity, and then the state of Israel was established. She visited three sons and a daughter in the United States, and went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Somehow life just went on. Her daughter, an unmarried teacher, has quite a different life. Marianne attended two tertiary educational institutions, and she has traveled, spending some time with a sister in Kuwait, a place where many Palestinians who fled Israel in 1948 and 1967 found shelter and sometimes fortune. This sister is now living in Jordan, and another piece of history is revealed through this detail: after the Gulf War of 1990–91, Palestinians lost their welcome in Kuwait. Many of Marianne's students were religiously engaged, and she is clearly in a quandary about how great a role religion should play in her life. She is strictly obedient to her parents, but it is clear that should she marry she would do things differently.

The next section features Samira, a social worker in a rehabilitation center, living in a refugee camp, who claims that "the Jews see me as

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a 'terrorist'" (100), and her mother, a 1948 refugee, who wishes that the family had stayed in their village inside Israel. Her idyllic childhood stories, but also her experiences of traditional patriarchal restrictions, and especially her arranged marriage, contrast markedly with those of her daughter, whom she calls a "heroine" (145). Samira tells of the harshness of childhood in a camp, and how as eldest daughter she had to assume unchildlike responsibilities. Despite the obstacles, she is successful at school and wins a scholarship to study at the University of Bethlehem. She narrates her growing awareness of injustice, her politicization, and her own as well as her siblings' several imprisonments and torture, with her accompanying guilt over the Israelis' bulldozing of her parents' house. She marries a freedom fighter and has to endure his absences in prison and the pain of his tortures, which compound her own. Participating in her own way, her mother declares herself proud of her children, who have paid the price.

The final couple are from the "only Arab village to survive when Israel conquered the area in the 1948 war" (159). The mother tells the story of that war and the meanings people attached to their staying. Her daughter, the wealthiest of all the women interviewed and the only one "who has lived all her life in a Jewish state" (182), describes growing up in Israel, her relations with Israelis (for a while she had a kind of childcare center for Israeli children), and her growing alienation from relatives who lived in Jordan. These interviews highlight the absolute break between those who stayed, the *Arab* Israelis, and those who left or were caught in the territories, the *Palestinians*. The Arab Israeli story of 1967 is quite different, because for them it opened up the world (214), so that they could visit family in the West Bank—though they end up going there for shopping and healing. But even that stopped with the Intifada, after they were stoned for having a car with Israeli license plates.

Because of the sensitive nature of the ethnographic collaboration, the writers are very self-conscious. They make transparent those moments when the interviewees are resisting their questions, and suggest why. For example, Othman had originally resisted Gorkin's intention to question the women about matters pertaining to sexuality, yet sometimes she does try to probe when possible, with less successful results with the mothers than with the daughters. Apparently aware of the criticisms recently aimed at mediators of the life histories of those who cannot, or choose not to, write their own, they focus less on the "truth" of what they record than on the process itself. They include repetitions and reflective asides that evoke the mood of a conversation. The organization of the book also highlights the sense of process. Each couple is given approximately seventy pages; each section is divided into separate monologues, however many the authors deem necessary, as though they wanted to give the impression that each monologue was recorded during a single session. They even include a dialogue that they transcribe as a play. They do so because

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that was how one of the meetings had gone: the mother had come in and they could not exclude her, so they recorded the exchange between all four of them. The reader has the sense of overhearing an actual conversation, as the ethnographers question the couple about their attitudes toward this Palestinian-Israeli collaboration. Both mother and daughter disapprove of the collaboration for sexual and political reasons. The book gives the impression of utter spontaneity, while being tightly structured. The authors are clear from the start that this book is for a Western, English-speaking readership, although Othman hopes "that someday these stories will be available in Arabic" (228).

*Miriam Cooke*

Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996. 751 pp. $35.00, ISBN 0-674-80984-X.

A friend of mine who is a Benedictine nun told me some interesting things about her community in northeastern Kansas. She said that the community includes both old-style sisters who live and dine in common, and newfangled members who live in twos and threes in surrounding areas. The nuns are attached to a community of monks (she herself teaches the History of Monasticism to both male and female novices) and attract many Catholic lay people to their classes and prayers, as well as ascetic practitioners from other cultures. She mentioned that her community puts prospective newcomers through a battery of psychological tests to be sure of their vocations, eventually sending many of them—feckless adolescents, people in temporary crisis, the unhinged—away to find more appropriate sanctuaries. She discussed stoically the community's uncertain finances and the fact that none of them have health insurance; those without income are supported by the professionals and other wage-earners. Her community has preserved its autonomy: although it has a daughter house in Mexico, it owes allegiance to no one but the pope. And, she reminded me proudly, the Benedictines have been doing all this for 1500 years. That's a pretty successful business.

Jo Ann Kay McNamara tells a similar story for all Christian female religious professionals throughout the last two millennia. In six hundred plus pages of text, she recounts the experiences of Christian nuns from the days when Jesus himself attracted women followers, to the present, when John Paul II repeatedly reminds women that they never numbered among the apostles. The book is more a narrative history than an analysis, although McNamara traces several themes in the history of nuns. She describes women who adjusted their vocations to whatever restrictions or opportunities were allowed them by the male celibate hierarchy. She writes of their routine poverty and their

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struggles to retain some sort of control over their own destinies. She follows the elusive ideal and varied practices of syneisactism—the partnership of male and female religious—through the centuries. She argues for the "distinct historical identity" of Christian nuns (xi), claiming an essentialist difference as the basis for women's spirituality. Finally, she links the history of nuns, and their struggle for autonomy within a Christian patriarchy, to the emergence of feminism itself.

Each chapter opens with a short discussion of social, political, economic, and/or ecclesiastical contexts of the period from a woman-inclusive point of view. The first chapter on women in the early Roman empire, for instance, tells how family politics narrowed social and economic roles for women among both Romans and Jews, and how Christianity provided women with a brand new possibility of professional chastity. In the next several chapters, McNamara builds the church organization of Late Antiquity, while at the same time sketching a definition of women's celibate vocation in a Romanized context. These heady, expansionist days of Christianity saw the brief flourishing of genuine syneisactism, according to McNamara, when deacons and deaconesses, male and female anchorites, bishops and widows all worked together to create a major religion. But once bishops figured out how to turn Christianity into a mainstream doctrine, the partnership of the sexes threatened the male bonding essential for a coherent leadership. For citizens of the Empire, imbued with the age-old misogyny of the ancient world, women-sex-sin became a nexus of perils. Almost as soon as celibacy became an option for female religious, it also came to define the only possible professional religious role for them.

However, the role sustained them through the Middle Ages. Joining the asceticism of desert monks with the communal solidarity needed by vulnerable females in a hostile, patriarchal world, Catholic women of the barbarian era created sanctuaries of work and prayer. Throughout the thousand years of medieval Europe, nuns' lives varied tremendously. At first, women in Germanic and Celtic societies lived at home among their kin, converting heathens and providing a moral example to those already Christian. Some, like Genovefa and Brigit, earned sainthood for it. Women spent the sixth and seventh centuries working out the problems of how to live a religious life together: how to escape the *saeculum*, form communities of women, endow and fund such communities, organize and rule them, and even how to spend their time. In prayer? In labor? Arguing with their bishops over women's rights to conduct rituals and learn theology? After the first flourishing of female communities and a flirtation with the old syneisactism (in the form of "double monasteries" of men and women), the reforms of the ninth and tenth centuries sent women behind the walls of the cloister. They spent the rest of the medieval and early modern periods trying to escape—or, at least, make claustration a meaningful part of their lives.

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Women constantly negotiated with men about the extent of external controls and internal claustration. In the medieval period, their families, local lords, and bishops squabbled over control of nuns and their properties. Later, during the Renaissance and Catholic Reformation, major monastic orders, the pope, and the new national monarchs did the same. Always, women's own interests in their profession and property seemed to get least consideration. When the nuns of the ninth to eleventh centuries responded to Carolingian initiatives, and tried to reform themselves by eliminating private possessions and pursuing new kinds of spiritualities, bishops and monastic superiors hindered them. When late medieval nunneries lost their lands and tithes to male orders, bishops and popes did little to protect the nuns' already meager incomes. When their appointed protectors abused or neglected the *cura mulierum*—fiscal and moral responsibility for women's communities—entrusted to them, neither church nor secular officials intervened. Religious women relied on the kindness of strangers and familiars to maintain themselves and their vocations in a world where renowned churchmen, such as Bernard of Siena, referred to them as "scum and vomit" (285).

The stunning lesson of this book is that religious women repeatedly rebounded from the worst attacks. When barred from sacramental activities, women of the later Middle Ages developed a mystical spirituality based on self-mortification and veneration of the Eucharist that challenged—and as Caroline Bynum has shown, influenced—mainstream Christian ideas. When Franciscans and Dominicans were forced to take over the *cura* of their tertiaries and other female followers, it never stopped other Christian women from escaping the cloister to minister to lay people in the cities around them. When communities ran out of money, they embraced a more severe poverty. When late medieval satirists attacked nuns for neglecting their vows, partying in the cloister, and all sorts of sexual frolicking, learned women raised their own voices in defense of their chastity. When reformers imposed observantine reforms on women's communities, some traditionalists resisted, calling on their wealthy relatives to turn the reformers out with pikes and sticks. Other women, like Teresa of Avila, encountered objections from male administrators when trying to promote observant innovations, no matter how orthodox. And when Protestants, and later French republicans, tried to drag nuns from their cloisters, they responded by fleeing to other nunneries, locking the doors, and shouting down the advancing Protestant burghers, or marching cheerily to the guillotine, secure in their glorious martyrdom.

The story of nuns in more recent days has followed the same patterns of determination, flexibility, and resistance to contempt, hostility, and violence. Something, McNamara suggests, about the purity of professional Catholic women "seems to raise testosterone levels" among Western men—always has, always will. Nuns have endured

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all sorts of attacks, from the resentment of the *philosophes*, who wrote pornography about lusty lesbian sisters, to the "culture wars" of the nineteenth century, in which political theorists castigated cloistered women as useless and unpatriotic. But the worst problem plaguing nuns today is the need to find an effective moral vision in a secularized world. McNamara ends her book with a troubling discussion of nuns' roles as civilizers in the third world. (Did and should they promote conversion to Western culture, as well as Western Christianity? Should they endorse or condemn indigenous practices, such as clitoridectomies?) She also attributes the general liberation of the female sex to the example set by nuns. All those years spent negotiating with bishops, abbots, popes, and kings, it seems, taught professional religious women about gender egalitarianism. And yet, this story of endurance may still not end happily. As McNamara points out, the numbers are against nuns, and while the numbers of nuns decline, the Vatican continues to insist that women cannot take on a sacramental role—and the Catholic clergy remains the "last womanless space" in the Western world (630). More and more devout but politicized Catholic women are taking their vocation not only out of the cloister, but out of the religion and into the streets.

In short, this long, long book tells how nuns have been restricted, despised, cloistered, cut off from both clergy and laity, impoverished, demonized, and controlled. They have responded in many ways throughout the two thousand years of Christian history, but have always (to use the conceit of the book's title) soldiered on.

McNamara offers prosopography on a grand scale with an overwhelming litany of stories about many different orders, communities, and individuals. The book is full of redundancies and details, both useful and not. McNamara also makes more than a few unsupported speculations. For example, she suggests that late antique women found virginity "transformative," though they never said so in writing; that women actually composed some of the theological treatises of their male patrons, such as St. Jerome; and that beguines had their origins in dispersed religious women of the early Middle Ages. No illustrations or maps ease the reader's way through twenty chapters. The book is also full of minor errors and opinionated (sometimes irritating) asides—the one that most offended me was the suggestion that the projected convent at Auschwitz was a "sacrifice that no one wanted to accept," rather than an insult to Jews and the memory of ha-Shoah (574). The book also proclaims a very blatant, feminist, Christian ideal, despite McNamara's insistence that she writes as a "secular humanist." Nuns are always clearly the heroes here, male clergy and men generally the villains.

And yet despite—even because of—all these quirks, the massive research and tremendous insight so obvious on almost every page makes the book a masterful, epic history of Christian women, and western women generally. The repetitions make the book difficult to

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read from start to finish, but also make it ideal as a reference work for students, scholars, and lay readers alike. Any single chapter provides an invaluable introduction to the nuns of a particular period. The work as a whole will remain a classic of Christian history and women's history, if not for two millennia, then at least for many years to come.

*Lisa M. Bitel*

Edwin S. Gaustad, *Sworn on the Altar of God: A Religious Biography of Thomas Jefferson*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996. 214 pp. $15.00, ISBN 0-8028-0516-0.

The last decade has seen the publication of several biographies of Thomas Jefferson focusing on his various specific interests, including his activities as a builder, as a scientist, and now as a religious thinker and reformer. Edwin S. Gaustad has written extensively and well on American religious history, and profitably brings this knowledge to bear in examining Jefferson's religious life. His graceful and clearly written account particularly illuminates Jefferson's two great religious undertakings, his Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, and his edited version of the gospels that he titled "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth." Gaustad places his accurate and thoughtful explanations of these accomplishments in the larger context of Jefferson's involvement in the life of his times. His discussion of him as a student of the Enlightenment notices the writers who influenced the skeptical direction of the young Jefferson, particularly Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury and a flock of deistical writers such as John Toland, Matthew Tindal, and Conyers Middleton, as well as those who nourished the older, more serious critic of the Bible, such as Richard Price, Joseph Priestley, and C. F. Volney.

Gaustad also places Jefferson against his American contemporaries who shared his concerns about religious life and scriptural truth; the accounts of much more radical deists like Elihu Palmer and more traditional believers like his friend Benjamin Rush situate Jefferson's own thinking in his historical moment. Similarly, Gaustad's account of Jefferson's and Madison's efforts to enact the Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom, one of the three accomplishments Jefferson wanted to be recorded on his tombstone, gains power by putting it in the context of the Northwest Ordinance's guarantee of religious freedom and the Constitution's rejection of any religious tests for public office. The account of Jefferson's editing of "The Life and Morals of Jesus" demonstrates how this arose out of Jefferson's reading of Priestley, and his pained reaction to the clergy's attacks on his own faith and character during the campaign of 1800. This in turn supports a discussion of his work to establish the University of Virginia as a public, secular institution, against the sometime resistance of those

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like the Presbyterians who sought a more immediate involvement in the university. Gaustad notes that Jefferson's final version of religious freedom could look very much like Unitarianism to others, and the book concludes with two chapters that look at Jefferson's legacy as a defender of religious freedom, and his belief in the last decade of his life that Unitarianism would become the national orthodoxy. Jefferson's faith in reason and nature both energized American intellectual life and misread it by failing to understand the appeal represented by a tradition of evangelical religion that was reasserting itself in the decade of his death. Gaustad supports his portrayal with insightful citations from Jefferson's writings, but more serious students will regret the absence of formal notes identifying the specific citations. A general "Note on the Sources" lists scholarly work the author has drawn on that might be of interest for those wishing to read further.

One might well ask, however, if this constitutes a religious biography that satisfies the expectations a reader might bring to a life narrative so entitled. Religious biographies in the Christian tradition have a powerful and challenging exemplary text in Augustine's *Confessions*, because Augustine plays off against each other the contradictory narrative threads of his life in the world and his inner growth in grace and spiritual enlightenment. Hence a reader approaching something calling itself a religious biography might reasonably expect a representation or explanation of its subject's innerness, if not defined in modern terms of consciousness, then in terms that the subject might have used in self-understanding. It is precisely this sense of religious innerness that is missing in Gaustad's account, but we can hardly blame him, for the problem may be really Jefferson's and not his. Jefferson has consistently challenged and frustrated biographers' attempts to uncover his most private feelings and desires; his writings are always occluded by a rhetorical canniness about their possible impact on the reader, and as they come nearer to revealing his naked self, they become increasingly more evasive. Jefferson's surviving letters are always something of a public performance, even those to his children, where he is articulate about his opinions almost in order to forestall questions about their private grounds. Gaustad has eloquently and learnedly set forward Jefferson's ideas about God, but neither he nor any other writer has shown us Jefferson at prayer.

Such an account of Jeffersonian religious innerness might have to be highly speculative, but there are some hints that might be pursued by future biographers. The importance of sentiment and sensibility for Jefferson is becoming increasingly recognized, for example, as a function of his moral life as well as of his emotional life. Deist theorizers like Bolingbroke, Toland, and Tindal might have contributed to Jefferson's theology, but Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Laurence Sterne shaped the moral imagination that was surely a significant aspect of his religious life. Similarly, one might

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look to the role of sentiment in what seem to have been the most important crises of Jefferson's life—above all, the death of his wife, but also the earlier death of his sister Jane, and perhaps even the conclusion of his crush on Maria Cosway, as evidenced in the famous Head and Heart letter. If "The Life and Morals of Jesus" was the ultimate expression of Jefferson's religious sensibility, its roots run deeper than arid discussions about the qualities of a rational deity, and his estimation of Jesus as a moral teacher says a great deal about how he might have understood his own religious biography. Indeed, what distinguished Jefferson most from Priestley's deism was his extended preoccupation with Jesus as an authoritative human figure of justice and compassion. We know that figure reflects somehow Jefferson's religious opinions, but Jefferson's Jesus has yet to be read as a mirror of Jefferson's soul.

But this is perhaps tantamount to asking for a different kind of book than the author chose to write, and on his own terms Gaustad has written an excellent account of Jefferson's public opinions about religion and his initiatives to protect its free expression.

*Frank Shuffelton*

Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War.* New York: Allen Lane-Penguin, 1997. 318 pp. $24.95, ISBN 0-670-86585-0.

Samuel Hynes thoughtfully and provocatively analyzes memoirs by mostly British and American soldiers of World War I, World War II, and the Vietnam War. Although he does point out differences in style—WW II veterans adopt a more cynical, detached tone from the time they're shipped out, Vietnam vets use dirtier language—he is really fashioning a consistent genre, a single "tale." Soldiers throughout the century, Hynes maintains, approach horrors with dispassionate, clinical realism; rarely mention the causes for which they are supposedly fighting; and often remember their war years as the best time of their lives. At first incredible, this last claim for the personal rewards of war, which Hynes locates in comradeship and especially the excitement of danger, becomes in the end his most valuable contribution. Unfortunately, he seems to be using this evidence of the pleasures of military service to fend off antiwar sentiments, as if to say, "We boys are having a good time, so leave us alone!" Yet pacifists might also do well to face up to the positive enticements of war, as they search for causes and possible alternatives to the vast carnage of this century.

Hynes writes in a gripping and lucid style. He prides himself on the objectivity of his vision, that of a Dante guiding us through hell, although he has, to my mind, a few blind spots. When he corrects the

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view that all WW I veterans became disillusioned, by pointing to more cheerful records, he annoyingly labels the despair a "myth," instead of calling both the sour and the nostalgic voices partial truths (101). He disapproves of the use of WW I as a "cautionary" tale, because its horrors were only "intermittent" (55). Hynes's airy word "myth" similarly dismisses the version of the Vietnam War as a "horror story" (200). He advises us not to epitomize that war in the famous photo of a naked "little girl" running from what is "apparently" her napalmed village (200). (Is it significant that he doesn't say "napalmed girl"?) And he offensively judges the behavior of Japanese suicide fighters in WW II "so alien as not to be human" (163), yet he treats earlier European dreams of "death or glory, or both" much more indulgently—futile, maybe, but thoroughly human (47).

Hynes dramatically shows that while British aristocrats at the outset of WW I were still expecting battle to resemble "field sports," technology, randomness, and anonymity made it much more difficult to glorify and aestheticize war (33). Twentieth-century war narratives instead "subvert the expectations of romance," defined as a world where individual actions and decisions count (30). Yet Hynes does still romanticize war to some extent. Although he admits that many soldiers in the world wars record a chaos "without men, without movement, and without meaning" (13), he spends most of his time on the few areas where men could play out a chivalric game of one-to-one combat, respectful if deadly, and survive by personal skills, visible to applauding onlookers. Hence he admires WW I ace pilots and WW I escapees. He adds that WW II fighter planes and tanks also let an individual operator feel that he "controlled his fate. . . . He might be wrong; but he could feel that way. Is this romantic? Of course it is; that's the point: machines renewed the romance of war" (124). While Hynes's self-consciousness here is attractive, his focus on small fighter planes attacking each other still leaves out more anonymous missions. Bigger strategic bombers don't provide pilots a sense of knightly action. And when he tells us that bomber crews never describe the ground, because the only space that counts is "the air around the plane, where the fighting and the dying are happening," both Hynes and the narratives blatantly erase the dying caused by the bombs (132).

Besides magnifying the rare opportunities in modern war for one-to-one, chivalric combat, Hynes also disturbingly zeroes in on military service as an ideal place for an individual to prove himself. This concept blots out the bystanders at whose expense such testing grounds are maintained. For Hynes, war is "a world without women or children or old people," although his own immediately preceding paragraph mentions a grenade-carrying child in Vietnam (19). Even after recording the staggeringly high civilian cost of the two world wars—some sixty million noncombatants killed, more than twice the military dead (xii)—he keeps characterizing war as an exclusively

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manly affair. And while he legitimately brackets out soldiers' accounts—an author has to limit a study in some way—he claims, implausibly, that he just couldn't find very many civilian accounts of war, because "helplessness and passive suffering" probably did not seem like "important subjects" (229). When he does briefly look at writings by three European civilians bombed during WW II, he compliments these "vital and active" women for not presenting themselves as "victims," but he then turns their stoicism into evidence against pacifists: "They [the women] don't regard the war as an evil inflicted on their helplessness . . . they don't speak of hatred or of anger. For them, war is simply a catastrophe to be dealt with" (232). This line highlights Hynes's implied thesis that war is, like flood or earthquake, something natural, not socially made. Men naturally *like* to go to war, they *inevitably* will, and no really "vital" woman or man would dare voice any anger or protest.

Nevertheless, despite these objections, Hynes's careful culling of soldiers' narratives provides a rich sourcebook for future, more specifically social investigations of the causes engineering consent to war, everything from scarcity of jobs for a seventeen year old to definitions of "manhood" that deny emotion to men. If it is true, as Hynes says, that "I have never met a man who fought in the Second World War—actually *fought*—who regretted having been there," or if there really are many like his WW I example who exults "I would not have missed it for worlds," then how would their societies have to change to make home life less narrow and boring (22)? Like these enthusiastic participants in the world wars, a Vietnam veteran justifies his war as an opportunity "For me," so he wouldn't have to spend his "whole life selling insurance" (22-3). While Hynes implicitly approves of this expensive egotism, there must be a better way to spare a few American men dull insurance jobs than by wasting the lives of 58,000 Americans and more than three million Vietnamese, two million of them civilians.

*K. J. Phillips*

Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996. 277 pp. $45.00, ISBN 0-8047-2901-8.

Michael Mascuch offers an historical account of the origins and emergence of first-person prose narrative written in England from the late sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries. He proposes to examine autobiography as cultural practice and hence not as genre in the formalist sense, but rather as "evidence of a form of cultural production related to the manifestation in England during the early modern period of the individualist self" (8). This individualist self, Mascuch asserts, produced autobiography as performance or spectacle

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of the "identity of the egocentric person who . . . regards himself as his own telos" (9). This discourse of early autobiography embodied and commodified the subject-author's identity by which it was reciprocally motivated.

As the author notes, this study's method, focus, and chief lines of inquiry and curiosity take inspiration from George Gusdorf's undervalued essay "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography" (1956). Gusdorf argued that the appearance of this historically unique and geographically specific cultural practice "occasioned 'a new spiritual revolution' in history, in which 'the artist and the model coincide, the historian tackles himself as object'" (7). Subsequent study of autobiographical narrative has tended to universalize the form, hence to find it oppressive, and subsequently to announce autobiography's demise in our anti- or unheroic age of the death of the author. Mascuch sets out to expand Gusdorf's insights into the historical and cultural genetic particularity of autobiography by writing an account of its origins "from the perspective of the arguments announcing narrative autobiography's end" (75).

This study composes its argument in three parts. Part I, "The First English Individualist," presents the study's premises and theoretical ground, and then examines the *Memoirs* of James Lackington (1791), argued by Mascuch to be the first presentation of the individualist self in modern autobiographical practice. Lackington, an ingenious and successful self-made man, a bookseller who invented what we now call remaindering, is cast in the role of the first "individualist autobiographer," and functions as protagonist in this study's drama of autobiography's origins. Mascuch does not err, however, by overly relying on a single author and single text. In Part II, "Early Ancestors: The Sacred," he backtracks to examine seventeenth-century Christian first-person narrative and diary, the life of Katherine Stubbes and Richard Rogers' diary chief among them, in which self-authorization gives way to the disciplined annihilation of self. In Part III, "Immediate Precursors: The Profane," Mascuch examines the secularization of the cultural practice of autobiography, scandalous memoirs and quasi-autobiography, confessional and apologetic, from the early eighteenth century to the time immediately preceding Lackington, in works by writers including John Dunton, Henry Goodcole, Samuel Smith, Laetitia Pilkington, and Charlotte Charke.

Though principally a historical study, grounded in substantial examination of primary texts, Mascuch's examination draws on methods and concepts from linguistics, philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, semiotics, hermeneutics, bibliography, and literary, social, and religious history. Part I consists of an exposition of and rationale for this multidisciplinary theoretical groundwork by which the author tracks the co-creative rise of autobiography and individualism (the cultural and historical contingency of the individual, a.k.a. subjectivity). Mascuch suggests that readers more interested in

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the resulting historical analysis informed by this speculative groundwork, and less interested in the theoretical whys and wherefores, may wish to skip the opening section and move directly to Parts II and III. The author's clear-sightedness about his theory and practice, his awareness of the likes and dislikes of a potentially varied audience, and his shaping of this study into a cumulative historical account underwritten by thoughtful theoretical speculation, which readers may engage discretely, are notable strengths of this book.

Readers whose constitutional dislike or suspicion of postmodern theory and criticism lead them to follow Mascuch's suggestion about moving directly to the second and third parts may find themselves drawn by curiosity and respect to circle back to Part I. The range of texts examined, the good writing, careful argument, and well-paced rhythms of inquiry of the two historical sections, may convince even the most skeptical anti-postmodernists to engage their interest in contemplating the exposition of Mascuch's premises. Situated in a genealogy deriving from Nietzsche, these premises are classically postmodern in their touchstone belief that "personal self-identity [and all of its productions and performances—authors, texts, etc.] is an effect of human activity in the landscape of society and culture . . . structured within and around the discourses available to it at any moment in time" (18, 52). Lackington's self-identity in his original autobiographical performance represents, according to Mascuch, the modern belief or "illusion" of individual personal authority. This belief in self-creation is to postmoderns symptomatic of a pathological lack of insight, if also to some degree an elegiacally, even perhaps enviably heroic blindness.

To this reader one of the most interesting moments in Mascuch's historical argument occurs in Section III, "The Trump of Fame," an examination of three eighteenth-century female authors of scandalous and scandalized proto-autobiography: Charlotte Charke, Laetitia Pilkington, and Teresia Constantia Phillips. Current scholarship, he notes, often depicts these women as, on the one hand, complicitous in their own victimage yet, on the other hand, antagonistic to male authority. The limitation of this assessment of these writers' meaning and worth derives from our contemporary fixation on female resistance (or capitulation) to male authority as the only game in town where women writers are concerned. When Mascuch advises us to consider how "it is less apparent that these women were resisting the production of unified identity and middling common sense than it is that they were actually contributing to the making of such discursive constructs, by reinventing biographical practice" (199), he encourages a thoughtful consideration.

The issues addressed and inquiry pursued in Michael Mascuch's study should be of interest to a varied audience of readers, including those interested in life writing; the intersections of biography, autobiography, and the novel; the interplay of postmodern theory,

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scholarship, and historical study (particularly the detective-story challenges of rendering an account of origins and development); the writer as emerging cultural figure; and writing as cultural production during the period when the trade book and book trade, as they have come to be known, were being invented.

*Catherine N. Parke*

Gail Levin. *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography.* New York: Knopf, 1995. 678 pp. $35.00, ISBN 0-394-54664-4.

Gail Levin has brought to a climax her long years of hard work as an art historian concerned primarily with the work of Edward Hopper by producing both a *catalogue raissoné* of his work and a lengthy biography.

*Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography* is a fascinating, sad agony of a book and is, in many respects, a valuable document, but it is not, for most of its pages, a biography of Edward Hopper. There is much to be grateful for in Levin's many past labors in the Hopper field, but her attempt at biography is a problematic work, which falls short because of Levin's often uncritical overreliance on one crucial, but unreliable, source of information: the diaries of Hopper's wife, Jo Nivison Hopper. Her diaries must have been valuable to Jo Hopper as an outlet for the frustrations of living with an exasperatingly stolid, frugal, unsociable, conservative, and ironical husband; but, while they are packed with information, these documents hardly serve as fully adequate testimonies concerning the majority of Edward Hopper's adult life.

That Levin could have done better is evident in her treatment of Edward Hopper's early years, in which she pulls her information from a variety of sources. In the early pages of the volume, we are presented with a fine summary biography of what is known of Edward Hopper's early life and the start of his career. We have glimpses of the person who would become the artist. Looking back on these well-orchestrated early chapters after having read the entire biography one cannot help but wish Levin had resisted, at least somewhat, the insistent voice of the Jo Hopper materials and kept up the hard work of finding multiple voices.

There is a bizarre schism in this book: the complexly evoked witty but dour ironist that is the young Edward Hopper does not connect with the portrait that emerges from Levin's summaries of Jo Hopper's self-preoccupied narratives. Jo Nivison Hopper's remarks on her life with her husband are of remarkable interest both for what they tell us about him and what they reveal about her, but their rantings and ravings do not always seem aimed toward truth, and Levin's too often uninflected dependence on them gives us a bumpy and puzzling ride

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through Edward's mature years. At times Edward is described as a mean and nasty tyrant; at others as a sweetly affectionate chum. No doubt he was both, but Jo's remarks are so seldom critiqued or checked against other sources that it is hard to be confident of their veracity. Much information resides in Jo's mood swings, but Levin seldom makes any effort to sort the wheat from the chaff. One wonders whether Levin might have been pressured (by her publisher?) to finish the second half of her book rapidly. Whatever the reason, the outcome is unfortunate. Enough people are still alive who knew the Hoppers in their later years that one would have expected to encounter a much greater variety of sources in the second half of the book.

Another side to the problem is that the story of the talented and energetic Jo Nivison Hopper should have had a book of its own. Levin's fascination with Jo Hopper is understandable. Jo is a much more interesting character than Edward. The present book would at least have had somewhat more credibility if it had been billed as a double biography of the couple. Calling it an "intimate" biography of Edward is doubly unfortunate; in the later pages we are intimate only with Jo and the increasingly elusive Edward begins to seem a cartoon character sketch.

A better biography of Edward Hopper is available in the pages and the plates of the excellent book Levin produced in 1980, *Edward Hopper: The Art and the Artist*. Levin's orchestration of Edward Hopper's life in that study employs examples of his work and carefully sorted commentaries on its preoccupations to tell us much more about him than does her more recent attempt.

*Joseph Stanton*

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# Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing Editors Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Gloria Fisk, Corey Hollis, Gabriel Merle, Forrest R. Pitts, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include the *African American Review, American Literature, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Georgia Review, Journal of Asian Studies, Le Monde des Livres, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), The New Yorker, Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, Romance Quarterly, Science, Sight and Sound, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP)*, and the *Women's Review of Books.*

**Ames, Aldrich**

*Confessions of a Spy: The Real Story of Aldrich Ames.* Pete Earley. New York: Putnam, 1997. 364 pp. $27.50.

"What follows in this—the fifth book written about the Ames spy case—is largely Ames's story as he told it to Earley in some fifty hours of interviews conducted in the gaol of Alexandria, Virginia, where Ames was initially incarcerated, and in 466 pages of subsequent correspondence. . . . If Earley's book contributed more to what was previously known about the Ames case, it might be easier to understand its having been written. . . . Earley's book also provides new detail concerning Ames's personal life before he began his espionage activities, new details concerning his life as a spy, and the efforts of the CIA and FBI to find the source of their compromised cases. Again, however, the result is largely to add texture to the story that is known, without answering the lingering questions, such as why the CIA failed to look for a mole in 1986, after their stable of Soviet assets had been decimated."

L. Britt Snider. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 28.

**Armstrong, Louis**

*Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life.* Laurence Bergreen. New York: Broadway Books, 1997. 564 pp. $30.00.

"Bergreen would have been much better off . . . if he had refrained from introducing his own opinions and musical descriptions of jazz, and spent a bit more time acquainting himself with its history. . . . [The book is] shorn of elementary knowledge of music. . . . This is a well-intentioned book, but good intentions are no longer enough."

Dan Morgenstern. *LATBR*, July 27, 1997: 4.

"The fact that Bergreen has nothing useful to say about Armstrong the musician necessarily throws his book badly out of balance, but

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this does not mean 'Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life' is devoid of merit. By far the best thing about it is the large amount of space devoted to excerpts from Armstrong's autobiographical writings—including various unpublished manuscripts—and his vast and vivid correspondence."

Terry Teachout. *NYTBR*, Aug. 3, 1997: 4.

**Arnold, Benedict**

*Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered.* James Kirby Martin. New York: NYU Press, 1997. 560 pp. $34.95.

"[Martin's] book is in many ways a remarkable example of the historian's craft.... [It is] a narrative dense with detail and description; yet even at its densest, it is a compelling story and one that repays close reading."

Fred Anderson. *LATBR*, Aug. 10, 1997: 9.

**Arnold, Matthew**

*The Letters of Matthew Arnold.* Ed. Cecil Y. Lang. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P. Vol. 1: *1829-1859*. 1996. 549 pp. $65.00. Vol. 2: *1860-1865*. 1997. 560 pp. $60.00.

"The first question biographers tend to ask of any likely subject is: where are the Letters? In Arnold's case, I found, the answer was not at all straightforward. When I began my Arnold chores, over 100 years after the poet's death, there was still no collected edition of his correspondence.... In other words, there appeared to be a need for high-level academic action. By the time of my involvement, it transpired, such action was already well in hand. Cecil Y. Lang, the hero of Swinburne's Letters, and of Tennyson's, was said to be working on the case. And so he was. And here now are the first two volumes of what will be a six volume publication. And it is entirely clear from Volumes One and Two that Lang has pulled off yet another triumph of industry, wisdom, and precision."

Ian Hamilton. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 3-5.

**Arthur, Jean**

*Jean Arthur: The Actress Nobody Knew.* John Oller. New York: Limelight Editions, 1996. 358 pp. $25.00.

"A sympathetic biography, the first ever published on the husky-voiced star of 30s and 40s romantic comedies."

Peter Matthews. *Sight and Sound* 7.8 (Aug. 1997): 30.

**Ashton, Frederick**

*Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton.* Julie Kavanagh. New York: Pantheon, 1997. 647 pp. $35.00.

"Kavanagh's book has one fault: too little context. On a number of matters–British ballet, modernism and antimodernism in England, the work produced by other choreographers of the period, and

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Ashton's relation to them–we need a little more background. But I mention this only to show that I noticed it. It is the defect of Kavanagh's virtues. She is sophisticated; she thinks we know all that. She writes wonderfully–the Lima years get the full, Proustian treatment–and she manages to control a huge amount of material, the product of ten years' research. She likes gossip as much as Ashton did: she tells us what people wore, whose nose job was a disaster, who was well hung. But none of this comes out petty or lurid. It is tittle-tattle in excelsis, the very texture of Ashton's life. Kavanagh clearly loves Ashton, and she does little duets with him, setting his remarks against hers. Kavanagh also like Ashton's world and moves easily within it. The resulting book feels very English. Actually, it feels like an Ashton ballet: a lot of bustle and detail, but gathered under a great arc of calm."

Joan Acocella. *NYRB*. August 14, 1997: 23.

**Austen, Jane**

*Jane Austen: A Life*. David Nokes. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 578 pp. $35.00.

"David Nokes's new biography offers few new facts, but it has the wisdom to rely heavily on the correspondence."

Claude Rawson. *NYTBR*, Sept. 14, 1997: 7.

AND *Jane Austen: A Life*. Claire Tomalin. New York: Knopf, 1997. 400 pp. $27.50.

"These are both good biographies. Nokes's account is the more innovative; he redraws the map of Austen's life on a number of occasions, although he does not in every case carry conviction. He is critically and psychologically acute, and refreshingly heterodox on some well-worn issues. Tomalin is sure of judgment, and well able to imagine and evoke the complexities attending the life of a brilliant female author at this date. If neither can be said to offer much new illumination of the writing, this is an especially unfair demand to make of this genre where this author is concerned. Very little documentation survives which would help us to know anything of the only subject about which, in the end, a reader of a life of Austen can be brought to care: where on earth did writing like this come from?"

Simon Jarvis. *TLS*, Sept. 12, 1997: 3-4.

**Bacon, Francis**

*Francis Bacon: Anatomy of an Enigma*. Michael Peppiat. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 336 pp. $30.00.

"It is not as if Peppiatt has made errors or hazarded risks for which we might call him to task. In fact, unlike Bacon, he has taken few chances; nor has he adequately uncovered the layers. . . . Such a penetrating analysis has yet to be written."

Nicholas Fox Weber. *LATBR*, July 27, 1997: 3.

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Peppiat "had a 30-year acquaintance with his subject and made good use of it. (Bacon's late-night soliloquies in Paris ring particularly true.) His book is also enriched by echoes, all of them duly credited, of many tributes to Bacon that were printed after his death."

John Russell. *NYTBR*, July 27, 1997: 6.

**Beckett, Samuel**

*Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist.* Anthony Cronin. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. 645 pp. $30.00.

"Anthony Cronin's 'Samuel Beckett' arrives hard on the heels of James Knowlson's 'Damned to Fame,' an exhaustive biography authorized by Beckett himself, which profited from five months of revealing interviews shortly before his death. But if 'Damned to Fame' was a definitive piece of scholarship by a leading authority, Cronin's biography is a work of real novelistic flair by an Irish writer who knew both Beckett and his Dublin associates, including intimate friends like the poet Tom MacGreevy and favorite actors like Jack MacGowran and Patrick McGee, for whom Beckett wrote 'Krapp's Last Tape.'"

Morris Dickstein. *NYTBR*, Aug. 3, 1997: 11.

**Ben-Gurion, David**

*Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust.* Shabtai Teveth. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1996. 310 pp. $30.00.

"Shabtai Teveth is an Israeli historian and journalist and a biographer of David Ben-Gurion. However, his new book, 'Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust,' is built firmly on biographical and historical material. It is also, as the author frankly states in the preface, 'another pro-Ben-Gurion voice in the politicized debate on Jewish rescue efforts during the Holocaust.'"

David S. Wyman. *NYTBR*, July 6, 1997: 17.

**Bergman, Ingrid**

*Notorious.* Donald Spoto. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. $27.50.

"To Spoto's credit . . . Bergman emerges clearly as a real woman who did the best she could. She was admirable, likeable and, thank God, she was no saint."

Andrea Higbie. *NYTBR*, Aug. 17, 1997: 17.

"Donald Spoto . . . treats her as a powerfully healthy and creative woman, very sure of herself professionally, who was nevertheless in thrall to one man or another for much of her life."

David Denby. *The New Yorker*, July 28, 1997: 72-75.

**Bohm, David**

*Infinite Potential: The Life and Times of David Bohm.* F. David Peat. Reading, MA: Helix (Addison-Wesley), 1996. 353 pp. $25.00.

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". . . the life of a remarkable man, one of the most imaginative and controversial physicists of the 20th century, who died in 1992 at the age of 74. Bohm's version of quantum mechanics, and the reaction of the physics community to it, is a subject to which Peat repeatedly turns. . . ."

Sheldon Goldstein. *Science* 275, No. 5308 (Mar. 28, 1997): 1893-4.

**Bonaparte, Napoleon**

*Napoleon Bonaparte: A Life.* Alan Schom. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 888 pp. $40.00.

*How Far From Austerlitz? Napoleon 1806-1815.* Alistair Horne. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 430 pp. $26.95.

"Schom makes the extraordinary claim that his book is the first single-volume 'full life' of Napoleon in English . . . [but] what is missing [is] sources. . . . Shallow research inevitably leads to howlers. . . . Horne re-explores the paths that led to Napoleon's final exile . . . [and] is an old accomplished hand at writing history."

Gregor Dallas. *LATBR*, Sept. 14, 1997: 8.

**Borges, Jorge Luis**

*Borges: A Life.* James Woodall. New York: Basic, 1997. 333 pp. $30.00.

". . . Woodall has culled the best from previous biographies without dwelling on their flaws. He has given us a mostly accurate portrait of the man and a sophisticated overview of the work. One of the virtues of his book is that it does not try to be Borgesian."

Roberto Gonzales Echevarria. *NYTBR*, Aug. 31, 1997: 10.

**Brassaï, Gilberte**

*BRASSAÏ: Letters to My Parents.* Gilberte Brassaï. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. $35.00.

"Brassaï, at 32, was exultant with characteristic self-confidence. It was this indomitable faith in his abilities and his unconquerable optimism that carried him through the period covered in . . . [this] delightful volume (published in Hungarian in 1980 and translated by Peter Laki and Barna Kantor) that collects the letters Brassaï sent from his arrival in Berlin at the age of 21 to when he fled Paris during the German invasion in 1940. The book provides a fascinating insight into how a bright individual slowly found his calling."

Christine Schwartz Hartly. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 23.

**Bravo, Claudio**

*Claudio Bravo: Paintings and Drawings.* Paul Bowles and Mario Vargas Llosa. New York: Abbeville, 1997. 276 pp. $85.00.

"A 1995 interview with Bravo and fascinating introductory essays by two of his friends, the novelists Paul Bowles and Mario Vargas Llosa, provide insights into the life of this 'illusionist,' as Vargas Llosa calls

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him, who causes objects to 'lose the insignificance they have in real life and become delicate creatures."

Suzanne MacNeille. *NYTBR*, July 6, 1997: 15.

**Brown, Elaine**

*A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1994. 463 pp. $14.95.

"[This is] a continuation of the autobiographical narratives of the many African-American slave and free black women in America, but it is also a very individualized narrative. . . . [I]n telling her story, Brown builds a place for herself in the history of black resistance movements in America."

Alice A. Deck. *African American Review* 31.2 (Summer 1997): 368.

**Brunetière, Ferdinand**

*Connaissez-Vous Brunetière*? Antoine Compagnon. Paris: Seuil. 286 pp. FF130.

"'Not exactly, no' is the honest answer to the question that Antoine Compagnon puts, Françoise Sagan-wise, in his title. For most of us, Ferdinand Brunetière (1849-1906) is a cobwebbed name from the lumber-room of the French 1890s, an oddity memorable for having been an intellectual who lined up on the Right. That is to say, he lined up on the Right in some things, for the larger point of Compagnon's interesting book is to discriminate between the shades of Rightness that existed in France at the prismatic moment of the Dreyfus Affair. . . . Brunetière's was a life well worth the filling in, and Compagnon has done that in just the right measure, bringing out clearly the extent to which he was, or was not, a representative figure of the age."

John Sturrock. *TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 12.

**Buck, Pearl S.**

*Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography*. Peter Conn. New York: Cambridge UP, 1996. 468 pp. $29.95.

"The question that haunts Conn's biography is why she has 'vanished from the American cultural landscape.' . . . [He] makes a convincing case for Buck's inclusion in the history of the feminist and civil rights movements, if not the American literary canon."

Susan Pavlovska. *American Literature* 69.3 (Sept. 1997): 635-6.

"Professor Conn's biography, unlike earlier books about Pearl Buck, deals with all aspects of her extraordinary life. . . . Pearl Buck had been largely forgotten because she was very much a child of her time. This biography is a reminder of her importance. It also contributes to our understanding of American social history and to the background of one of the key issues of tomorrow's world: the future relations between the United States and China."

John D. Chinnery. *TLS*, Aug. 15, 1997: 31.

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**Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de**

*Buffon: A Life in Natural History.* Jacques Roger. Trans. Sarah Lucille Bonnefoi. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997. 512 pp. $49.95.

"This biography is also a splendid overview of the intellectual history of the 18th century. [Roger] not only presents Buffon as a person, he also gives a most illuminating critical analysis of Buffon's thoughts, beliefs, theories and controversies."

Ernst Mayr. *LATBR*, Aug. 24, 1997: 6.

**Carroll, Lewis**

*Lewis Carroll: A Portrait with Background.* Donald Thomas. London: John Murray, 1996. 404 pp. £25.

*Lewis Carroll: A Biography.* Michael Bakewell. London: Heinemann, 1996. 381 pp. £20.

"These latest two biographies are well written and well informed, and both take a very sympathetic view of their complex and not obviously sympathetic subject. Nevertheless, neither of them succeeds in dislodging my sense that portraits of him fail to capture his 'inner life.' . . . Bakewell has written a lively, journalistic chronicle of Dodgson's life, readable without being particularly gripping or original. Thomas is an established Victorianist, and his *Portrait with Background* largely steers clear of psychological intimacy with its subject, opting instead for the broader historical canvas."

Hugh Haughton. *TLS*, Aug. 8, 1997: 23-4.

**Carson, Rachel**

*Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature.* Linda Lear. New York: Holt, 1997. 608 pp. $35.00.

"The Rachel Carson that emerges from Lear's biography is a very human figure indeed: generous but egotistical, passionate but calculating, gentle but aggressive . . . but Lear does not convey Carson's love of the earth, her naturalist vocation, as vividly as she does her social relationships."

David Rains Wallace. *LATBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 4.

**Castro, Fidel.** See **Khrushchev, Nikita.**

**Cendrars, Blaise and Henry Miller**

*Correspondance.* Intro. Frederic-Jacques Tempe. Notes by Jay Bochner. Paris: Denoel, 1995. 416 pp.

A collection of 192 letters, carefully commented on and with translations of the letters in English. It also includes a useful chronology and index, as well as photographs.

Bernard Vouilloux, *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 97.3 (1997): 504-5.

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**Chamoiseau, Patrick**

*Écrire en Pays Dominé.* Patrick Chamoiseau. Paris: Gallimard. 321 pp. FF130.

*School Days.* Patrick Chamoiseau. Trans. Linda Coverdale. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1997. 146 pp. $13.00.

"*Écrire en pays dominé*, a kind of intellectual autobiography, develops a challenging new way of looking at the Caribbean's historical origins (notably slavery), its racial diversity, its island culture (as oposed to the French *civilisation* forced on it through the school system) and, above all, its mother tongue, Creole. . . . An engaging and warm-hearted introduction to Chamoiseau's world is the more *intimiste School Days*, a second volume of memoirs. (The compelling first part, *Antan d'enfance*, published in 1990, remains untranslated.) The memoir opens with the boy Chamoiseau's desire to go to school (in order to imitate his older siblings), then soon charts his brutal plunge into rote learning and bilingualism. Yet for all his awareness of the violent vestiges of colonialism, satirized here with verve, Chamoiseau is not one to dwell on the negative."

John Taylor. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 32.

**Chaplin, Charlie**

*Charlie Chaplin and His Times.* Kenneth S. Lynn. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 604 pp. $35.00.

"It seems to Kenneth Lynn that, by 1997, a Chaplin biographer's first job is to disencumber the field, both of *My Autobiography* and of stuff signed by writers to whom, decade after decade, Chaplin fed similar misinformation. . . . A monster? Yet, we'll devour a 200,000-word biography, and not only because it's very smoothly written. We're grateful, too, for our memories of his films; and the films, there is no denying, fed on the life."

Hugh Kenner. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 18.

AND *Tramp: The Life of Charlie Chaplin.* Joyce Milton. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. 578 pp. $32.00.

"Lynn is anxious to show that Chaplin, in his autobiography, exaggerated the hardship of his childhood, and calls on Charles Booth's monumental *Life and Labor of the People in London (1889-1903)* and the social geography of the city to show that the mother and two boys were not destitute. . . . But Lynn is not simply picking on Chaplin. He wants, throughout his book, to replace social explanations with psychological ones, and the poverty story gets in the way of his (undeniable) thesis about the centrality of the mother's schizophrenia. . . . Milton's work is less harsh, but also less cogent; entirely reasonable, but a little dutiful, as if she thought a life, even Chaplin's, was just a life that could be told without an angle or a question. . . . Milton's conclusion offers a theater dismal view of the movies. 'Looking back

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on Chaplin's work, one is struck by what a fragile mix comedy and the film medium have turned out to be. Comedy may be a craft, even a business, but laughter depends on surprise and the illusion of spontaneous connection between performer and audience. Movies make everything and everyone familiar.'"

Michael Wood. *NYRB*, July 17, 1997: 7.

**Chatwin, Bruce**

*With Chatwin: Portrait of a Writer.* Susannah Clapp. New York: Knopf, 1997. 246 pp. $23.00.

"In her careful reading of Chatwin's books . . . Clapp fleshes out the inner world of this secretive, curiously outward-looking man. . . . 'With Chatwin' is less interested in mythologizing, or demythologizing, Chatwin than in presenting the lavish and difficult contradictions of his life."

Thomas Curwen. *LATBR*, Aug. 31, 1997: 9.

"Susannah Clapp was Chatwin's first editor, at Jonathan Cape in London. 'With Chatwin' is her adoring memoir of this mercurial figure. . . . Chatwin has been many things to many readers; to Clapp, his sympathetic but not uncritical editor, graced with a special vantage on his life and work, he was 'a shrewd observer and a sweet friend.'"

William Ferguson. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 23.

**Chekhov, Anton**

*Anton Chekhov: A Life.* Donald Rayfield. London: HarperCollins, 1997. 674 pp. £25.

"Scholars and translators apart, what will today's English Chekhovians, who have no Russian, only a feeling for the work, take away from Donald Rayfield's new biography? He insists that it is meant primarily for 'the general reader', yet offers us almost no Russian history, while making us persevere with remorseless domestic detail and an extraordinary number of relatives, friends and lovers, each of whom has a story demanding to be told. The personal qualities of the writer, his coarseness as well as his bravery, his lack of commitment as well as his loyalty, are revealed as never before."

John Stokes. *TLS*, July 18, 1997: 4-6.

**Chernin, Kim**

*My Life as a Boy: A Woman's Story.* Kim Chernin. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1997. 204 pp. $16.95.

"It's a rare soul, seemingly, that remembers its unglamourous incarnations. . . . Kim Chernin has been able to write about her love for Hadamar with a great freshness, without either nostalgia or bitterness."

Adam Mars-Jones. *LATBR*, July 20, 1997: 10.

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**Childs, Morris**

*Operation Solo: The FBI's Man in the Kremlin.* John Barron. Washington, D.C.: Gateway/Regnery, 1997. 368 pp. $12.95.

"Barron . . . the author of numerous books about the KGB and Soviet Espionage, tells for the first time the complete story of Morris's secret life, and his outstanding accomplishments. . . . What Barron shows is that Childs was able to gain the complete trust of the Soviet leadership, and thus manage, in over fifty trips to the USSR in a thirty-nine year period, to provide exceptional top-level intelligence to American policy-makers concerning the assumptions, goals, and strategies of the major Communist players. . . . John Barron has rescued Childs from oblivion, and the story he tells deserves a wide audience."

Ronald Radosh. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 28.

**Chomsky, Noam**

*Noam Chomsky: A Life of Dissent.* Robert F. Barsky. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997. 237 pp. $27.50.

Barsky . . . is more concerned with the political dissenter than with the linguist, though he is well informed about the latter. . . . Although Barsky is far too hagiographic in attitude and adulatory in tone throughout his book, the first half of his narrative is very interesting in its resurrection of figures and movements little known to most readers."

Peter Brooks. *TLS*, Aug. 1, 1997: 10-11.

**Churchill, Randolph**

*His Father's Son: The Life of Randolph Churchill.* Winston S. Churchill. North Pomfret, VT: Weidenfeld & Nicolson/Trafalgar Square, 1997. 415 pp. $40.00.

"Books by sons about fathers are not always valuable, but this book about Randolph Churchill by his son, Winston, is exceptional, readable, scholarly and well written; it contains many documents and letters to which so far only the author has had access. As long as there is a shelf of books about the Churchills, it will not be complete without 'His Father's Son."

Kenneth Harris. *NYTBR*, Aug. 31, 1997: 4.

**Claudel, Paul**

*L'Arsenal de Fou-Tcheou. Oeuvres consulaires: Chine 1895-1905.* Ed. Jacques Houriez. Lausanne: Collection du Centre Jacques-Petit, l'Age d'Homme, 1995. 219 pp.

A collection of administrative correspondence from the early years of Claudel's professional life. The introduction and notes place the letters in their proper historical context.

Pascale Alexandre. *Revue d'histoire Littéraire de la France* 97.3 (1997): 503.

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**Cod**

*Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World.* Mark Kurlamsky. New York: Walker, 1997. 294 pp. $21.00.

"This eminently readable book is a new tool for scanning world history. It leads to a vastly different perception of the way folks did what they did."

Molly Benjamin. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 10.

**Combes, Émile**

*Émile Combes.* Gabriel Merle. Paris: Fayard, 1996. 664 pp. FF180.

"The psychological make-up of Combes and his personal life provide the principal interest of this biography by Gabriel Merle. Merle's main contribution to our knowledge of Combes is to have worked his way through his enormous correspondence with his wife, and to have examined his less voluminous exchanges with other relatives and friends. . . . Elsewhere, however, he makes a good case for Combes as a would-be reformer, notably in his support for state pensions and a graduated income tax, as well as his earlier pleas for better treatment of the Muslim population in Algeria. . . . We are, however, chiefly indebted to Merle for his meticulous portrayal of Combes the family man and pillar of the local community."

Maurice Larkin. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 27.

**Crane, Hart**

*O My Land, My Friends: The Selected Letters of Hart Crane.* Ed. Langdon Hammer and Brom Weber. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1997. 608 pp. $35.00.

"These letters reveal Crane as prophet, pariah and lover; but overall the lively, fluent epistolary style contrasts strikingly with the clotted intensity of his poetry. For this excellent new edition, Langdon Hammer and Brom Weber have selected about a quarter of the 1,200 letters that survive. Inevitably the most affecting are those dispatched to his dwindling band of correspondents during the last year of his life in Mexico."

Mark Ford. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 27.

**Crews, Harry**

*Des mules et des hommes* [A Childhood: The Biography of a Place.] Trans. from English by Philippe Garnier. Paris: Coll. "La Noire," Gallimard, 1997. 273 pp. FF120.

French readers discover this book twenty years after its first publication. The autobiography covers only the first six years of the life of the author. It is singular, harsh, black and burning, written with talent and tenderness. It relates a double curse: the little boy's, and that of his God-forsaken South. Probably Crews's best book.

Michel Abescat. *Le Monde des Livres*, Aug. 8, 1997: 20.

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**Cripps, Stafford**

*Stafford Crips: The First Modern Chancellor.* Chris Bryant. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997. 534 pp. £25.

"Bryant has been industrious in piecing together his story. He has scoured the extensive secondary literature that has been produced, especially in the last twenty years, which makes this a useful account of Cripp's involvement in a series of political movements and episodes. . . . A puzzle remains about a book that has the subtitle: the first modern Chancellor. Is this really the central claim that Bryant wished to advance? . . . The real claims [this book] makes for Cripps are . . . of a different character, rooting him persuasively in his Christian background and showing that there was more to his austerity than economics."

Peter Clarke. *TLS*, Sept. 26, 1997: 7.

**Dandridge, Dorothy**

*Dorothy Dandridge: A Biography.* Donald Bogle. New York: Amistad, 1997. 613 pp. $27.95.

"One can easily see while reading Bogle's biography, 'Dorothy Dandridge,' why she appeals to performers like [Whitney] Houston and [Janet] Jackson. Dandridge's life was rich in drama."

Hilton Als. *The New Yorker*, Aug. 19, 1997: 68-72.

"In part the book is a straight-out celebrity biography packed with enough star gazing, dirt dishing, dramatic trysts and turns and innuendo to hold the interest of the most avid tabloid fan. Dandridge, however, is much more than a 'glamorous, popular icon' for Bogle, and his book is also an attempt to redefine her place on the cultural landscape."

Mel Watkins. *NYTBR*, July 13, 1997: 8-9.

**Daumal, René**

*Correspondance.* Vol. 3: *1933-1944.* René Daumal. Ed. H. J. Maxwell and C. Rugafiori. Paris: Gallimard, 1997. 414 pp. FF195.

"These are the letters of a man breaking down; a man who lives like an animal for months at a time (*'dormir, manger, promener, dormir, silence'*) under Vera's vigilant care. She protects him from the poisons which he feels will hasten his end: *'les bavardages inutiles, les bruits stupides, radio, la présence de personnes agitées, de mauvaise humeur'*.

Ian Pindar. *TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 13.

**Defoe, Daniel**

*The Life and Surprising Adventures of Daniel Defoe.* Richard West. London: HarperCollins, 1997. 427 pp. £20.

"'This is not intended to be a definitive, academic or even scholarly analysis of Defoe's writing', remarks Richard West modestly in his foreword. Nevertheless [his work] is at once compulsive reading and

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a rich source of information, painlessly conveyed. . . . One can only warm to a man who squanders his wife's fortune and is hounded by debts for the rest of his life; who is regularly on the run, both from his political and religious enemies as well as from the duns; who somehow just manages to feed his spouse and six children; who is not averse to profligate libel; whose dotty, disastrous business ventures include deals in hosiery, tiles, bricks, claret, tablecloths, civet cats and a diving bell; and who, despite hardship, misery and physical pain, persists in writing until he dies."

Peter Reading. *TLS*, Aug. 1, 1997: 32.

**DeSalvo, Louise**

*Breathless: An Asthma Journal.* Louise DeSalvo. Boston: Beacon, 1997. 156 pp. $18.00.

"Even in a context that legitimates labyrinthine inner musing, DeSalvo comes over as quite overpoweringly self-referential. . . . DeSalvo seeks to make disease the ground of the self, the body's decay her source of meaning. . . . It's dead on the page."

Anna Wilson. *Women's Review of Books* 14.10 (July 1997): 44-5.

**Diderot, Denis**

*Denis Diderot.* Laurent Versini. Paris: Hachette, 1996. 239 pp.

This is a well-undertaken and empathetic research of a much neglected author, structured around the most important periods and issues in Diderot's life.

Roland Mortier. *Revue d'histoire Littéraire de la France* 97.4 (1997): 697-8.

**Dodgson, Charles.** See **Carroll, Lewis.**

**Doyle, Arthur Conan**

*The Doctor, the Detective, and Arthur Conan Doyle: A Biography of Arthur Conan Doyle.* Martin Booth. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997. 371 pp. £20.

"Martin Booth's book is brisk and eminently readable. It has little new to add . . . but a shrewdly new way of saying it. Booth rides very lightly over his evidence, even by the standards of Doyle's non-academic biographers."

John Sutherland. *TLS*, Aug. 15, 1997: 30.

**Dumas, Alexandre**

*Alexandre Dumas: La génie de la vie.* Claude Schopp. Paris: Fayard, 1997. 622 pp. FF170.

In this enlarged edition of his biography of twelve years ago, Claude Schopp captivates us while showing abundantly that Alexandre Dumas, with his many-sided personality, is an inexhaustible subject.

Pierre-Robert Leclercq. *Le Monde des Livres*, July 4, 1997: 3.

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**Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne**

*Red Dirt: Growing Up Okie.* Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. New York: Verso UK/Routledge, 1997. 228 pp. $25.00.

"There are many qualities to praise in 'Red Dirt': its masterful evocation of a time and place, its telling details of both the pain and beauty of rural life, its straightforward yet elegant prose."

Osha Gray Davidson. *LATBR*, Aug. 24, 1997: 8.

**Durrell, Lawrence**

*Through the Dark Labyrinth: A Biography of Lawrence Durrell.* Gordon Bowker. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 480 pp. $29.95.

"Despite Bowker's admiration for Durrell's literary achievement . . . *Through the Dark Labyrinth* is no exercise in hagiography as far as this 'Epicurean' writer's turbulent and, as [Henry] Miller put it, 'charmed' life is concerned. The biographer does not shirk from unpleasant, in some cases disgusting, aspects of Durrell's behavior, notably the brutality with which he treated his wives, countless lovers, and two 'lost' daughters."

John Taylor. *TLS*, Aug. 22, 1997: 11.

**Ehrenburg, Ilya**

*Tangled Loyalties: The Life and Times of Ilya Ehrenburg.* Joshua Rubenstein. New York: Basic, 1996. 482 pp. $35.00.

"In light of what happened to Koltsov—summarily executed in February 1940, around the same time as Babel—it is doubly extraordinary that one of those who mastered the art of survival was Ilya Ehrenburg, no less intimate with the organs than either Babel or Koltsov, and no less vulnerable in his earlier commitments. Joshua Rubenstein's fine biography begins unraveling the mystery of Ehrenburg's survival by making a shrewd observation about the psychology of dictators: they prefer the company of people with a dirty secret they can use to control them. . . . For public consumption and especially for foreign audiences, Ehrenburg parroted the party line, but this, Rubenstein argues, was always a cover 'to pursue his ultimate goal: to challenge the limits of Soviet censorship, revive Russia's connections to European culture, and restore to living memory the names and works of those whom Stalin killed then erased from history.'"

Michael Ignatieff. *NYRB*. July 12, 1997: 31.

**Einstein, Albert**

*Albert Einstein: A Biography.* Albrecht Fölsing. Trans. Ewald Osers. New York: Viking, 1997. 882 pp. $34.95.

"For all its length, however, Fölsing's book deals lightly with the history of the times to concentrate on Einstein's part in them: the German Jew, growing up in only mildly anti-Semitic surroundings; the pacifist who never lost the friendship of his militaristic colleagues

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in 1914-18; the world-famous figure unable to escape political involvement; the Zionist convert; the implacable enemy of Nazism and the Germany that fostered it; and at all times one who never hid from himself his faith and failures. A great man indeed; a life well lived, and a life well told."

Brian Pippard. *TLS*, Sept. 12, 1997: 5.

**Exley, Frederick**

*Misfit: The Strange Life of Frederick Exley*. Jonathan Yardley. New York: Random House, 1997. 255 pp. $23.00.

"Yardley's biography of Frederick Exley is likely to be of interest to die-hard Exley fans, but it won't make converts."

Robert Faggen. *LATBR*, Aug. 24, 1997: 9.

"Jonathan Yardley's awkward, sometimes arid 'Misfit' is the first biography of Exley. The novelist, admittedly, did not make it easy for his biographer. Relentlessly self-cannibalizing, he all but condemned subsequent chroniclers merely to paraphrase him. Exley appears to have passed his life reclining on a succession of borrowed sofas (his friends' or his mother's), writing and declaiming in bars."

Robert Polito. *NYTBR*, Aug. 31, 1997: 7.

**Farrow, Mia**

*What Falls Away: A Memoir*. Mia Farrow. New York: Doubleday, 1997. 370 pp. $25.00.

"Her values will be recognizable and her priorities familiar to ordinary folk—heresy in a celebrity memoir. And Farrow has the writerly chops to compete with other memoirists on the glutted scene these days."

Nell Beram. *Women's Review of Books* 15.1 (Oct. 1997): 24-5.

**Faubus, Orval**

*Faubus: The Life and Times of an American Prodigal*. Roy Reed. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1997. 408 pp. $38.00.

"... Reed's analysis of Faubus's actions are some of the best parts of the book, more lively than other sections of an occasionally flat narrative."

Nadine Cohodas. *WP*, Sept. 15, 1997: 34.

"Reed's greatest contribution is to take us into the labyrinth of politics there [in Arkansas] in the 1950's and 60's. More than an account of an ambitious politician in a poor Southern state, 'Faubus' is a classic American tragedy of the clash between idealism and ambition and a cautionary tale of the corrupting power of money."

Dan T. Carter. *NYTBR*, July 20, 1997: 10.

**Ferrazzi, Cecilia**

*Autobiography of an Aspiring Saint*. Cecilia Ferrazi. Trans. Anne Jacobson Schutte. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996. 128 pp. $30.00.

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"Anne Jacobson Schutte has extracted from the records Cecilia Ferrazzi's own accounts of her experiences—some of them given to her judges in response to fairly neutral questioning, and one dictated by special permission to a Franciscan amanuensis. To translate them, as she has done, is a formidable task; but if Cecilia's statements occasionally seem incoherent, their very obscurity and ambiguity provide some assurance that the records have not been copy-edited by the Inquisition's notaries. . . . Given the need to produce a handy volume for readers in gender relations, Schutte has done an excellent job. Her presentation of the evidence, accompanied by careful explanations of every allusion in the text, allows readers to interpret for themselves; her promised book on trials for pretence of sanctity will provide further enlightenment."

Brian Pullan. *TLS*, Sept. 5, 1997: 27.

**Feynman, Richard**

*Richard Feynman: A Life in Science.* John Gribbin and Mary Gribbin. New York: Dutton, 1997. 301 pp. $24.95.

[This is a] "cheery and worshipful retelling of the Feynman story, largely based on already published material. Any hopes that the authors have come to examine the legend of Feynman rather than simply celebrate it are further dashed by their decision to take the vast folklore of Feynman anecdotes, told and retold by the physicist himself over the years, on faith."

Dennis Oberbye. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 19.

**Fields, W. C.**

*Man on the Flying Trapeze.* Simon Louvish. New York: Norton, 1997. 320 pp. $29.95.

"Louvish robs both Fields' great comic creation and his personal history of this uniqueness. . . . [His] scholarship undermine[s] his implicit argument that nice Bill Fields was actually not so very different from other comics."

Richard Schickel. *LATBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 9.

"Simon Louvish (the name sounds like one of Fields's own concoctions) teaches at the London International Film School, and, in 'Man on the Flying Trapeze,' he nicely regales us with many vaudeville stories. . . . Louvish tells us less about Field's films. This is a flaw, though admittedly the more famous ones have been parsed, and many of the smaller ones are now lost."

Katherine Wittemore. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 16.

". . . the sum of Louvish's revisionism is the argument that Fields, far from being a mean, drunken child- and wife-hating old curmudgeon who was nonetheless sublimely funny, was actually an actor who, in order to be funny, pretended to be a mean, drunken child- and wife-

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hating old curmudgeon—and then, in a slightly metaphysical extension, he did this so skillfully that by the last two decades of his life he actually was a mean, drunken, etc."

Adam Gopnik. *The New Yorker*, Sept. 8, 1997: 80-84.

"This massive tome will probably become the definitive Fields biography, and is intermittently supremely perceptive about Fields' comic talents, discussing his career, films and foibles with verve and elegance."

Nick Roddick. *Sight and Sound* 7.8 (Aug. 1997): 31.

**Fisher, M. F. K.**

*A Welcoming Life: The M. F. K. Fisher Scrapbook*. Dominique Gioia. Spring, TX: Counterpoint, 1997. 119 pp. $35.00.

This book "is a guide to her life that will be welcomed by her devotees; sensuous, witty and quick in pace, this collection of photographs and excerpts from Fisher's writing is at one with the spirit of the subject. Dominique Gioia, a freelance editor in San Francisco, provides a connecting narrative for her assemblage of memorabilia, which follows Fisher from cradle to grave."

Michael Anderson. *NYTBR*, Aug. 10, 1997: 17.

**Foster, Vincent**

*The Strange Death of Vincent Foster: An Investigation*. Christopher Ruddy. New York: The Free Press, 1997. 316 pp. $25.00.

"Christopher Ruddy first wrote about the Foster story for the New York Post and for the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, a daily newspaper owned by the conservative millionaire Richard Scaife. 'The Strange Death of Vincent Foster' presents what may be called the St. Mark version of the gospel of the Foster cover-up: a plain narrative of the perceived failings of the official investigation, with minimal speculation."

Richard Brookhiser. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 13-14.

**Gilbert, Elliot**

*Wrongful Death: A Medical Tragedy*. Sandra Gilbert. New York: Norton, 1997. 364 pp. $13.00.

"*Wrongful Death* is an account of the unexpected death in a California hospital of a sixty-year Professor of English, Elliot Gilbert, written by his wife. . . . This tragedy happened to an American middle-class, educated family whose members searched diligently to find the best professional expert available. Sandra Gilbert describes the book as a tribute to her husband and an attempt to resolve some of the issues around his death. Whether it succeeds in this for the family, only they can tell. From a professional standpoint, it provokes both thought and discussion, though it is less likely to appeal to the general reader."

Marta Buszewicz. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 29.

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**Gorky, Maxim**

*Selected Letters.* Trans and ed. Andrew Barratt and Barry P. Scherr. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 424 pp. $65.00.

"This new sampling of his letters (177 out of more than 9,000) seeks to revive interest in Gorky, but an odd tentativeness surrounds it. Explicitly offered as a stopgap pending the appearance of a 'truly comprehensive' biography—something the editors, Andrew Barratt and Barry P. Scherr, believe possible but not imminent—this selection, they say, attempts to get at 'the more intimate side of his life', by letting Gorky 'tell the story of his life in his own voice.' . . . Where is the centre, where is the element of continuity that connects the writer as witness with the writer as ideologue, the erstwhile rebel with the totalitarian, the humanitarian with the would-be exterminator, the welcomer of new literary talents with the prescriber and proscriber of ways of writing? One searches Gorky's letters in vain for indications, however oblique, of the subject's pleasures and foibles, not to speak of quandaries, self-divisions, emotional and moral discomforts."

Donald Fanger. *TLS*, July 18, 1997: 3-4.

**Gould, Glen**

*Glen Gould.* Peter F. Ostwald. New York: Norton, 1997. 416 pp. $29.95.

"Ostwald, who has written biographies of Schumann and Nijinsky, shows Gould the same courtesies he showed his previous subjects. He does not see the artistic decisions as explainable by libidinal events. He does not attack the mother. He tells us the dirt and the sorrows, but the recordings are analyzed as carefully as the neurosis."

*The New Yorker*, July 21, 1997: 77.

**Graham, Billy**

*Just As I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham.* Billy Graham. San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco/Zondervan, 1997. 760 pp. $28.50.

"[Graham's] examination of his life is as guileless as it is unpenetrating. . . . 'Just As I Am' overflows with earnest goodwill, gee-whiz enthusiasm and unfailingly flattering and superficial descriptions of his famous friends and acquaintances."

Benjamin Schwarz. *LATBR*, June 22, 1997: 5.

**Graham, Katharine**

*Personal History.* Katharine Graham. New York: Knopf, 1997. 625 pp. $29.95.

"While [it] is undoubtedly of merit as an insider's report from the nexus of twentieth century American politics and journalism, the book's merits far exceed the strictly reportorial. Seemingly without calculation, Graham has offered us in herself an unforgettably appealing character."

Boyd Zenner. *Women's Review of Books* 14.10 (July 1997): 32-3.

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**Guevara, Ernesto "Che"**

*Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life.* Jon Lee Anderson. New York: Grove. 814 pp. $35.00.

"Anderson's reconstruction of the Bolivian campaign is exhaustive and convincing. It is clear that the Bolivian Communists regarded Guevara's adventures as an unpardonable intrusion into their 'internal affairs,' and that they had the sympathy of Moscow in so doing. The persistent rumor that Castro, too, was glad to be rid of a turbulent comrade is rated by Anderson as less well-founded. A successful revolution or even upheaval in Latin America would have strengthened his hand and perhaps helped end his isolation and dependence: Havana kept in touch with the doomed expedition for as long as it could. . . . In setting down the whole story in such a respectful but objective manner, Jon Lee Anderson has succeeded in writing, for himself and I suspect for many others, a nuanced goodbye to all that."

Christopher Hitchens. *NYRB.* July 17, 1997: 20.

**Hall, Radclyffe**

*Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John.* Sally Cline. London: John Murray, 1997. 434 pp. £25.

"The phenomenon of Radclyffe Hall is an obvious and rewarding subject for analysis. While acknowledging this, Sally Cline sets out to restore equal status to the works. Unfortunately, they do not repay this kind of scrutiny. . . . Rather than making the reader want to go back to the works themselves, *Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John* stimulates interest in worlds just off-stage: wryly self-analysing Bloomsbury, or the joyously unconventional Left Bank."

Charlotte Mendelson. *TLS,* Aug. 15, 1997: 31.

**Hall, Ted**

*Bombshell: The Secret Story of Ted Hall and America's Unknown Atomic Spy Conspiracy.* Joseph Albright and Marcia Kunstel. New York: Random House/Times Books, 1997. 400 pp. $25.00.

"'Bombshell's' fluid narrative weaves the basically distinct threads of Hall's life with the Cohens' [Hall's courier for the Soviets] in an absorbing previously untold spy story. . . . Albright and Kunstel do an excellent job of clarifying the complex processes involved in making the atomic bomb."

Allen Weinstein. *LATBR,* Sept. 28, 1997: 6.

**Hawks, Howard**

*Howard Hawks: The Grey Fox of Hollywood.* Todd McCarthy. New York: Grove, 1997. 756 pp. $35.00.

"McCarthy has done a spectacular detective job on Hawks' life and legend, weaving through the error-pocked maze he left in his wake. . . . The greatest achievement of 'Howard Hawks' is that it chronicles

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in vivid detail how perhaps the last great popular artist in movies worked."

Allen Barra. *LATBR*, July 13, 1997: 6.

"Generously, the book acknowledges its debt to earlier Hawks critics like Peter Bogdanovich and Molly Haskell, but it stands on its own as an even-handed, gratifying portrait of a distasteful man and his enduring work."

Diane Jacobs. *NYTBR*, July 20, 1997: 10.

**Heine, Heinrich**

*Écrits autobiographiques.* Heinrich Heine. Trans. and notes by Nicole Taubes. Paris: "Bibliothèque franco-allemande," Editions du Cerf, 1997. 208 pp.

Famous in his days in Germany, and France as well, Heine (1797, Düsseldorf—1856, Paris) is now largely forgotten. His bicentenary is the occasion for this publication, in which one (re-)discovers a poet, a formidable satirist, and a close friend of Marx, enemy of social injustices. He also announced (in 1834!) "a great disaster coming from Germany"—words which, in the light of Nazi horrors, seem to have the appearance of prophetic lucidity.

Roger-Pol Droit. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 12, 1997: 6.

*Taubenherz und Geierschnabel: Heinrich Heine, Eine Biographie.* Fritz J. Raddatz. Weinbeim: Beltz Quadrigia, 1997. 391 pp. DM42.

*"Der Zweck Des Lebens Ist Das Leben Selbst": Heinrich Heine, Eine Biographie.* Jan-Christoh Hauschild and Michael Werner. Köln: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1997. 606 pp. DM25.

*Der Fall Heine.* Marcel Reich-Ranicki. Stüttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1997. 128 pp. DM28.

"Raddatz . . . stops short of setting up any definitive thesis. His striking title—'Dove-heart and Vulture-beak', a phrase Heine let fall in conversation—is never worked up into one. The same is true of Hauschild and Werner's title, *'Der Zweck des Lebens ist das Leben selbst'*, the more familiar phrase with which Heine (in one mood) rejected all teleologies, old and new. It could have been the unifying thread their otherwise rich volume lacks. As it is, they provide an account of external realities that stays mostly at some distance from Heine's creative centre. The short penny-packet chapters prevent the narrative getting into the larger stride of compelling literary biography, but it makes a very useful reference work, clearly written, thoroughly researched (both authors are at the centre of recent Heine scholarship) and particularly strong on the French political, cultural and commercial background and the sociology of nineteenth-century literature in general. . . . Marcel Reich-Ranicki has collected some of his Heine pieces of three decades, all urbanely written, keeping essentials in view, essays of a Heine reader for readers. But just who are they?

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From this slight volume, the biographies, the 3-kilogram catalogue, the Düsseldorf edition and the many collections and selections the year has brought, there are ways enough into Heine. The teasing question remains, who in Germany is reading him now?"

T. J. Reed. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 3-4.

**Hemings, Sally.** See **Jefferson, Thomas.**

**Hoffman, Abbie**

*For the Hell of It: The Life and Times of Abbie Hoffman.* Jonah Raskin. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996. 316 pp. $24.95.

This "laborious effort to give Abbie Hoffman's life more significance than it had . . . is doomed from the outset."

Sanford Pinsker. *Georgia Review* 51.2 (Summer 1997): 356-64.

**Jefferson, Thomas**

*Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy.* Annette Gordon-Reid. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1997. 288 pp. $29.95.

"Gordon-Reid's accomplishments in this work are numerous. She has built a formidable case in support of the position that Jefferson and Hemings had an intimate relationship for many years. The debate, undoubtedly, will continue, but there is little reason that it should, given the author's impressive base of evidence that the two were sexually involved and had several children together as a result. She also provides an instructive critique of those academicians who purposefully obscure the truth."

Brenda Stevenson. *WP*, June 30, 1997: 33.

**Jinnah, Muhammad Ali**

*Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin.* Akbar S. Ahmed. New York: Routledge, 1997. 274 pp. $19.95.

"There are many Muhammad Ali Jinnahs in the pages of South Asian scholarship. The founder of Pakistan has been variously depicted as a stooge of the British Raj, as a modernist secular leader and, conversely, as a warrior for the creation of an Islamic state. Akbar S. Ahmed adds another image in this inventive and hugely entertaining but contentious book, that of Jinnah as a role model for a tolerant but religiously oriented Muslim identity."

Ian Talbot. *TLS*, Aug. 8, 1997: 8-9.

**John Paul II, Pope**

*Man of the Century: The Life and Times of Pope John Paul II.* Jonathan Kwitny. New York: Holt, 1997. 754 pp. $30.00.

"For the time being, 'Man of the Century' must be considered the best life of Wojtyla available and, by a substantial margin, it is the most thoroughly researched, the most complete and offers the best

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balance between maintaining a sometimes prickly critical distance and showing open admiration for its subject."

Charles R. Morris. *LATBR*, Aug. 17, 1997: 8.

**Johnson, Lyndon**

*Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam*. H. R. McMaster. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 446 pp. $27.50.

"Drawing from a rich store of previously classified records, McMaster—an active-duty Army officer and Persian Gulf War veteran who is also a trained historian—concludes that, over the crucial period from late 1963 to mid-1965, President Lyndon Johnson and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara failed to seek military advice on how to achieve U.S. goals in Vietnam."

Arnold R. Issacs. *WP*, June 9, 1997: 33.

**Jung, Carl Gustav**

*Carl Gustav Jung*. Frank McLynn. New York: A Thomas Dunne Book/ St. Martin's, 1997. 624 pp. $29.95.

*The Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung*. Richard Noll. New York: Random House, 1997. 334 pp. $25.95.

"McLynn's 'Carl Gustav Jung' is a full-fledged biography by the author of five others, including lives of Robert Louis Stevenson and Sir Henry Morgan Stanley, the African explorer. McLynn, a professional biographer and neither pro- nor anti-Jung, recognizes that 'Jung is in many ways a battlefield' and has sought to avoid absorbing 'any of the conscious or unconscious *parti pris* that man and his doctrines provoke.' The result is an evenhanded chronicle that follows Jung from cradle to grave and attempts to explicate the theories he constantly spun out. . . .

'The Aryan Christ' doesn't pretend to be a biography; it skims across Jung's early years to focus on the crucial month in 1913, and it largely ignores his life after about 1930. In part, Noll does for Jung what Frank Sulloway did for Sigmund Freud in 'Freud: Biologist of the Mind' (1979): he places Jung's dreams and theories in the context not of biology but of contemporary mythological studies, showing how virtually all his supposed revelations can be found in books by once-popular authorities like Friedrich Creuzer and Franz Cumont."

Walter Kendrick. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 32-33.

**Kato, Shidzue**

*A "New Woman" of Japan: A Political Biography of Kato Shidzue*. Helen M. Hopper. Boulder: Westview, 1996. 304 pp. $49.95.

"Kato Shidzue, born at the turn of the century to an upper-class family, emerged from a traditional role as 'good wife and wise mother' to that of a political advocate for birth control, family planning, and

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human rights. . . . Hopper has written an important personal, historical, and political biography of an extraordinary woman, providing a compelling portrait of the changing role of women, democratic politics, and Japanese society and mores during most of the twentieth century."

Joyce Gelb. *Journal of Asian Studies* 56.1 (Feb. 1997): 208-9.

**Kelly, John**

*Cool About the Ankles.* John Kelly. Belfast: Blackstaff, 1997. 160 pp. £7.99.

"This is a vigorous and entertaining short memoir, which moves back and forth between a snow-bound Manhattan in 1996 and Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, during the 1970s, when Kelly was growing up and beginning to understand the gulf between 'Prodesans and Catlicks', and the joys of football in a car-park. The narrative occasionally veers into insincerity, and, at moments, hyperbole seems to dominate the author's response to the world about him, whether it is a matter of 'reading whole books called novels' in Enniskillen, or throwing himself heart and soul into the music of black America. . . . On the whole, though, a balance is maintained between the rich trough of memories and the ironical presentation which the adult perspective requires."

*TLS*, July 4, 1997: 31.

**Kennedy, Edward**

*The Shadow President: Ted Kennedy in Opposition.* Burton Hersh. South Royalton, VT: Steerforth, 1997. 219 pp. $23.00.

". . . 'The Shadow President' is an addition, albeit a slender one, to the ever-growing shelves of Kennedy hagiography. It makes some valid points about Ted Kennedy's legislative skills and political success, though none is original, and it paints as appealing a portrait of him as one is likely to find. But in his eagerness to pay homage, Hersh fails to see his subject in much more depth than ordinary news coverage has provided, and his contempt for Kennedy's critics leads him to make at least one utterly unfounded allegation."

Jonathan Yardley. *WP*, June 16, 1997: 34

"While he may well be the Democrat the Republican faithful love to hate, the do-good liberal incarnate, the Kennedy Hersh describes is a gracious, congenial and wily pol who is admired, even downright liked, by his ideological foes."

Abbott Combes. *NYTBR*, Aug. 10, 1997: 17.

**Kennedy, John.** See **Khrushchev, Nikita.**

**Keppel, Alice and Violet**

*Mrs. Keppel and Her Daughter.* Diana Souhami. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 338 pp. $25.95.

"Souhami, whose previous books include a joint biography of Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, and an account of the relationship

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between Greta Garbo and Cecil Beaton, is Violet's unabashed champion. Encouraged by the strides in feminist biography in recent decades and by greater openness about homosexuality, she portrays Violet not as 'evil' (a word Nigel Nicolson used when granting Souhami access to his family papers) but as a woman who loved another woman and who was punished—by society. Especially by her mother, whom she adored."

Kennedy Fraser. *NYTBR*, Aug. 17, 1997: 6-7.

**Khrushchev, Nikita**

*"One Hell of a Gamble": Khrushchev, Castro, Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1958-1964.* Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali. New York: Norton, 1997. 420 pp. $27.50.

"The authors could have produced a fine, critical case history of misjudgments; instead, they have left the reader alone in a maze of self-serving and foolish Soviet opinion about the Cuban revolution."

Tad Szulc. *WP*, June 29, 1997: 34.

"Until now . . . we haven't had a good up-close look at large and vital parts of the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev; the interplay between Moscow and Havana; the degree of risk that the Kremlin was willing to run in order to secure its foothold in the Caribbean. This detailed account may not altogether fill the gap, but it comes fairly close."

John Newhouse. *NYTBR*, July 27, 1997: 10.

**Knightley, Phillip**

*A Hack's Progress.* Phillip Knightley. London: Cape, 1997. 267 pp. £17.99.

"Bracing Australian scepticism is a characteristic of the journalist Phillip Knightley's entertaining memoirs."

Michael Davie. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 28.

**Korolev, Sergei Pavlovich**

*Korolev: How One Man Masterminded the Soviet Drive to Beat the Americans to the Moon.* James Harford. New York: Wiley & Sons, 1997. 392 pp. $30.00.

"One suspects . . . that there was more to him [Korolev] than the secondhand character portrayed here. In his lifetime, this 'Hero of Socialist Labor' was kept from public view as a security measure. He now deserves a biography that speaks with his voice about what it was like to be the missile czar at the dawn of the space age."

Alex Roland. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 25.

**Kubler-Ross, Elisabeth**

*The Wheel of Life: A Memoir of Living and Dying.* Elisabeth Kubler-Ross. New York: Scribner's, 1997. 280 pp. $22.00.

"Unfortunately, her memoir will do her posthumous reputation no good at all. It is, perhaps, unkind to criticize the style of a book

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produced under what must have been very trying circumstances; but its content also leaves a great deal to be desired."

A. M. Daniels. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 28.

**Ladurie, Jacques Le Roy**

*Mémoires 1902-1945.* Jacques Le Roy Ladurie. Ed. Anthony Rowley and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. Paris: Flammarion. 497 pp. FF150.

"His memoirs give one a fascinating insight into many aspects of French life: the Catholic officer class, the author's beloved Normandy with its patois and its 'café console' (coffee with *calva* added), nostalgic monarchism as the Count of Paris makes an occasional appearance, the presence in the corridors of Vichy of many young technocrats and politicans who came into prominence in the 1950s and 60s; the disturbing image of a friendly René Bousquet telling the author that they would all be shot after the war, the nice Germans like Achenbach, the rogues and the patriots, not forgetting Pétain himself observed at close quarters, an unpredictable mixture of decency, vanity and flippancy. They are all here in admirable recollection, and one also catches a glimpse of the ten-year-old Emmanuel helping his father to put up the mobilization posters in 1939: history in the making for a historian in the making."

John Rogister. *TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 12.

**Lang, Fritz**

*Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast.* Patrick McGilligan. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 540 pp. $30.00.

"The story McGilligan tells is certainly preferable to the hagiographic biography by Lotte Eisner. Nor is he deterred by the lies and evasions which frustrated Peter Bogdanovich in his book-length interview with Lang. For the time being, this will do; better critics than McGilligan will have to decide how this new knowledge of Lang's maniacal, perhaps murderous, temperament should influence our judgment of the films he made."

Peter Conrad. *TLS*, Aug. 22, 1997: 18-19.

"A beast Lang certainly was, in the mythological sense, like a griffin, a creature comprising elements even more sharply contrasting than those in most of us mortals. McGilligan, with ferocious research, and a touch of wonder—throughout, he seems to be shaking his head in fascination—spreads those elements before us: the quasi-diabolist artist, the sadistic perfectionist with his actors, the fervent devotee of truth, the twister of facts, the elegant immoralist, the indefatigable amorist, the disturbing seer into the giant maladies of his epoch."

Stanley Kauffmann. *NYTBR*, July 20, 1997: 11.

"... a work of serious historical research, and by far the most detailed narrative account available for the personal and professional life of a

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notoriously difficult director, whose legendary reticence in its turn inspired legends, some his own, some concocted by others."

Thomas Elsaesser. *Sight and Sound* 7.8 (Aug. 1997): 28.

**Leavis, F. R.**

*F. R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism.* Ian MacKillop. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 476 pp. $35.00.

*F. R. Leavis: A Literary Biography.* G. Singh. London: Duckworth, 1997. 300 pp. £35.

"Few critics are afforded the compliment of a biography; very few indeed can ever have been accorded the compliment of two, as F. R. Leavis has been in the UK—one following the other in quick succession. But then Leavis was not as other critics. He was a guru, a leader, a master of those who know; he was also, in his time, a major hate figure. One way or another, he succeeded in obsessing a large number of people; and although, nearly twenty years after his death the passions he aroused have inevitably subsided, they are by no means extinct. . . . Of the two biographies, MacKillop's, which has now appeared in the US, is the more conventional, and the more interesting. A former pupil of Leavis, he writes, for the most part, as a disciple; at the same time he is at pains to point out that the book is not 'authorized,' that he hasn't had the Leavis family's blessing. Singh, on the other hand, has written a book which is authorized in all but name. He is one of Leavis's literary executors, and his dust jacket carries an endorsement from his fellow executor, Leavis's son Robin. Above all his approach is the only one you can imagine Leavis himself–assuming there had to be a biography–finding remotely acceptable: he concentrates overwhelmingly on books, articles, ideas, teaching activities, and literary attitudes, on publications and the public man. Leavis like to call himself an 'anti-philosopher,' and Singh's book might well be termed an anti-biography. But a certain amount of life can't help leaking in, even so."

John Gross. *NYRB*. June 26, 1997: 32.

**Lees-Milne, James**

*Ancient as the Hills: Diaries, 1973-1974.* London: John Murray, 1997. 228 pp. £20.

"The last entry in James Lees-Milne's latest volume, the sixth so far, describes his anxiety about the impending publication of the first. 'Oh God am I making another dreadful mistake?' The mistake would have been to have stopped after that first instalment, whose descriptions of comfortless wartime journeys from one decaying masterpiece of architecture and its anxious, if not deranged, owner to another make so clear how much the British nation owes to the National Trust and how much the National Trust owes to James Lees-Milne."

Isabel Colegate. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 29.

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**Levi, Primo**

*Conversazioni e interviste 1963–1987.* Primo Levi. Edition established by Marco Belpolito. Turin: Einaudi, 1997. 331 pp. Lire 26,000.

"At school, I received a humanistic education. I am also a chemist, and a former prisoner. Therefore I have at least three sources for my writing." Over the years, this multidimensional man became less and less a chemist and more and more a writer, but he could never forget Auschwitz, and obsessionally tried to "understand the Germans." A moving book on a complex man.

Fabio Gambaro. *Le Monde des Livres*, Aug. 1, 1997: 24.

**London, Jack**

*Jack London: A Life.* Alex Kershaw. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 335 pp. $24.95.

"A survey of other biographies reveals that not a great deal is added by Kershaw to the overall understanding of London's life and work. Judged on its own merits, however, Kershaw's contribution is a well-placed, unstuffy and engaging account of one of this century's most paradoxical literary figures."

Paul Watkins. *TLS*, Aug. 8, 1997: 25-6.

**Loti, Pierre**

*Cette éternelle nostalgie. Journal intime 1875-1911.* Pierre Loti. Edition established by Bruno Vercier, Alain Quella-Villéger, and Guy Dugas. Paris: La Table ronde, 1997. 585 pp. FF180.

The main interest of this diary comes from a revelation: it makes it clear that it is the sole and only source of all the works of Loti, whether novels, travelling accounts, or plays. Unfortunately, at the end of his life, Loti "purged" his text, and his son and daughter-in-law had probably their share in the censure.

Pierre-Robert Leclercq. *Le Monde des Livres*, July 25, 1997: 23.

**Luce, Clare Booth**

*Rage for Fame: The Ascent of Clare Boothe Luce.* Sylvia Jukes Morris. New York: Random House, 1997. 561 pp. $30.00.

"Morris has done an enormous job of research and resisted the temptation to be spellbound by the aura of Clare Booth Luce. . . . For a blow-by-blow account of how lovely little Miss Rags made her way to Riches, it's fine, but if you want to know whether Clare Boothe Luce deserves more than a gossip item in history, hope that the second volume will be more to the point."

Flora Lewis. *LATBR*, June 22, 1997: 10.

"Morris's portrait of Luce's ascent winds up being so corrosive that it makes [Pamela] Harriman look like merely a first-rate golddigger. Unfortunately, there is no direct comparison of these two worldly

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women, at least in Volume One. Morris is so intent on giving us the minutiae of Luce's life and work that she does not paint the larger picture here."

Grace Lichtenstein. *WP*, June 23, 1997: 33.

**Mah, Adeline Yen**

*Falling Leaves Return to Their Roots: The True Story of an Unwanted Chinese Daughter.* Adeline Yen Mah. London: Michael Joseph, 1996. 278 pp. £16.99.

"This is a memoir of family conflict and personal suffering, set within the context of the changes taking place in Chinese society since the early years of this century. . . . Tragic though its portrayals of family rupture are, this autobiographical account of a life of privilege and emotional deprivation adds little to our understanding of Chinese society. In its brief historical introductions (including yet more descriptions of how feet were bound), its repetition of stereotypes (including the association of foreignness and evil), even its accounts of family conflicts and sibling competition, it exemplifies the limitations of an overworked genre, and is a reminder of why we should continue to be wary of the genre as a means of explaining the past."

Harriet Evans. *TLS*, July 4, 1997: 29.

**Mahfouz, Naguib**

*Echoes of an Autobiography.* Naguib Mahfouz. Trans. from the Arabic by Denys Johnson-Davies. London: Transworld. 118 pp. £14.99.

"If you are looking for an autobiogrphy of Naguib Mahfouz, or even for the echoes of one, please ignore this book. The nearest the author ever got to writing an autobiography was in some of his novels, notably *The Cairo Trilogy*, *Mirrors*, and *The Fountain and the Tomb*. However, if what you want is the quintessential Mahfouz; the wisdom of a great mind distilled from thirty-three novels, some 200 short stories, and a lifetime of contemplating the human condition, you need look no further. It is all here in this quaint book, which is reminiscent of Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet*."

Rasheed El-Enany. *TLS*, July 25, 1997: 4.

**Mara, Ratu Kamisese**

*The Pacific Way: A Memoir.* Ratu Kamisese Mara. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1997. 280 pp. $42.00.

"Ratu Kamisese Mara is a Polynesian of distinguished lineage, born to command and high political office, educated in New Zealand, at Oxford and the LSE, who writes in a witty and urbane style. *The Pacific Way* is an account of his people's attempts to come to terms with the modern world and to maintain their place in it, while retaining their own culture. . . . This is, after all, a memoir and an *apologia pro vita sua*, so the first twenty chapters give a general account of his life. Seen in

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retrospect, this was (as was Churchill) a long preparation for the challenge of saving his country. In the hour of crisis, Winston Churchill was sixty-five, Ratu Mara was sixty-seven. His book deserves to be read, not only by specialists, but by the general public as a human document which (handsomely produced and well illustrated) captures the man, his people and their archipelago."

George Milner. *TLS*, Sept. 12, 1997: 30.

**Marion, Frances**

*Without Lying Down: Frances Marion and the Powerful Women of Hollywood.* Cari Beauchamp. New York: Scribner's, 1997. 476 pp. $30.00.

"[Beauchamp's] book is solid history, full of colorful anecdotes but free of gossip. The beauty of [it] is that she makes Marion's life into a story about her friendships with other successful women."

Jeanine Basinger. *LATBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 14.

**Marvin, Lee**

*Lee: A Romance.* Pamela Marvin. London: Faber, 1997. 436 pp. £15.99.

"Pamela Feeley first laid eyes on Lee Marvin in the summer of 1945, as he emerged, all six feet two of him, from a swimming hole at Sawkill Creek in the New England town of Woodstock. . . . She has now written, as his widow, a long, rambling, often poignant and occasionally illuminating account of their life together. . . . Without an over-long chapter on big-game fishing and a further 187 pages on the case that coined the word 'palimony', this would be a surprisingly engaging read. As it is, it still manages, for all its editorial shortcomings, to serve as a decent valediction for a man, who, as William Hurt put it, 'was such a delight that I enjoy missing him'."

*TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 34.

**Maugham, Somerset**

*Somerset Maugham and the Maugham Dynasty.* Bryan Connon. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996. 396 pp. £25.

"*Somerset Maugham and the Maugham Dynasty*, a successor to Connon's excellent biography of Beverley Nichols, is an odd book altogether. Its blurb suggests that 'the name of W. Somerset Maugham is as potent as it was when Willie died over thirty years ago,' which will be news to many people. The form is erratic, passing over proper chapters in favour of fragmentary descriptions of incident and character, some of them no more than three or four pages long. . . . It is perhaps not his fault that the main players emerge as truly horrible human beings . . . but one can still wonder at the motivation behind this pitiless exposure of the homosexual literary life. . . . In more than one sense, this is the queerest of books."

D. J. Taylor. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 5.

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**McCormick, Robert R.**

*The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormick, 1880-1955, Indomitable Editor of the Chicago Tribune.* Richard Norton Smith. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1997. 597 pp. $35.00.

"[This is] a 500-plus page narrative rich in both detail and insight. . . . For Smith, getting at the real McCormick was clearly a titanic struggle. The biographer ended up being fair, which his subject often wasn't. And he scrupulously withheld all opinion and judgment, for which the Colonel could never have forgiven him."

Jim Squires. *LATBR*, July 6, 1997: 3-4.

"Though for the most part Smith is content to describe rather than explain, he explores these [publishing follies such as the 'Dewey Defeats Truman' headline] with sensitivity, flair and even a modicum of sympathy. Yet even his measured empathy is put to the test in the book's concluding pages."

David M. Kennedy. *NYTBR*, July 13, 1997: 8-9.

**McIntyre, James Francis, Cardinal**

*His Eminence of Los Angeles James Francis Cardinal McIntyre.* Msgr. Francis J. Weber. St. Francis Historical Society. 728 pp. $35.00.

"At long last, a much vilified Roman Catholic prelate of the 20th century . . . can now have his day in court, thanks to the meticulous research and energetic writing of archdiocesan archivist Msgr. Francis J. Weber."

Kevin Starr. *LATBR*, June 22, 1997: 3.

**McNamara, Robert.** See **Johnson, Lyndon.**

**Melville, Herman**

*Herman Melville: A Biography.* Vol. 1. *1819-1851.* Hershel Parker. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996. 941 pp. $39.00.

"[It] is monumental and meticulous, anchored in decades of exhaustive research . . . a benchmark biography [and] a fascinating social history."

R. Bruce Buckley, Jr. *American Literature* 69.3 (Sept. 1997): 627-8.

**Miller, Henry.** See **Claudel, Paul.**

**Mitchison, Naomi**

*The Nine Lives of Naomi Mitchison.* Jenni Calder. London: Virago, 1997. 340 pp. £20.

"To tell someone's life story when they are still alive can be a tricky enterprise, particularly when the subject is as formidable and as sensitive to the links between real life and fiction as the Scottish writer Naomi Mitchison, who is approaching her 100th birthday this year. Indeed, there are moments in this consistently interesting and

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thoughtful biography where one senses Jenni Calder's inhibitions and hesitations as she seeks to pin down a remarkable life and a complex personality. . . . Calder's portrait of Mitchison as a wife, mother and lover is intriguing. It shows a highly sexual woman who still had her fair share of sexual and emotional insecurities; who, despite an apparent lack of interest in the day-to-day aspects of child-rearing, had seven children; a nomad who was also driven to create rooted comunities, often with herself as their centrepiece."

Alex Clark. *TLS*, Aug. 15, 1997: 30.

**Morgan, William de**

*Rare Spirit: A Life of William de Morgan, 1839-1911.* Mark Hamilton. London: Constable, 1997. 236 pp.

"Hamilton, rather unexpectedly for a biographer, says 'it is pointless to speculate on the intimate details of a marriage which took place over a hundred years ago.' . . . Mark Hamilton, like everyone else who writes about de Morgan's life, has to rely largely on Mrs. Stirling's memoirs. On his art and craft much more has been written, and Hamilton records it, as a dutiful amateur. But what is truly distinctive in his book is his approach to the novels."

Penelope Fitzgerald. *TLS*, Oct. 3, 1997: 32.

**Nazimova, Alla**

*Nazimova.* Gavin Lambert. New York: Knopf, 1997. 420 pp. $32.50.

"[Lambert's] thorough research and easy style recreate 19th century Russia and the vitality of Moscow theater life . . . as well as the exuberance of Los Angeles in the 1920s and '30s. He has taken a seminal yet largely forgotten actress and brought her back to life.

Eric Lax. *LATBR*, July 13, 1997: 3.

"When Lambert, a suave, knowledgeable biographer has sorted out all the confusions, [a] . . . less common theme emerges: Nazimova was a great actress who proved financially unprofitable only when producers cast her in shlock."

*The New Yorker*, Aug. 11, 1997: 79.

**Nehru, Jawaharlal**

*Nehru: A Tryst with Destiny.* Stanley Wolpert. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 546 pp. £25.

"Wolpert's is a chatty, rambling study, replete with literary and rhetorical devices and neat throw-away lines which undermine its historical credibility. It is biographical in shape, but is grossly imbalanced, with only the last ninety pages dealing with the vital years of Nehru's premiership. It is too long and detailed for the general reader, but seriously deficient for the genuine scholar or student of India. . . . Wolpert bases his study entirely on personality. He over-credits Nehru with power and influence as an individual, but also

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structures the account of his life round his personal relationships in a way that is at times gratuitously distasteful."

Judith M. Brown. *TLS*, Aug. 8, 1997: 7-8.

**Newbolt, Henry**

*Playing the Game: A Life of Henry Newbolt.* Susan Chitty. London: Quartet, 1997. 288pp. £25.

"Patriotic uplift has always been at the root of Newbolt's appeal, which makes Susan Chitty's revelations in this biography all the more piquant. Her never less than brisk and readable account in fact makes the life seem rather more interesting than the verse, and although she appears to promise in her introduction a fogeyish defence of Newbolt, calling Amis and Larkin as star witnesses, in fact she has little to say about the poetry."

Nicholas Murray. *TLS*, Sept. 12, 1997: 4.

**Nicolson, Nigel**

*Long Life.* Nigel Nicolson. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997. 310 pp. £20.

"Nigel Nicolson has assumed many roles over the years, some more comfortable than others, and these provide the non-sequential chapters of *Long Life*. . . . Nicolson writes interestingly about his careers in publishing and politics, and supplies a carefully worded summing-up of Lord Aldington's libel case against Nicolai Tolstoy, in which he appeared for the defence, but it is the author's role as the son of Harold Nicolson and Vita Sackville-West that provides the best scenes."

Peter Parker. *TLS*, Sept. 12, 1997: 31.

**Ovitz, Michael**

*Ovitz.* Robert Slater. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997l. 360 pp. $22.95.

"Slater tells his story in the breathless style of the business success story. . . . [But] this is a rickety book. Slater shows no particular knowledge of Hollywood . . . he doesn't try to explain the intricacies of Ovitz's art form, the deal."

Jim Boorstin. *LATBR*, July 13, 1997: 8.

**Parsons, Elsie Clews**

*Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life.* Desley Deacon. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. 512 pp. $29.95.

"The first woman president of the American Anthropological Association, Parsons was born in 1874 into the upper reaches of New York and Newport society and rebelled against its formality and frivolity. . . . Parsons's splendid life and work continue to illuminate current puzzles about acculturation and diversity."

*The New Yorker*, Sept. 8, 1997: 84.

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**Pauling, Linus**

*Force of Nature: The Life of Linus Pauling*. Thomas Hager. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995. 791 pp. $32.50.

*Linus Pauling in His Own Words: Selections from His Writing, Speeches, and Interviews*. Ed. Barbara Marinacci. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995. 320 pp. $17.99.

"Whether this is a symptom of the postmodern condition or a return to fin-de-siècle cultural pessimism, the breed of scientific leader as public intellectual and political activist . . . seems to have become nearly extinct. Hager's biography of Pauling (the best of five Pauling biographies) is a magisterial re-creation of one such life. . . . Admittedly, Hager advances neither any cultural or psychological interpretation, nor a historical argument. But his delicate balancing act of empathy and critical posture, his dexterous treatment of the scientific and political, the personal and professional, convey a sense of immediacy through vivid prose. Pauling's own voice, captured in the annotated excerpts in Marinacci's volume, serves as a handy complement to Hager's biography."

Lily E. Kay. *TLS*, Aug. 1, 1997: 9-10.

**Philip of Spain**

*Philip of Spain*. Henry Kamen. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997. 384 pp. $35.00.

"'Philip of Spain' is a fine achievement, and should be taken very seriously by scholars. Since it is well written, it can also be read for pleasure by the general reader."

Hugh Thomas. *NYTBR*, Aug. 10, 1997: 9.

**Philippe d'Orléans**

*The Man Who Would Be King: The Life of Philippe d'Orléans, Regent of France, 1674-1723*. Christine Pevitt. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997. 366 pp. £25.

"Christine Pevitt confesses to being obsessed by 'her' Philippe. Her portrait is predictably sympathetic, though not uncritical, but it adds little to the historical record. Drawn exclusively from printed sources (with Saint-Simon providing the best lines), her biography is as much a picture of the Regency as an attempt to grapple with the Regent and his achievements. Yet, despite the heritage-trail trappings, a 'stormy lunch' here, and minor lapses there (Fontenelle is Fontanelle throughout), she constructs an engaging and balanced view of Philippe, not as the luster after royal power her title seems to promise, but as a man with one foot in the old century and another in the new, 'a pragmatist and a realist', and a modernizing patrician. It is a shrewd assessment of a man whom even his contemporaries found 'impenetrable'.

David Coward. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 30.

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**Phoung Trang.** See **Tadesse, Sinedu.**

**Picasso, Pablo**

*Picasso: The Early Years, 1892-1906.* Ed. Marilyn McCully. New Haven: National Gallery of Art/Yale UP, 1997. 374 pp. $60.00.

"Accompanied by well-known and unfamiliar reproductions of the artist's work, the essays . . . were chosen to reflect new areas of scholarly research."

Robin Lippincott. *NYTBR*, Aug. 3, 1997: 17.

**Pickford, Mary**

*Pickford: The Woman Who Made Hollywood.* Eileen Whitfield. Louisville: U of Kentucky P, 1997. 410 pp. $25.00.

"Whitfield's task is . . . difficult . . . because so much has been written on Pickford. . . . [This] book carves out original territory by bringing a woman's point of view to Pickford's life."

Jeanine Basinger. *LATBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 14.

**Presley, Elvis**

*Elvis: In the Twilight of Memory.* June Juanico. New York: Arcade, 1997. $25.95.

"This loving memoir of an achingly passionate—and achingly chaste—romance is an invaluable addition to the growing body of intelligent Elvisiana."

*The New Yorker*, Aug. 25 & Sept. 1, 1997: 160.

"Unfortunately, 'Elvis: In the Twilight of Memory' is written with loyalty but little insight. In what reads like a high school diary, clichés abound, intimate descriptions of sexual fumblings tell us more than we really want to know, and dialogue between the lovers sounds like a movie script in dire need of rewrite."

Leslie Chess Feller. *NYTBR*, Aug. 24, 1997: 18.

**Ramphele, Mamphela**

*Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader.* New York: Feminist Press, 1997. 244 pp. $19.95.

"As Mamphela Ramphele puts it: 'Women have to find a script, a narrative to live by, because all other scripts are likely to depict them in roles that fit the conventional stereotypes.' Her own script began when after the limited schooling of a remote mission village, she decided to be a doctor 'not because of the desire to serve', but because of 'the passion for freedom to be my own mistress in a society in which being black and woman defined the boundaries'. . . . Mamphela Ramphele is somebody we are going to hear about a lot more in the future. Her truly remarkable story is a long way from being complete."

Dennis Walder. *TLS*, July 4, 1997: 30.

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**Revel, Jean-François**

*Mémoires: Le voleur dan la maison vide.* Jean-François Revel. Paris: Plon. 649 pp. FF149.

"I find the negative implication of the title inappropriate for so positive a book of memoirs, which is very much *un plein empirique*, bursting with action and ideas. In his late teens, Revel had an exciting time as a messenger-boy in the Resistance, and throughout his subsequent career, he seems never to have known a dull moment and has made friends everywhere; in short, he has plundered the house of life very successfully. . . . Perhaps, because he is so conscious of the variety of his own impulses, he is particularly good at appraising both the strengths and the weaknesses of the people he has known."

John Weightman. *TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 13.

**Rilke, Rainer Maria**

*Rilke: Chronik seines Lebens und Werkes.* Ingeborg Schnack. Frankfurt: Insel, 1996. 1,411 pp. DM128.

"For over twenty-five years, Ingeborg Schnack's *Rilke Chronik*, published on the centenary of the poet's birth in 1975, has proved indispensable. Movingly, the book was revised and reissued in 1996 to mark Ingeborg Schnack's own 100th birthday. To the 1,097 pages of the first edition and the three pages of addenda, she has added a further seventy pages and over 180 new sources, with material by Hermann Hesse, Thomas Mann, Walter Benjamin, Kokoschka and Marina Tsvetaeva."

Jeremy Adler. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 6-7.

**Rimbaud, Arthur**

*Arthur Rimbaud: Une question de présence.* Jean-Luc Steinmitz. Paris: Tallandier. 489 pp. FF155.

*Somebody Else: Arthur Rimbaud in Africa: 1880-91.* Charles Nicholl. London: Cape. 326 pp. £18.99.

"Jean-Luc Steinmetz's *Arthur Rimbaud: Une question de présence*, first published in time for the centenary celebrations in 1991 and now reissued, is an outstanding piece of work that seems to have gone unnoticed in the English-speaking world, a fact that is all the more baffling when it looks set to become the standard life of Rimbaud for many years to come. Not only does it reveal a better understanding of Rimbaud's spiritual imperatives, without at any point lapsing into hagiography, above all, it is the first biography to bring out a clear sense of the continuity underlying the two 'halves of Rimbaud's life.' . . . Though not, ' a book about Rimbaud the poet', [Nicholl's] reconstruction of the latter's time in Africa complements that of Steinmetz, but is marred somewhat by being carelessly written in places and, above all, badly organized.

Mark Hutchinson. *TLS*, July 25, 1997: 3-4.

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**Robinson, Jackie**

*Jackie Robinson*. Arnold Rampersad. New York: Knopf, 1997. 448 pp. $27.50.

"One may fault the author for giving us so many high school basketball scores, but one must admire him for the breadth of his research, which creates a detailed portrait of a fascinating, irritating, admirable man. . . . [T]he most impressive pages are those that cover the post-diamond years."

Heywood Hale Broun. *LATBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 10.

**Rocque, Colonel François de la**

*Le Colonel de la Roque, 1885-1946: Ou les pièges du nationalisme chrétien*. Jacques Nobécourt. Paris: Fayard. 1,194 pp. FF250.

"A full-length study of La Rocque and the CF/PSF has hitherto been a notable lacuna in the literature on France between the wars, but the gap has now been filled by Jacques Nobécourt's massive tome. Based on exhaustive archival research, the work and its formidable critical apparatus will make compulsory reading for specialists, though even they should be prepared for a hard slog. . . . Nor, despite the copious documentation, is it a work of disinterested scholarship. Rather, it is an extended plea for the defence, an attempt to rehabilitate La Rocque and his movement definitively against the charge that the Croix de Feu should be understood as a French variety of fascism."

James F. McMillan. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 27.

**Romanov, Michael and Natasha**

*Michael and Natasha: The Life and Love of the Last Tsar of Russia*. Rosemary and Donald Crawford. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997. 448 pp. £20.

"The relationship of Grand Duke Michael (younger brother of Tsar Nicholas II) with Nathalie Wulfert (a captivating, married divorcee, and daughter of a Moscow lawyer) was improbably dramatic, yet also touchingly human. . . . The Crawfords follow developments with painstaking detail, and private diaries, letters and documents unearthed from Soviet archives are all used to give a strong, exciting sense of events as they unfolded."

Sofka Zinovieff. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 30.

**Sebastian, Mihail**

*Journal (1935-1944)*. Mihail Sebastian. Pref. and notes Leon Volovici, text established by Gabriela Omat. Bucharest: Humanitas, 1996. 590 pp. Lei 30,000.

The diary kept by the Jewish Rumanian writer Mihail Sebastian between 1935 and 1944 (he died in 1945) not only shows how the creeping, then open and unrestrained antisemitism made him an outcast; it also proves an overwhelming document against some

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Rumanian intellectuals, who got involved in the nazification of minds, a denunciation that does not leave unscathed such men as Camil Petrescu, Cioran, and above all Mircea Eliade, who actually campaigned for the Iron Guard.

Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine. *Le Monde des Livres*, Sept. 12. 1997: 2.

**Sharett, Moshe**

*Moshe Sharett: Biography of a Political Moderate.* Gabriel Sheffer. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996. 1,065 pp. £65.

"The career of Moshe Sharett, Israel's almost forgotten second Prime Minister, culminated in personal tragedy. Did it also represent a lost political opportunity for peace in the country he helped to create? Gabriel Sheffer thinks so, and he has written a monumental book designed to restore Sharett's reputation as well as to vindicate his policy, which Sheffer views as a road mistakenly not taken."

Bernard Wasserstein. *TLS*, Aug. 15, 1997: 12-13.

**Shaw, George Bernard**

*Bernard Shaw: The One-Volume Definitive Edition.* Michael Holroyd. London: Chatto and Windus, 1997. 834 pp. £25.

"The abridgement preserves, indeed enhances, the great qualities of the original: its empiricism, and its patient weaving of a biography out of the subject's own words."

*TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 34.

**Simenon, Georges**

*Simenon: A Biography.* Pierre Assouline. New York: Knopf, 1997. 447 pp. $32.50.

"Scholars might be dismayed by Jon Rothschild's pedestrian translation from the French, but they will be delighted with Assouline's portrayal of French publishing history and his extensive and exhausting lists of sources, which include nearly everything by and about Simenon, including a complete filmography. Simenon buffs will find much to peruse with pleasure in what will surely be the definitive biography for many years to come."

Deirdre Bair. *NYTBR*, Aug. 11, 1997: 5.

**Slovo, Gillian**

*Every Secret Thing: My Family, My Country.* Gillian Slovo. Boston: Little, Brown, 1997. 282 pp. $24.95.

"In the new South Africa, as in the old, too many whites still think of themselves as victims, a self-description that touches even Gillian Slovo, whose journey back to her country is motivated by the need to confront her parents with their apparent refusal to acknowledge her suffering. . . . In this account of her upbringing, interwoven with her parents' tumultuous relationship, political secrets and family secrets

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become interchangeable, and the past is a country never wholly to be recovered."

Dennis Walder. *TLS*, July 4, 1997: 30.

**Smith, Ian**

*The Great Betrayal: The Memoirs of Ian Douglas-Smith.* Ian Smith. London: Blake, 1997. 418 pp. £20.

"*The Great Betrayal* is the autobiography of a man once described, in a biographical note supplied to Sir Alec Douglas-Home, as 'a simple-minded, politically naive, and uncomprehending character . . . a mixture of schoolboy stubbornness, cunning and imperception'. It is a highly personalized memoir, likely to both enlighten and mislead historians for years to come, because Smith simply glosses over the inconvenient bits. "

Stanley Uys. *TLS*, July 4, 1997: 28.

**Soto, Hernando de**

*Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms.* Charles Hudson. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1997. 554 pp. $34.95.

"Hudson quickly dispels 'any notion of De Soto as a romantic hero.' His book is essentially a modern paraphrase of four Spanish chronicles, illuminated with his own valuable observations on geography and archaeology along the reconstructed route he favors. . . . *Knights of Spain* has been more than fifteen years in the writing, which is both a blessing and a curse. Some parts are excellent, others seem to have been written before Hudson's knowledge reached the command he demonstrates in the best chapters. Though vivid and well sprinkled with lively quotations, the book can sometimes be repetitious, or strangely digressive, like a Bórges *ficción*.

Ronald Wright. *TLS*, Aug. 1, 1997: 4-5.

**Southey, Robert**

*Robert Southey: A Life.* Mark Storey. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 405 pp. £25.

"Indeed, reading Mark Storey's biography, it is tempting to conclude that Southey was in some sense mad. One makes the suggestion with diffidence, since neither Storey nor previous biographers have explicitly suggested it; but surveying the chaotic, dreamlike and self-contradictory course of Southey's life, superficially tranquil but (as he repeatedly indicates in his letters) generally desperate and unhappy, it is hard to know how else to put it."

Grevel Lindop. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 25-6.

**Spielberg, Steven**

*Steven Spielberg: A Biography.* Joseph McBride. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 528 pp. $30.00.

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"Joseph McBride's biography offers a thorough account of the director's life in film, told with considerable brio. McBride has an admirable ability to make narrative sense of the welter of facts he unearths, and he possesses considerable knowledge both of cinematic history and of Hollywood business arcana. The book is rich with insights into the sources of Spielberg's movies and their subsequent effects on contemporary culture."

Adam Bresnick. *TLS*, July 18, 1997: 18-19.

AND *Steven Spielberg: The Unauthorized Biography.* John Baxter. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. 457 pp. $25.00.

*Steven Spielberg: Master Storyteller.* Tom Powers. Minneapolis: Lerner. 128 pp. $17.95.

"While Tom Powers's slender young adult biography adds little to the mix, both McBride's and . . . Baxter's books . . . add considerably to the nagging questions Hollywood has been asking about Spielberg. . . . Yet despite its cheek and its flair for odd facts . . . Baxter's book feels like a once-over lightly. . . . It is McBride's book you invariably trust on a factual level. . . . [But] 'Steven Spielberg: A Biography' is not completely satisfying. . . . First, the director is still in the prime of his career. . . . Second . . . Spielberg's life is not all that interesting."

Kenneth Turan. *LATBR*, July 13, 1997: 8.

**Steiner, George**

*Errata: An Examined Life.* George Steiner. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997. 186 pp. £11.99.

"Steiner has not written a life. *Errata* is almost the opposite of a life, and thus Steiner's complaints, his desires, his pessimism, need to be given a different status. The way he details his own intense relationship with his father, for example, cannot be divorced from his engagement with psychoanalysis, and his own rejection of the Oedipal myth as having a determining effect on how parent-child relationships are to be understood. References to love abound in *Errata*, yet we do not really glimpse Steiner the lover. Life and work do not really coincide, they are continually interarticulated in the writing of life. Here, of course, is the difficulty at the heart of the book. There is a danger when thought comes to be identified with a personality."

Andrew Benjamin. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 31-2.

**Stewart, James**

*Pieces of Time: The Life of James Stewart.* Gary Fishgall. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner, 1997. $27.50.

"War did change Stewart, and it is a failing in Gary Fishgall's decent, methodical and very fond book that this shift is inadequately described."

David Thomson. *LATBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 9.

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"Fishgall works hard at being straightforward and interesting, but as Stewart once noted, it's not that easy."

Patricia Ryan. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 24.

**Suarez, Clementina**

*Clementina Suarez: Her Life and Poetry*. Janet N. Gold. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1995. 305 pp. $49.95.

"This is a much welcomed study of Suarez's poetry and life, based on a careful study of her work and on interviews."

J. Agustín Pasten B. *Romance Quarterly* 44.3 (Summer 1997): 187-8.

**Sully, Maximilien de Bethune, Duc de**

*Sully*. Bernard Barbiche and Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche. Paris: Fayard, 1997. 698 pp. FF170.

Arrogant, coarse, womanizer, cultivated, author of historical, technical, and indeed fictional books, Henry IV's minister appears here more original and complex than his legend. He was a redoubtable expert in financial questions, alert to find what was good for kingdom and self, and skillful to keep the king's trust. The authors conclude he reinforced centralization and royal power, and that France owes him much.

Françoise Bayard. *Le Monde des Livres*, Aug. 25, 1997: 24.

**Sun Ra (Herman Poole Blount)**

*Space is the Place: The Lives and Times of Sun Ra*. John F. Szwed. New York: Pantheon, 1997. 476 pp. $29.95.

"Szwed has produced a rare jazz biography—one that takes full account of the history that shaped the music and its central personalities. An anthropologist, historian and musicologist who teaches at Yale, Szwed brings an impressive array of skills to this job. He needs them all to track down a subject whose every word seems intended to protect him from scrutiny."

Brent Staples. *NYTBR*, Aug. 17, 1997: 9.

**Tadesse, Sineddu**

*Halfway to Heaven: Diary of a Harvard Murder*. Melanie Thernstrom. New York: Doubleday, 1997. $23.95.

"Melanie Thernstrom, a Harvard alumna and a former writing instructor there, tries to explain the seemingly unexplainable: what lethal combination of cultural displacement, psychological tension and mental illness led to this event? Thernstrom flits from diagnosis to diagnosis; Tadesse at various times suffers from psychosis, depression and Schizotypal Personality Disorder. Most fascinating, if most debatable, is Thernstrom's interpretation of the murder through cultural context."

Judith Newman. *NYTBR*, Sept. 14, 1997: 27.

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**Terán, Lisa St. Aubin de**

*The Hacienda: My Venezuelan Years.* Lisa St. Aubin de Terán. London: Virago. 342 pp. £16.99.

"Although the seven years of which she writes had their own inbuilt narrative, Terán handles it with the deftness and delicacy of a practiced novelist. She sees both her main characters—the hacienda and herself—so clearly; but especially herself an apathetic teenager, a dreamy reader, wholly unprepared for the rigours of life that awaited her, and how a series of extraordinary situations forced her to change. Beyond its troubling undertone, *The Hacienda* tells a reassuring and necessary story: that experience can transform, that character is not necessarily destiny."

Jean McNeil. *TLS*, July 4, 1997: 29.

**Teresa, Mother**

*Mother Teresa: Beyond the Image.* Anne Sebba. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996. 297 pp. £20.

"Anne Sebba is that valuable sort of biographer—the post-official kind. . . . What is admirable about Sebba's book is its gentle fairness—its readiness to enter the dilemma which was Mother Teresa, by recording good and bad even-handedly."

Monica Furlong. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 28.

**Thomson, Virgil**

*Virgil Thomson: Composer on the Aisle.* Anthony Tommasini. New York: Norton, 1997. 605 pp. $30.00.

"Though Tommasini knew Thomson only since 1979, he has studied the entire span with great diligence . . . has stuck with him to the end, and past the end . . . remaining ever loyal to the principle Thomson so often pronounced and so often betrayed: that language is for telling the truth about things."

Richard Howard. *LATBR*, June 29, 1997: 3.

"This generous biography by a devoted younger colleague (himself a *Times* critic) makes a strong case for Thomson's neglected music. But the personal portrait is an unsettling one: of a shame-ridden homosexual whose cantankerous charms and talent for friendship were repeatedly blunted by pettiness and cruelty."

*The New Yorker*, Sept. 8, 1997: 85.

". . . in this comprehensive biography, Tommasini, who is a music critic for The New York Times and who knew Thomson well, skillfully evokes both Thomson as the energetic Midwesterner ever affected by the church music and band concerts of his childhood, and Thomson as the raging misanthrope."

Nicholas Fox Weber. *NYTBR*, July 6, 1997: 21.

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**Thornthwaite, C. Warren**

*The Genius of C. Warren Thornthwaite, Climatologist-Geographer.* John R. Mather and Marie Sanderson. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1996. 226 pp. $29.00.

"This relatively short and engaging volume discusses the life and work of one of the most outstanding climatologists of this century. . . . Many of today's younger researchers probably do not appreciate that their models can be traced back to the fertile and productive mind of C. Warren Thornthwaite. . . . The chapter on academic relationships suggests mostly stormy interactions over the training of graduate students. Thornthwaite advocated more emphasis on fundamentals in mathematics and the sciences, and less attention to regions and their descriptions. I had largely forgotten that his critical faculties included a mordant sense of humor."

Robert A. Muller. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87.3 (Sept. 1997): 553-4.

**Vermeij, Geerat**

*Privileged Hands: A Scientific Life.* Geerat Vermeij. New York: Freeman, 1996. 297 pp. $23.95.

"Geerat Vermeij is a respected biologist and paleontologist best known for his insightful exploration of the evolutionary interplay between predation and shell form in marine vertabrates. . . . He was blinded at age four, and his world is one of sound, smell, and touch. If he has traveled the same road as others, he has negotiated its obstacles differently. . . . In recounting his own story, Vermeij reminds us that science is organized wonder pursued by privileged hands."

Andrew H. Knoll. *Science* 276, No. 5311 (Apr. 18, 1997): 370.

**Verne, Jules**

*Jules Verne: An Exploratory Biography.* Herbert R. Lottman. New York: St. Martin's, 1996. 366 pp. $26.95.

"Lottman's immediate French predecessors drew on the same documentary sources as he has–the correspondence and other material in the Verne collections in Amiens, Nantes, and the Bibliotheque Nationale–and while he gives little credence, or even attention, to their more adventurous theories, he covers exactly the same ground, conscientiously and objectively. Too objectively perhaps; I found this book less stimulating than his earlier study of Albert Camus, which contained a lot of original research. Disappointingly, he never directly raises the two central questions about Verne: what sort of writer was he exactly? Where does he stand on the literary scale? Without such a critical approach, the external biographical facts about someone who was not a man of action but a studious homme de cabinet can seem rather humdrum."

John Weightman. *NYRB.* July 17, 1997: 53.

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Vilar, Irene
*A Message From God in the Atomic Age*. Trans. from Spanish by Gregory Rabassa. London: Granta, 1996. 324 pp. £9.99.

"It was on March 1, 1954, that her grandmother Lolita Lebron, a Puerto Rican nationalist, let loose a spray of bullets in the United States House of Representatives, an act which led to twenty-seven years in prison. It was on March 1, 1977, that Irene's mother, Gladys, flung herself from the family car on to the highway, in her last, and successful, suicide attempt; and on February 1, 1988, Irene tried to take her own life. . . . Of this dark thread, Ms. Vilar has woven a rich and disturbing memoir. . . . *A Message from God in the Atomic Age* is a cautionary tale about the dangers of story-making itself. For a story to be complete, it must have an ending; for a life-story to be complete, its ending must be death. Mercifully, Irene Vilar's eventual decision has been not to be a story but to tell one; and thereby, one hopes to break the dark thread with which she began."

Claire Messud. *TLS*, July 11, 1997: 29.

Warren, Earl
*Chief Justice: A Biography of Earl Warren*. Ed Cray. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 603 pp. $30.00.

"Cray writes with admirable clarity. He is especially good at telling stories that bring to life the several stages of a remarkable man's life. About half the book is devoted to Warren's years on the court, a fair proportion in light of the fact that it is ultimately those years by which Warren's legacy is measured. . . . The author is less sure-footed when he attempts broad conclusions."

A. E. Dick Howard. *WP*, June 30, 1997: 33.

"Those readers in search of a competently told, undemanding, hagiographic story will like this book. Those who want an absorbing examination of a complex and important life will have to wait."

Alonzo L. Hanby. *NYTBR*, July 27, 1997: 19.

West, Mae
*Becoming Mae West*. Emily Wortis Leider. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 431 pp. $30.00.

"The book subordinates gossip to social history and to a wise celebration of West as a performance artist who understood that sex is a business and that moneymaking hits are forms of orgasm. . . . Despite Leider's lack of interest in West's downfall, this book has rare virtues."

Wayne Koestenbaum. *LATBR*, July 13, 1997: 4.

"'Becoming Mae West' . . . is about the evolution of the West persona—how a Brooklyn-born girl of low means became one of the biggest female icons of the 20th century, a pinup even today, 17 years after her death—and so it focuses on the first four decades of West's career,

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up to 1938. Yet, Leider's biography is also a portrait of an era: she devotes a great deal of the book to rendering the historical context, particularly the moral landscape, of the early 1900's, in order to more clearly define West's place in it and ultimately her mastery of it."

Martha McPhee. *NYTBR*, July 27, 1997: 11-12.

**Whitman, Walt**

*Walt Whitman: A Gay Life*. Gary Schmidgall. New York: William Abrahams/Dutton, 1997. 428 pp. $32.95.

"Wielding a blinding libido and a self-hugging autobiographical impulse, Gary Schmidgall has re-created Walt Whitman in his own image. Finding nothing 'more tantalizing and significant' about Whitman than how the poet's homosexuality made its way into his public life and works, an aspect Schmidgall absurdly declares that 'flaccid' (meaning heterosexual) critics have slighted, the author pronounces much of 'Leaves of Grass' to be 'a cruiser's apologia,' a road map to a 'life in the Closet' wholly 'defined by sexuality.'"

Renee Tursi. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 23.

"Schmidgall's book has important virtues—above all, its irrefutable portrait of Whitman as a gay man whose poetry was inspired largely by his love of men. Yet one wishes Schmidgall had dropped the vulgarity and queer talk and come up with a less clumsy way of structuring this study, whose parts (including long chapters on Whitman's love of opera and boys and his similarities to Oscar Wilde) don't hang together very elegantly."

Bruce Bawer. *WP*, Sept. 15, 1997: 33-4.

**Willis, Bruce**

*Bruce Willis: The Unauthorized Biography*. John Parker. London: Virgin, 1997. 250 pp. £21.00.

"Hard to know how an authorised biography would differ from this canter round the familiar track of Bruce's rollercoaster career, from stuttering factory-worker to property tycoon, with a string of big-budget disasters that few could have survived."

Ian Christie. *Sight and Sound* 7.8 (Aug. 1997): 30.

**Wolf, Markus**

*Man Without a Face: The Autobiography of Communism's Greatest Spymaster*. Markus Wolf with Anne McElvoy. New York: Times Books, 1997. 368 pp. $25.00.

"'Man Without a Face' is an exemplary model of selective memory at work. . . . Until the publication of this book, he seems to have kept to himself his true opinions of East Germany's course. These opinions, one suspects, are of very recent vintage. . . . Wolf's naivete is insulting and strains credulity."

Peter Schneider. *LATBR*, June 22, 1997: 8.

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*"Man Without a Face* is billed as an 'autobiography.' But it is that only in part. A bravura opening chapter describes various attempts to woo his cooperation by West German, American, and even, it seems, Israeli Intelligence, in the months between the collapse of the East German Communist regime in the autumn of 1989 and formal unification in October 1990. . . . The story of the service is taken forward more or less chronologically to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, but then broken, for the largest part of the book, into a series of thematic chapters on different aspects of his and the State Security Service's work: the so-called 'Romeo' spies (sent to seduce women secretaries), traitors, double and triple agents, disinformation, terrorism, Cuba. This is to a significant degree the result of further questioning (not to say interrogation) by his coauthor, Anne McElvoy, herself the author of an excellent book about Communist East Germany, and by his American editors."

Timothy Garton Ash. *NYRB*. June 26, 1997: 12.

"Wolf, tall and handsome and well dressed and no doubt in every other respect the antithesis of Erich Mielke, is proud of having had 'no face' for so many years, but he is certainly dying to show it to us now. He is like someone who has been run through or hollowed out, but no one has told him. His organization, his country and his ideology have all gone under, but he fights on. Where one might have expected either a full recantation or a measure of shame, or at the very least a grin and a shrug, he is still fully enlisted—inasmuch as he is ever fully anything. His book is an apologia rather than an apology, which, given the disappearance of the things he stands for, makes the exprience of reading it strange for the Western reader."

Michael Hofmann. *TLS*, Oct. 10, 1997: 12-13.

**Woolf, Virginia**

*Virginia Woolf*. Hermione Lee. New York: Knopf, 1996. 867 pp. $39.95.

*Art and Affection: A Life of Virginia Woolf*. Panthea Reid. New York: Oxford UP, 1996. 570 pp. $35.00.

"Although there is new material in the Hermione Lee biography, and much astute commentary, its strength lies not in revelations but in artful layering of the past and present. . . . Reid is still engaged in the search for demons that characterized Woolf biographies from the mid 1970s to the later 1980s."

Regina Marler. *LATBR*, Aug. 3, 1997: 4.

**Worth, Adam**

*The Napoleon of Crime: The Life and Times of Adam Worth, Master Thief*. Ben Macintyre. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 304 pp. $24.00.

"Macintyre's detective work in unearthing the details of his subject's crimes is as exemplary as that of Worth's lifelong nemesis, William

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Pinkerton of the Pinkerton Detective Agency. Macintyre makes no apologies for his subject, who, refreshingly, makes no apologies for himself."

Allen Barra. *LATBR*, Aug. 31, 1997: 9.

"[Macintyre's faulty argument that Worth is the model for Moriarty] is not a fatal flaw, since Macintyre's book is about Worth, not the Sherlock Holmes stories. But the portrait might have been richer if Macintyre had taken note of the literary pedigree of archcriminality that preceded Worth and has shaped perceptions of him all along."

Alex Ross. *The New Yorker*, Aug. 11, 1997: 76-80.

*W. B. Yeats: The Man and the Milieu.* Keith Alldritt. London: John Murray, 1997. 388 pp. £25.

*W. B. Yeats: A Life.* Stephen Coote. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997. 612 pp. £25.

"Alldritt's book, like the other new biography of Yeats, written by Stephen Coote, is an altogether simple work, obedient to the commercial and literary laws of its genre. Coote's . . . is largely without Alldritt's stylistic blunders and vulgarities. . . . Coote has done much more homework than Alldritt, and has filleted more volumes of scholarly writing; yet the result is a heavier version of the same thing, a literary life which unselfconsciously goes through the motions, making only obvious or unchallenging interpretations of its material, when it makes them at all."

Peter McDonald. *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 26.

**Younghusband, Francis**

*Younghusband: The Last Great Imperial Adventurer.* Patrick French. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 440 pp. $30.00.

"I confess I do not understand Mr. French's patronizing characterization of [Patrick] Fleming's description of the military aspect of this invasion as 'readable and occasionally accurate.' He gives no example of inaccuracy to support this remark, and, indeed, quotes frequently from Fleming, who gives a much more detailed account both of the preparations for the expedition and the actual fighting than he does. If Mr. French is unfair in his treatment of Fleming's account, he also overlooks historical material that could provide the basis for contrasts and comparisons to shed further light on Younghusband and the set of circumstances that made the British invasion of Tibet in 1903 and 1904 such a violent and pointless undertaking. In an otherwise very well-researched book, for instance, French makes no mention of another British military adventure in Tibet, a century before, in which Curzon's part was taken by Warren Hastings, who was then the governor-general of Bengal, and Younghusband's by the Scotsman George Bogle."

Jeremy Bernstein. *NYRB*, June 12, 1997: 45.

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**Zola, Emile**

*Zola: A Life.* Frederick Brown. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995. 888 pp. $37.50.

"... well documented, including lengthy quotes from Zola's correspondence, journalism, and fiction. Brown's style is clear and entertaining: the book is logically but not monotonously structured."

John J. Duffy, Jr. *Romance Quarterly* 44.3 (Summer 1997): 183-4.

## Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Interest

**Baseball Owners**

*Major League Losers: The Real Cost of Sports and Who's Paying for It.* Mark S. Rosentraub. New York: Basic, 1997. 478 pp. $27.50.

"... 'Major League Losers' is a superb analysis of the economic impact of sports franchises. Sophisticated, persuasive and understandable—particularly for the policy wonks among us—this is the book for public officials (well, to be honest, their staffs) and civic groups considering whether to support a new sports facility. The case studies are invaluable, and Rosentraub gives step-by-step advice on how to analyze the public relations offensives of stadium promoters. . . . As taxpayers, if not exactly as readers, we are in his debt."

Arnold R. Isaacs. *WP*, June 9, 1997: 33-4.

**Black Women**

*To 'Joy My Freedom': Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War.* Tera W. Hunter. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. 311 pp. $29.95.

"Tera W. Hunter, an associate professor of History at Carnegie Mellon University, reminds us that black women were an important political and social force. . . . But for all her celebration of struggle and resistance, Hunter ends her story with an admission of defeat: black working women did not achieve the 'liberty and justice' they sought."

Drew Gilpin Faust. *NYTBR*, July 13, 1997: 20.

**Bloomsbury**

*Bloomsbury Pie: The Making of the Bloomsbury Boom.* Regina Marler. New York: Holt, 1997. 256 pp. $24.00.

"In her 'social history of a tenacious and unwieldy cultural phenomenon,' Regina Marler judiciously surveys the outpouring of books, articles and exhibitions that have turned the Bloomsbury group into an enduring object of excessive emotion, be that love or scorn."

Michael Anderson. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 24.

**British Monarchy**

*A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714.* Mark Kishlansky. New York: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1997. 386 pp. $29.95.

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"Essentially, Kishlansky returns to grand political narrative, to kings-and-battles history of a kind most historians gave up writing a generation or more ago. . . . If some interpretations or facts are open to question, the larger narrative seems balanced and reasonable, and events in Scotland and Ireland are not neglected as in narratives of a generation ago, although they are dealt with from an English point of view."

Paul S. Seaver. *NYTBR*, Sept. 21, 1997: 28.

**Ecologists**

*Minding Nature: The Philosophers of Ecology*. Ed. David Macauley. New York: Guilford, 1996. 355 pp. $18.95.

"Each chapter [13 in all] is a biographical commentary that distills an individual's ideas and writing, paying close attention to relevant expressions and opinions about environment and society. . . . Ramachandra Guha's discussion of Mumford is articulate and attractive, as is Garb's treatment of Carson and the context within which *Silent Spring* was published and reviewed. . . . On the whole, the book disappoints due to a lack of cohesion."

Robin Doughty. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87.3 (Sept. 1997): 551-2.

**Eleventh Century English Queens Emma and Edith**

*Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*. Pauline Stafford. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997. 371 pp. £40.

"What was the scope of royal action in the first half of the eleventh century, and to what extent did queens join in? These questions are raised in Pauline Stafford's new book, which takes a maximum view of female royal power while admitting and demonstrating the difficulty of identifying it in action. . . . Stafford has not attempted to write biographies. . . . Instead, she aims for something else by telling the 'stories' of Emma and Edith in three different ways: the first consists of a poignantly brief set of 'facts'; the second retells the tale as portrayed by all the contemporary or near-contemporary sources; and the third offers a reconstituted narrative, constructed by Stafford from the raw material of the other two, combined with the fruits of a study of the structures of tenth- and eleventh-century English queenship. This approach does indeed add at least one more dimension to the picture, but, as Stafford admits, the image remains blurred. Hopes that these serial retellings will deliver revelation, Faulkner-style, are not necessarily fulfilled, but the method brings the evidence commendably to centre stage, where its testimony, particularly on the question of the queen's role in public life, can be usefully scrutinized."

Lesley Abrams. *TLS*, Oct. 17, 1997: 33.

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**Film Directors**

*Who the Devil Made It?* Peter Bogdanovich. New York: Knopf, 1997. 847 pp. $39.95.

"[Bogdanovich's] latest book, 'Who the Devil Made It?,' is just further confirmation of a quality he seems to have had since the cradle. When it comes to movies, the master of the medium is often a buff but rarely a scholar—he hasn't the time, even when he has the inclination—yet Bogdanovich somehow always managed to service his debt to the creativity of his past masters while he was busy with his own: articles and interviews, slim monographs and fat books were all done with manifest love, despite his being in a tearing hurry."

Clive James. *The New Yorker*, July 7, 1997: 70-73.

**Glen Ridge Rapists**

*Our Guys: The Glen Ridge Rape and the Secret Life of the Perfect Suburb.* Bernard Lefkowitz. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 443 pp. $29.95.

"This book suggests that if there is a finality, it is only because the legal system has finished prosecuting these particular young men, but that similar crimes are meanwhile being committed against girls and women all across America by other athletic boys and men, our culture's thick-necked heroes, glorified by parents, educators, the news media and politicians of every stripe from the town hall to the Rose Garden. And if justice was done, Mr. Lefkowitz's book implies that it is the kind of justice obtainable by people like the parents of the three convicted boys, whose lawyers managed to keep the kids out of jail until they were in their mid-20's and then got them light sentences (light even for young adult offenders) at medium-security campus-style prisons."

Russell Banks. *NYTBR*, Aug. 3, 1997: 7.

**Mexican Leaders**

*Mexico, Biography of Power: A History of Modern Mexico, 1810-1996.* Enrique Krauze. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 872 pp. $35.00.

"... this shrewd and in many ways brave book is necessary reading. With luck it will help Americans appreciate that Mexico is more than an abstract policy dilemma—a tag-along trade partner or a border to be patrolled."

Sarah Kerr. *NYTBR*, July 27, 1997: 4-5.

**Mothers and Daughters**

*Friends for Life: Enriching the Bond Between Mothers and Their Adult Daughters.* Susan Jonas and Marilyn Nissenson. New York: Morrow, 1997. 256 pp. $24.00.

"This book should aid every woman who has a mother, is a mother or hopes to become one."

Leslie Chess Feller. *NYTBR*, July 6, 1997: 15.

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**Mountain Men**

*A Wild Life and Perilous: Mountain Men and the Paths to the Pacific.* Robert M. Utley. New York: A John Macrae Book/Henry Holt, 1997. 392 pp. $27.50.

"'A Wild Life and Perilous,' Robert M. Utley's richly documented book, is the definitive study of the decisive role mountain men played in the exploration and expansion of the Western frontier. The author, a well-known historian of the West, argues persuasively that the mountain men were more than just fur trappers. They were explorers who came to know the Rocky Mountain region as well as the Indians, and they helped to fill in the map of this uncharted land."

Jay P. Dolin. *NYTBR*, Sept. 28, 1997: 38.

**Revolutionary War Figures**

*Angel in the Whirlwind: The Triumph of the American Revolution.* Benson Bobrick. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 553 pp. $30.00.

"Benson Bobrick—previously the author of histories of Siberia and the world's subways, along with a biography of Ivan the Terrible and a volume about stuttering—might seem unlikely for the task, but he has studied his subject deeply and writes about it with real understanding and verve."

Frederick Allen. *NYTBR*, July 6, 1997: 8.

**Zamora Convent**

*The Ladies of Zamora.* Peter Linehan. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997. 192 pp. £25.

"The Ladies of Peter Linehan's entertaining and scholarly book were *domina*, women who lived in a convent founded in 1259 beside the River Duero at Zamora and incorporated into the Dominican Order in 1286. Their lives were less cloistered and less devoted to unworldly pursuits than might have been thought appropriate; in the 1270s, the shadow of sexual and financial scandal fell on them. *The Ladies of Zamora* uncovers the exact nature of the scandal from Bishop Suero's investigation and the depositions of some of the Ladies themselves. He paints a vivid and compelling picture of a community whose members found themselves caught up in larger conflicts of authority within the Church and between Church and State."

Colin Thompson. *TLS*, Sept. 5, 1997: 27.

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# Lifelines

## Upcoming Events, Calls for Papers, and News from the Field

**West Virginia Summar Seminar.** *"Getting a Life."* The 1998 West Virginia University Summer Seminar in Literary and Cultural Studies, June 4–7, 1998, will be "Getting a Life: Autobiographical Genders, Bodies, Borders," led by Sidonie Smith, Head of Women's Studies and Professor of English, University of Michigan, and Julia Watson, Director, Comparative Literature Program, Ohio State University. This four-day seminar will focus on theorizing autobiographical acts, with emphasis on the intersections of identity, experience, memory, and gendered subjectivity; the politics of crossing cultural and generic borders; and the multiplicity of verbal and visual modes for embodying self-representation. The seminar is limited to 50 participants. To reserve a place, please send a $25 deposit by **Friday, April 17.** For more information, please contact Timothy Dow Adams, by email at tadams@wvu.edu; at the Department of English, West Virginia University, P.O. Box 6296, Morgantown, WV 26506-6296; or at the seminar web site: http://www.as.wvu.edu/english/summer_seminar.

**NEH Summer Seminar.** *"Literary Biography."* The City University of New York will host a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for College and University Teachers, a six-week engagement with literary biography. Critical approaches will include fictionality (just how fictional are biographies?), presence (to what degree is a biography a self-portrait of the biographer?), and speculation (how much should biographers speculate about their material?). Participants will receive a stipend of $3,700. **Application deadline:** March 1, 1998. Notification date is April 1, 1998. For information and applications, please contact N. John Hall, Ph.D. Program in English, CUNY Graduate School, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036; phone: (212) 642-2210; fax: (212) 642-2205; njhall@email.gc.cuny.edu.

**Online Journal.** *History Reviews on-Line* is looking to expand its base of reviewers. One of the first on-line history journals, the review covers all areas of history. Since the journal takes advantage of the assets of the Internet, reviewers are allowed to write longer reviews than in the average print journals, and works are reviewed more expeditiously than usually occurs with the print media. *History Reviews* is online at http://www.depauw.edu/~dtrinkle/hrol.html. The journal is supported by DePauw University, and edited by Dennis Trinkle. For further information, and a list of books available for review, contact the editor at dtrinkle@depauw.edu, or at the Department of History, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana 46135; or the associate editor, Scott A. Merriman, at samerr0@pop.uky.edu.

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**Essay Collection.** Contributors are sought for a Greenwood Press reference volume titled *Contemporary African-American Novelists: A Bio-bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*. For further information, contact Emmanuel S. Nelson at nelsone@snycorva.cortland.edu.

**Essay Collection.** Submissions are invited for *Women Writing in Latin* (Garland's Women Writers of the World series), a 600-page anthology of primary texts, translations, and essays that represent women writing in Latin from antiquity to the present. For further information, contact Laurie J. Churchill, Humanities-Classics Department, Sturges Hall, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio 43015 (ljchurch@cc.owu.edu).

**Essay Collection.** Julia M. Wright and Joel Faflak invite submissions for a volume of essays they are editing on the "Victorianization" of Romantic authors and texts, and the construction of "Romanticism" by Romantic and Victorian writers and editors. Send papers of about 25 pages, by **May 31, 1998,** to Professor Julia M. Wright, Department of English, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1, Canada. For further information, contact her at jmwright@watarts.uwaterloo.ca or Joel Faflak at jfaflak@julian.uwo.ca.

**Special Issue.** *Victorian Poetry* is preparing a special issue on "Women Poets 1895–1918." Manuscripts should follow the form specified in the journal's Guidelines for Authors, and should be accompanied by a return envelope and return postage. **Deadline:** August 1, 1998. For further information, contact Bonnie J. Robinson, Guest Editor; Department of Language and Literature; North Georgia College and State University; Dahlonega, Georgia 30597; (706) 864-1427; BRobinson@nugget.ngc.peachnet.edu.

**Conference.** "Crossing the Boundary, Crossing the Line—Oral History on the Border," a conference of the Oral History Association, will be held in Buffalo, from October 15-18, 1998. For further information, contact Cliff Kuhn, History Department, Georgia State University, PO Box 4117, Atlanta, Georgia 30302-4117; telephone: (404) 641-3255; fax 404 651-1745; hiscmk@panther.gsu.edu.

**Biographical Database.** Chadwyck-Healey is offering the *African-American Biographical Database* on the Web, by annual subscription. Updated bimonthly, the database, will include over 40,000 entries by the end of its first publication year, and can be searched by name, date or place of birth, date of death, occupation, religion, and gender. An on-line demo is available at http://aabd.chadwyck.com. For more information, contact the Chadwyck-Healey Marketing department, at (800) 752-0515, by fax at (703) 683-7589, or at mktg@chadwyck.com.

*Biography* welcomes items for Lifelines. People wishing to contribute items should contact us at biograph@hawaii.edu, or at the address on the inside back cover.

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**Alan C. Elms** (Review of Sulloway, *Born to Rebel*) is Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Davis. His book on psychobiography, *Uncovering Lives* (Oxford UP, 1994), was recently reissued in a paperbound edition.

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**Karen Louise Jolly** (Review of Szarmach, *Holy Men, Holy Women*) is Associate Professor of History at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, where she teaches medieval European and world history. Her research examines popular culture and Anglo-Saxon religious life, including a recent book on *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (U of North Carolina P, 1996).

**Greg Mahr** ("Pessoa, Life Narrative, and the Dissociative Process") is a psychiatrist in practice at Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit, an affiliate of Case Western University. He is a specialist in psychosomatic illness and maintains an active interest in literature and the philosophical aspects of psychiatry.

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**K. J. Phillips** (Review of Hynes, *The Soldiers's Tale*), Professor of English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, has published *Virginia Woolf against Empire* (U of Tennessee P, 1994), and such articles as "*Billy Budd* as Anti-Homophobic Text" in *College English* (Dec. 1994).

**Herman Rapaport** ("The New Personalism") is currently a Fellow at the Society for the Humanities at Cornell University. His most recent books include *Is There Truth in Art?* (Cornell, 1997) and *Between the Sign and the Gaze* (Cornell, 1994). He is Helen DeRoy Professor of English at Wayne State University.

**Marvin Rintala** ("Family Portrait: Churchills at Drink") is Professor of Political Science at Boston College. His most recent book is *Lloyd George and Churchill: How Friendship Changed Politics* (Madison, 1995), and his most recent article in *Biography* is "Weber's Wilson: Living Off Political Science" (18.3, Summer 1995).

**Larissa Rudova** (Review of Clyman and Vowles, *Russia Through Women's Eyes*) is Associate Professor of Russian and Chair of the Department of German and Russian at Pomona College. She is the author of *Pasternak's Short Fiction and the Cultural Vanguard* (P. Lang, 1994) and *Understanding Boris Pasternak* (U of South Carolina P, 1996), and has published articles on twentieth-century Russian fiction, autobiography, criticism and art.

**Frank Shuffelton** (Review of Gaustad, *Sworn on the Altar of God*), author of *Thomas Hooker: 1586-1647* (Princeton UP, 1977), as well as two annotated bibliographies of writing about Thomas Jefferson, teaches American literature at the University of Rochester, where he is Professor of English. His article, "Being Definitive: Jefferson Biography under the Shadow of Dumas Malone" appeared in *Biography* 18.4 (Fall 1995).

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*Biography* is a forum for all well-considered biographical scholarship. The aim of *Biography* is to stimulate the critical judgment of life-writing by presenting new information, sharper definitions, fresh interpretations, and well-argued evaluations.

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# Editor's Note

## Leon Edel, 1907–1997

Leon Edel, one of this century's greatest biographers and theorists of biography, died September 5, 1997 at his home in Honolulu, a few days before his 90th birthday. His eulogists have celebrated his achievements as the Pulitzer Prize winning biographer of Henry James. Richard Holmes' tribute in the *New York Times Magazine* is especially gracious. I would like to remind our readers what he has contributed to the theory and criticism of biography, and by his example and active support, to this journal.

When Leon Edel gave the Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto in 1956, his own James biography could only be said to be underway. (Just one volume of the eventual five was in print.) He began by remarking that books by Harold Nicolson and André Maurois, and a flurry of Bloomsbury jottings and conversation, were still almost the only twentieth century theory available to students of biography. Beginning with those very lectures, over the course of the next forty years he set out to rectify the situation.

His most deeply held—and frequently repeated!—convictions about biography have been profoundly influential. He was the century's greatest advocate for biography as a literary genre. The biographer was an artist, facing the same challenges of voice, structure, and selection of detail any writer of narrative must confront. Leon Edel was also a major proponent for drawing upon developments in psychology, and especially in psychoanalysis, when seeking to understand and then to communicate the nature of a subject's life. Dreams, for instance, should be as important to the biographer as they were to the author or the analyst.

Finally, and most famously through his own biography of Henry James, he showed that such aesthetic and interpretive concerns did not lessen in any way the importance of the archival and detective skills traditionally associated with the biographer. He delighted in brilliant, lively and imaginative writing, but he valued and respected those biographers who possessed these gifts, but also took the necessary pains to know what they were talking about.

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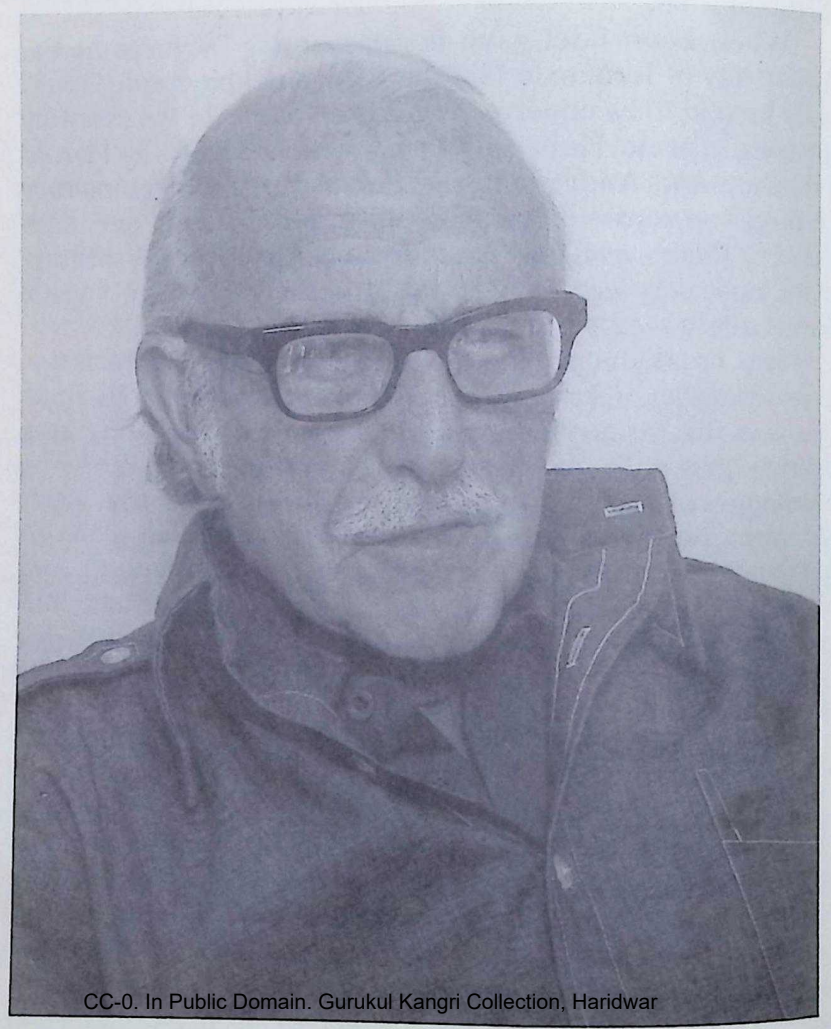
Leon Edel wrote the first essay in *Biography*'s first issue, and over the years he read a number of submitted manuscripts. But he was never on the masthead, and I think this was a good thing. We could and did ask for his help and advice; he always knew that when his many commitments grew too great, he could say no. He was the keynote speaker at the first international symposium on biography, held in Honolulu in 1981, and his very presence in the islands made Hawai'i an important place for life writing.

In its dedication to treating biography, and life writing in general, as subjects worthy of serious and engaging criticism and scholarship, *Biography* will continue to explore the path Leon Edel helped to clear. I will miss his wisdom and his friendship.



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# The Remasculinization of the Artist and Author in Ford Madox Ford's Life Writing

*Bette H. Kirschstein*

Towards the end of his life, Ford Madox Ford (1873–1939) recalled that when he published his first book at age eighteen, he was ashamed of it: "I thought authorship was on the whole a mug's [fool's] game and concealed as well as I could from my young associates the fact that I was an Author. . . . My ambition in those days was to be an Army Officer!" (*Portraits* 93). Ford's ambivalence about devoting oneself to art, and his accompanying admiration for the man of action, was not simply an aspect of self-conscious adolescence; it remained with him throughout his life. Moreover, Ford continually wondered whether someone who lived a life of the mind could be considered a "real man." As he wrote in 1911, he and other English authors were well aware that they were "hardly regarded as men, since we must consider the practitioners of all the arts as at least effeminate, if not a decent kind of eunuch" (*Memories* 123). What did Ford mean by "effeminate" and other related terms that abound in his life writing? As Herbert Sussman notes, concepts of manliness are "specific to individuals and to groups or classes" within "any given historical moment" (*Victorian Masculinities* 12). What Ford meant by "effeminate" in 1911 was probably quite different from what it would have signified to early and middle Victorians.

A brief survey of the meaning of the word "manly" over the course of the Victorian era prepares us well for exploring how and why Ford often felt compelled to present the artists and authors he knew in conventionally virile terms. According to Sussman, in the early Victorian era, "manly" suggested a man with "an innate, distinctly male energy," which manifested itself in several ways (*Victorian Masculinities* 10). A "manly" man was authoritative, both morally and socially; he was strong, independent, and self-disciplined; he possessed "sexual prowess, martial virtues, and wealth" (Adams, *Dandies* 26). But


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as early as 1831, before Victoria had even ascended the throne, Thomas Carlyle in his essay "Characteristics" lamented that the "old ideal of Manhood has grown obsolete" (927). Attacking "Byronism"—the embodiment of detestable self-consciousness—and "Brummelism"—the embodiment of George IV era dandies—Carlyle thundered against parasitic, aristocratic "No-men." The Carlylean "manly" man worked hard—a "Captain of Industry" who played his part in transforming England technologically and raising up the middle class.

And yet, while the dandy and other "no-men" would certainly have seemed "effeminate" to the early Victorians, as James Eli Adams explains, this designation "had no bearing on sexuality" (*Dandies* 4). The 1840s, however, saw "the emergence of a gendered rhetoric that facilitated the subsequent sexualizing of gender transgression, in which 'effeminacy'" became "the outward manifestation of a private, sexual deviance" (*Dandies* 17). The press attacks on such all-male brotherhoods as the Tractarians and the Pre-Raphaelites display this shift. Whereas early Victorians suspected such male associations of political insurrection, mid-Victorians saw sexual perversion (*Dandies* 62).

As the grandson of artist Ford Madox Brown, Ford was personally aware of such attitudes about the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB). Raised in what he called the "hothouse atmosphere of Pre-Raphaelitism" (*Memories* 216), Ford considered himself "the last of the Pre-Raffaelites [sic]" ("To Julie Ford"). Ford knew all too well that the PRB and its art were perceived as effeminate. The very name "Brotherhood" suggested to mid-Victorians a celibate order of men lacking virility.[1] Furthermore, as Sussman explains, public hostility toward the PRB characterized the late 1840s, the moment when male bonds generally "became problematized," resulting in "the tension between the homosocial and the homophobic that becomes the central problematic in the formation of artistic manhood in the later Victorian period" (*Victorian Masculinities* 5–6).

Mid-Victorian critics also objected to this tightly knit all-male group. In general, "the thrusting mercantile middle classes of the nineteenth century were apt to view the product intellectuals produced as of minimal value" (David 11), but the realism found in conventional, or "Royal Academy," art at least taught the beholder a moral lesson with real-life application. Such art thus served a practical, "manly" function. But most of

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the Pre-Raphaelites famously despised didactic art, preferred biblical themes and fanciful medieval subjects over contemporary ones, and valued art for its own sake—anathema to conventional thinking. Since such art did not seem to serve any useful, "masculine" purpose, Pre-Raphaelite artists not surprisingly struck the Victorian bourgeoisie as more "feminine" than other artists. In the March 1849 issue of *Fraser's Magazine*, Charles Kingsley, the Muscular Christian clergyman and novelist who advocated robust health, physical strength and exertion, and other "manly" values, publicly denounced Pre-Raphaelite works as "altogether effeminate" and "emasculate" in tone (DeLaura 376–7).

The growing Aesthetic movement that arose out of the PRB suffered similar onslaughts in the later Victorian period. *Quarterly Review* critic W. T. Courthope began a January 1876 article on "Wordsworth and Gray" by condemning Walter Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) for advocating "art for art's sake": "with most Englishmen, we repudiate the effeminate desires which Mr. Pater, the mouthpiece of our artistic 'culture,' would encourage in society" (Adams, "Gentleman" 441). The May 3, 1877, *Oxford and Cambridge Undergraduate's Journal* agreed, censuring Pater for "enjoying moments 'simply for those moments' sake'": "'we have a manhood within us, and . . . there is a man's work for us to do not only in the world that is beyond Oxford, but also in Oxford itself'" (Ellmann 79–80). "Real men" worked hard at practical occupations, while men who did intellectual labor were feminized by their vocation. "In middle-class tirades against bohemianism," Peter Stearns explains,

> a host of male anxieties were expressed: envy of men who did not seem to accept a full, manly responsibility for breadwinning; concern that one's sons, in an age when paternal authority seemed to count for less, might slip away towards essentially feminine roles; a concern that manhood itself might be eroded if beauty or sensuality replaced tough realism. (66–7)

It was only after 1895, however, when Oscar Wilde was convicted for "gross indecency," that aesthetic males were widely considered disturbing and threatening because they evoked the specter of homosexuality. In 1911, Ford wrote that the revelation

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of Wilde's sexual transgressions had led to his own discovery of the existence of homosexuality. Though as a friend of Madox Brown, Wilde was known to Ford and his family as a quiet guest at their tea table, and not a "sodomite," a year before Wilde's first trial, Ford's uncle William Michael Rossetti gathered his nephews around him to warn them of older men who made "proposals or advances of a certain nature." Displaying what Eve Sedgwick defines as "male homosexual panic,"[2] Rossetti assured his nephews that they were "morally and legally at liberty to kill such men 'with any weapon that offered itself'" ("Memories of Oscar Wilde" 138). Though the bohemians' "effeminate" dress and demeanor were reminiscent of the 1820s dandy blasted by Carlyle in "Characteristics," *Sartor Resartus*, and other works of the 1830s, for Rossetti and many other middle-class males of the 1890s, this figure was far more threatening than he had been to their fathers and grandfathers because such terms as "effeminate" and "unmanly" went beyond mere unhealthy self-consciousness and parasitism and now suggested sexual perversity of a homosexual nature.

Wilde's effect on public perception of the male aesthete is discussed several times in Ford's life writing. In 1931, Ford asserts that while before the 1890s, "It was good to be a writer in England," unfortunately "all that went with the trial of Wilde" (*Return* 50). Why? Because, Ford writes in 1911, the public after Wilde's fall "inseparably connected in its mind the idea of poetry with ideas of vice" (*Memories* 171). "Vice" here is a euphemism for homosexuality, yet another case of authors being "hardly regarded as men." Ford is thus clearly invoking late Victorian and Edwardian middle-class opinions which held that men who lived by the pen at best lacked virility and at worst were like Oscar Wilde, sexually deviant and perhaps even homosexual.

In the past decade many gender critics have explored how nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers "negotiated the disjunction" between the male artist and the "bourgeois model of manliness" (Sussman, "Study" 374). Herbert Sussman argues that Robert Browning depicts poets and artists as industrious—read "manly"—entrepreneurs. Norma Clarke suggests that Carlyle's strenuous work at the craft of writing was part of his effort to transform his "effeminate" career into a "manly" one.[3] Ford too accepted the bourgeois ideal of hard work as the mark

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of a "real man." Supporting himself and his families on his writing alone, he labored intensively throughout a fifty-year writing career, authoring approximately eighty books and countless articles, and editing two literary journals. And yet, though he probably worked harder than many of his middle-class contemporaries, his labor was not enough to dispel his worry that as a writer, his manhood was suspect.

Ford's anxieties stemmed in part from his upbringing in, as he put it, a Pre-Raphaelite "hothouse," a languid, florid metaphor that evokes not only much of the art of the PRB, but also their dress and manner (*Memories* 216). Ford was all too aware that as a young boy, both his bohemian clothing and personal appearance must have seemed not only outlandish but girlish: his "long golden hair" and "suit of greenish-yellow corduroy velveteen with gold buttons, and two stockings, of which the one was red and the other green" predictably "were the curse of my young existence and the joy of every street-boy who saw me" (*Memories* 78).

The eccentric and flamboyant personalities surrounding him as a boy also often bordered on the "unmanly." In his 1911 memoir *Memories and Impressions*, Ford recalls going for a walk with the painter Frederick Shields, a man of "picturesque appearance." They met Harold Rathbone, a fellow artist of equally "picturesque" mien, who announced that he had sold one of William Holman Hunt's paintings. The following scene ensued:

> Mr. Shields stopped dramatically. His eyes became as large and round as those of the street child: "You *have*, Harold!" he exclaimed, and opening his arms wide he cried out, "Let me kiss you, Harold!" The two artists, their Inverness capes flying out and seeming to cover the whole of Piccadilly, fell into each other's arms. (160)

The adult Ford claims to appreciate the two artists' delight over the sale; the young Ford felt different. Sensing that passers-by would find peculiar two such odd-looking men embracing in public, he ran away and hid under the steps of St. James's Hall.

Did the boy understand that "real men" did not behave in such a way? Most likely. Throughout his childhood, Ford escaped the aestheticism and unconventionality of his relatives and their friends by reading boys' magazines and the works of

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G. A. Henty and Captain Marryat. Retreating to the coal cellar, Ford would devour tales of the exploits of heroes such as Harkaway Dick, who inhabited "a hollow tree, possessed a tame black panther, and a pair of Winchester repeating-rifles, with which at one sitting he shot no less than forty-five pirates" (*Memories* 46). In over eighty adventure tales for boys, Henty was a "preacher of manliness," while Marryat's many sea stories taught about "Empire and . . . discipline" (Green 222, 215). Though his later writing left Ford little chance to lead any sort of active life, he never lost his boyhood enthusiasm for the masculine virtues that writers such as Henty and Marryat advocated, for they offered him a different standard for measuring himself than the Pre-Raphaelite cult of art and beauty. Ford's boyhood ambition to be an army officer was succeeded by a revolt against excessive aesthetic training, as the fatherless adolescent tried to join the Indian Civil Service. Though in the eyes of his grandfather, Madox Brown, such a career was beneath consideration, a mere clerk's job, Ford seems to have regarded it as a pathway to a "manly" life of exotic adventure.

As an adult, Ford tried to affirm his virility in a number of ways. He worked intensively. He was a philanderer, with several "wives" and many affairs. He even tried middle-aged soldiering. Though in poor health, and at forty-one twice the age of his comrades-in-arms, when World War I broke out, Ford enlisted in the army. His stint as a junior infantry officer in a transport unit was not, however, a success. Rather than affirming his virility by earning the reputation for being a "good soldier," Ford spent much of the war feeling incompetent and shell-shocked. One of his greatest humiliations came at the war's end, when he discovered that as a writer, the army had classified him as "totally unproductive," along with circus performers, vagabonds, peddlers, painters, musicians, gentlemen, and "all unemployable persons" (*Nightingale* 265). Ford never could escape the typical English view that intellectual labor was neither a respectable nor a "manly" endeavor.

* * * * *

It should not be surprising, then, that Ford's most sustained efforts to combat the image of the effeminate male took place in his art. When famous artists and writers appear in his autobiography, memoirs, literary portraits, or biographical

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sketches, he seems to feel compelled to "remasculinize" them, presenting them as conventionally, and sometimes exaggeratedly, virile, for the sake of his much maligned profession and for the sake of his own male honor.[4]

That this remasculinizing process often distorted his subjects would not have surprised many of Ford's contemporaries, for as critics have noted, "factual inaccuracies" and misrepresentations occur frequently in Ford's life writing. Some accused him of outright lying; more diplomatically Ezra Pound is credited with labeling him "the helpless victim of his own imagination" (Judd 332). In his own preface to *Memories and Impressions*, Ford defended what he came to call his Impressionistic method, arguing that while many had written books full of "facts" about the previous twenty-five years, no one had captured the "atmosphere" of the era. His book may therefore be "full of inaccuracies as to facts, but its accuracy as to impressions is absolute" (xviii). And while his first biographer, Arthur Mizener, termed this explanation a "logical blur" (206), most theorists of biography, autobiography, and memoir would agree with Ford that the "truth" about someone can be elusive. *Roshomon*-like, individuals' attempts to recollect the "facts" will inevitably differ. Moreover, all biographical and autobiographical accounts are "necessarily partial and selective" (Nagourney 89), and profoundly influenced "by all the psychological factors which have formed the biographer's own personality and opinions" (Clifford xviii-xix). James Clifford's point is central to the present discussion because Ford's desire to promote a "virile" image for the male aesthete influences his methods when portraying the famous artists and writers he knew. A remasculinizing motive lurks behind some of his "factual inaccuracies."

*Memories and Impressions*, which focuses on Ford's upbringing in "the hothouse atmosphere of Pre-Raphaelitism," illustrates well these remasculinizing techniques. By attempting to revirilize the Pre-Raphaelites by re-presenting their art as "austere realism," Ford practically reduces their artistic output to the works of Madox Brown and Holman Hunt (169). Their works *are* realistic. In paintings such as "Work" and "The Last of England," Madox Brown—whom Ford once pointed out was never officially part of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—specialized in historical works and subjects, while Holman Hunt was best known as a didactic painter of religious subjects. Ford's

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attempts to suggest that the "facts" about these two artists should be extended to embrace the entire group is characteristically "inaccurate." Setting aside the problem that because the PRB lacked common aims and well-defined goals, it is difficult to generalize about their art at all, Madox Brown and Holman Hunt are hardly representative of the Brotherhood's art in any case. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, for instance, painted medieval, archaic pictures based on myths, particularly those of King Arthur and his court. Rossetti's most famous paintings, however, are of sensual women, many of them mythic *femmes fatales* such as Lilith and Morgan Le Fay. The second generation of Pre-Raphaelites, Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris, were Rossetti's acolytes and tended to eschew realism as well. Clearly an overstatement, Ford's characterization of the Pre-Raphaelites as austere realists seems far more motivated by Ford's and his contemporaries' association of the term with "manliness."

In another section of *Memories and Impressions*, Ford continues his project by dissociating the brothers from Wilde and other dandies, declaring Wilde's character and work to be so antithetical to the PRB that Ford cannot even include him "under the mantle of a *soi disant* Pre-Raphaelite" (*Memories* 169–70). Though never of course a Pre-Raphaelite, as an aesthete Wilde would have been viewed as one, as Ford well knew. Twenty-five years later, Ford revised his portrait of Wilde, in a short article titled "Memories of Oscar Wilde," in which Ford tries to redeem *Wilde's* reputation for "effeminacy." After remasculinizing Wilde as a "very erect . . . rather virile figure, if much too stout," Ford then calls him the "chief Pre-Raphaelite poet" of his day (143). Once again the "facts" shift to suit Ford's revirilizing purpose.

At least in *Memories and Impressions*, the Pre-Raphaelite brothers become as remasculinized as their art. Ford's "full-blooded" Pre-Raphaelites are "rather burly, passionate creatures, extraordinarily enthusiastic, extraordinarily romantic, and most impressively quarrelsome" (3). In contrast to Wilde's "poetically vegetarian theory of life," these men have no "inclination to live upon the smell of the lily." William Morris, for one, "was in the habit of lunching daily off roast beef and plum pudding, no matter the season" (4). Here, much like earlier English men of culture such as William Hogarth and Henry Fielding, who identified roast beef with virility, Ford celebrates "manly,"

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carnivorous appetites.[5] The brothers also "bicker like swashbucklers" over "wine, women, and song" (*Memories* 26). Writing to Madox Brown, Holman Hunt threatens never to talk to Rossetti again should he take one of his models boating. Rossetti's doing so results in "a triangular duel of portentous letters" (*Memories* 6). Though Ford presents the anecdote as an amusing example of the pugnacious nature of the artists, it can be no accident that the argument is over a woman.

At the very start of *Memories and Impressions*, Ford confronts us with an extreme, and highly conventional, image of PRB sensuality:

> I remember, in a sort of golden vision, Rossetti lying upon a sofa in the back studio with lighted candles at his feet and lighted candles at his head, while two extremely beautiful ladies dropped grapes into his mouth. But Rossetti did this not because he desired to present the beholder with a beautiful woman, but because he liked lying on sofas, he liked grapes, and he particularly liked beautiful ladies. (5)

While the scene may be a product of Ford's imagination, the "impression" of Rossetti rings true. He was a passionate man whose numerous liaisons included a long affair with William Morris's wife, Jane. But Ford here declares that the Pre-Raphaelites desired "all of them, room to expand," and the following account of the artists' competition over their models suggests that the nature of all the brothers' expansiveness is sensual, even promiscuous. In this, Ford exaggerates. If the PRB included the libido of Rossetti, it also encompassed Holman Hunt, an earnest, upstanding Victorian; and William Morris, a sexual ascetic for much of his life. After Jane Morris began her affair with Rossetti, Morris appears to have taken little interest in women, throwing himself into his work instead. He and Rossetti shared the rent of the house in Kelmscott, and on a number of occasions Morris allowed Jane and their two children to stay there alone with Rossetti while Morris traveled. After Rossetti died, Jane also had a prolonged affair with the poet and diplomat Wilfred Blunt, again with Morris's tacit sanction. Ford's representation of Rossetti as the quintessential Pre-Raphaelite is thus clearly simplistic.[6]

Even more tenuous was Ford's attempt to close the perceived gap between artists and the "bourgeois model of manliness" (Sussman, "Study" 374) by linking them with

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soldiers and sailors, conventional archetypes of British manhood. In 1939, Ford recalled that "as befits great poets, the Pre-Raphaelite singers all saw military service." During the late 1850s, Louis Napoleon contemplated invading England, and although the attack never came, Ford evokes a scene of Madox Brown, Rossetti, and Algernon Swinburne drilling in Hyde Park as part of the "famous Artists Corps" (*March* 709). James Eli Adams argues that self-discipline, which the Victorians prized greatly, accounts for the soldier's appeal as an ideal of manhood (*Dandies* 216). But there seems to be more to Ford's lifelong admiration for the military type. Stoic under harsh conditions, brave in the face of danger, and physically strong—in sum, a man of action, not an intellectual—the stereotypic soldier is all that the middle-class Englishman, and Ford, esteemed.

Even more frequently, Ford invokes sailors in his discussions of literary men. Possessing all the toughness of the soldier, sailors also appear as men of action. And while the lack of women in both these tightly knit all-male groups could lead to the suspicion of homosexual behavior, as Eve Sedgwick persuasively argues, middle-class Englishmen "perceived the exclusion of women from their intimate lives as virilizing them, more than they perceived their choice of male object as feminizing them" (*Between* 207).

Several ancestors on Ford's mother's side with *bona fide* links to the sea confirmed his own "virile" lineage. His great grandfather "fought on the famous *Arethusa* in the classic fight with the *Belle Poule*"; his grandfather's cousin Tristram Madox, a naval midshipman, was dismissed for assaulting a civilian; and his grandfather, Madox Brown, would have been a midshipman rather than an artist had his father not "quarrelled with Commodore Coffin, and so lost all hope of influence at the Admiralty" (*Memories* 19). While the Pre-Raphaelites themselves lacked this connection with the sea, Ford nevertheless makes them metaphorical sailors, declaring that they resembled "nothing so much as a group of old-fashioned ships' captains." Ford relates how a crew of seamen once met William Morris in the street and took him for a captain because he looked like "a sailor ashore." But Ford insists that for the PRB, a naval manner "in essence was the note of them all. When they were at work they desired that everything be shipshape; when they set their work down they became like Jack ashore" (*Memories* 19–20).

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Here, Ford extends to the bohemian artist that air of freedom that sailors on shore leave have. But sailors ashore are typically thought of as randy men with sex on their minds, having been deprived of female companionship for many months. Once again, the Pre-Raphaelites by implication stand forth as robust heterosexuals.

Ford's effort to associate artists with men of action, and even with military and nautical types, is not limited to the Pre-Raphaelites. The "Old Man" and the "Master," his pet names for Henry James, refer to "the colonel of a regiment or the Captain of a battleship" (*Thus* 111). But one man stands alone when Ford associates artistry with the sea: Joseph Conrad.

Older and more highly regarded as a writer, Conrad occupies a special place in Ford's life and writing. He was Ford's only literary collaborator, a partnership that lasted ten years. He was also the subject of Ford's most extensive literary reminiscences of a fellow writer, the 1924 book-length study *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance.* Unlike Ford's other artistic associates, Conrad had a significant non-artistic past, having worked as a mariner for twenty years before becoming a writer. In *Joseph Conrad,* Ford presents himself as Conrad's artistic shipmate, characterizing their jointly written books as the "solid and shipshape productions of solid and shipshape men with no nonsense about them" (185). The fortuitous intersection of writer and man of action in the person of Conrad gives Ford the confidence to assert that "the only occupation fitting for a proper man is the writing of novels" (186)—a defiant response to his wry acknowledgment of eleven years earlier that the public perceives "practitioners of all the arts as at least effeminate, if not a decent kind of eunuch" (*Memories* 123).

As with the Pre-Raphaelites, Ford's characterizations of Conrad's works and the man himself are often stereotypically virile. For instance, in *Return to Yesterday: Reminiscences of James, Conrad, and Crane,* Ford presents Conrad, despite his frequent depression and psychosomatic illnesses, as a robustly masculine figure: "The Conrad of those days was Romance. He was dark, black bearded, passionate in the extreme and at every minute" (32). This Conrad not only had "a great deal of the master mariner in him," but also "the air of a Caliph entering a slave market—as if he could confiscate any of the beautiful slaves" (53). Though reminiscent of Rossetti amidst his harem of

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"beautiful ladies," the male writer here is far more aggressively virile. Conrad the Caliph does not lounge on a sofa; he has the potential to take a woman by force.

Conrad's robustly heterosexual, "manly" nature in *Return to Yesterday* may reflect Ford's desire to compensate for an undercurrent of homoerotic attraction between them. As Sedgwick argues, there is a thin line between "the most sanctioned forms of male-homosocial bonding, and the most reprobated expressions of male homosexual sociality" (*Between* 89). According to Ford, he and Conrad "were so constantly about each other's houses that quite often we could meet after driving over without any particular greeting, as if one of us had just come down from washing his hands in the bedroom" (*Return* 139). Ford repeatedly recalls that the two writers would stay up all night discussing literary methods or working on their collaborative texts, a claim that Jessie Conrad, Conrad's wife, confirms, remembering how the two men "would elect to start work as we, Mrs. Hueffer and I, were retiring for the night" (66).[7] That Conrad and Ford often chose male comradeship over the heterosexual intimacy of their respective marriage beds may help to account for the intense resentment of Ford found in Jessie Conrad's reminiscences. She too seems to have sensed a homoerotic dimension to their relationship.

The language and imagery Ford and Conrad used to express their love and appreciation for each other provides further support for Jessie Conrad's "sense." Ford described Conrad and himself as "practically" roommates for years (*Return* 204), and some of Conrad's letters to Ford are almost passionate in their enthusiasm. "I miss you more and more," he wrote on 8 January 1908, during a hiatus in their collaboration. "I am certain that with no other man could I share my rapture" (Karl and Davies 3: 403). Years earlier, on 19 July 1902, he declared, "I want you and have wanted you for some time" (Karl and Davies 2: 435; see also Meyer 139).

The pregnancy images that arise when the two men discuss their collaboration also evoke an intimacy that borders on the sexual. Though as Susan Stanford Friedman notes, "The childbirth metaphor has yoked artistic creativity and human procreativity for centuries," and though "Men as well as women have used the metaphor extensively" (73), when two men use pregnancy imagery to describe their joint writing, the results

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tend to be homoerotic.[8] In his preface to their jointly authored *The Nature of a Crime*, Ford refers to the "birth" of the work (8), and he also recalls that when encouraging Conrad during the composition of *Nostromo*, "I would manoeuvre him towards writing as the drake manoeuvres the sitting duck to the nest when she has abandoned her eggs" (*Nature* 294). Conrad's own description of Ford's taking dictation from him suggests midwifery: "it was the occasion of you putting on me that gentle but persistent pressure which extracted . . . the stuff of the Personal Record" (*Return* 196).

Written upon Conrad's death in 1924, *Joseph Conrad* best illustrates the intensity of Ford's feelings for his friend and colleague—feelings that had not changed despite their having been estranged since 1909. (Ford never publicly admitted to a breach.) By calling the book "an offering In Memoriam," Ford invokes Tennyson's elegy to Arthur Hallam and thus equates the strong bond between those two men with his fervent devotion to Conrad (34). Ford's portrayal of the relationship between Conrad and himself also parallels that of Conrad's two "secret sharers." In that story, the narrator has an instant feeling of kinship for the fugitive Leggatt, to whom he refers as his "double," his "other self," his "secret self," and his "second self." In *Joseph Conrad*, this secret sharer motif appears most clearly during Ford's accounts of Conrad's travels. Here, Ford suddenly stops referring to Conrad as "he" and begins to use "we," explaining the shift this way:

> if the writer write "we"—that is how it feels. For it was not possible to be taken imperiously through Conrad's life . . . and not to feel—even to believe—that one had had, oneself, that experience. And the feeling was heightened by Conrad's affecting to believe that one had, at least to the extent of knowing at all times where he had been, what seen, and what performed. . . . The man is half in shadow—half Conrad, half the writer. (102–03)

Ford finds a similar feeling of identification in certain moments of "curious coincidence" that Conrad invented between their two lives (110). Though such coincidences were highly unlikely, since the men were sixteen years apart in age, according to Ford, Conrad believed he could recall "a little boy with long, golden hair, a bucket and a spade, who used to march up to the young able seaman and ask him questions" when Conrad had visited

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an English seaside resort many years before (92). In his "Psychoanalytic Biography" of Conrad, Bernard Meyer observes that Conrad's supposed memory of meeting Ford years before is similar to the behavior of lovers who invent "a remote common past":

> In general when such fantasies arise, they express the wish that the persons involved have always known each other, have partaken in each other's childhood experiences, and thus, possessing a virtually common origin, share in a common identity, or one-ness. (136–7)

Ford reinforces this idea of "one-ness" when he recalls Conrad declaring during a writing session, "By Jove, it's a third person who is writing" (*Conrad* 42), as if the two men had merged identities to become a completely different entity encompassing both personalities.

Ford's lack of sensitivity to the homoerotic suggestiveness of some of his statements about Conrad may seem odd, given his awareness of the perceived "effeminacy" of male artists such as the Pre-Raphaelites who formed close associations. But his enthusiasm for Conrad, and his intense desire to recapture the sense of brotherhood they once had shared, seem at times to have blinded Ford to the homoerotic implications of his accounts.[9] While he certainly never publicly acknowledged any attraction to Conrad, Ford may have worried subconsciously about his strong feelings, which would further explain his efforts to remasculinize Conrad and other writers and artists through his life writing.

One of Ford's last works, *Mightier than the Sword* (1937), represents his most sweeping attempt to equate writing with virility. As the title suggests, no longer satisfied with merely identifying the artist with the man of action, Ford now wishes to declare the artist the stronger of the two. From his opening, when he introduces his subjects—among them W. H. Hudson, Conrad, Stephen Crane, H. G. Wells, Thomas Hardy, Swinburne, and James—as "strong, strongly featured men," to the final chapter, "There were Strong Men," Ford celebrates the idea of literary virility (vi).[10]

He has little trouble giving a manly cast to the lives of these authors, although he often does so by simplifying their complex personalities. For example, Hudson, whose rheumatic fever at

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age fifteen rendered him unfit for the life of a rancher, resembles a character from the adventure stories Ford devoured as a boy:

> He was very tall, with the immense, lean frame of an old giant. . . . The muscles of his arms stood out like knotted cords. He had the Spanish face and peaked grey beard of a Don Desperado of the Spanish Main; his features always seemed slightly screwed together like the faces of men looking to windward in a gale. (43)

Even though Hudson lived in the "sordid glooms and weeping gaslit streets" of Bayswater (46), complete with the classic homebound figure of a wife who once kept a boarding house, Ford manages to construct a romantic past for Hudson that echoes his most famous work, *Green Mansions*. "Far and away long ago," Ford writes, Hudson had "nourished an intolerable passion for a being who had had a beautiful voice and sang from the gleaming shadows of the green mansion of an *ombu*" (a South American tree). This passion "had eaten into his life," eventually driving him, Ford concludes, into his current prosaic situation (46).

Stephen Crane undergoes a similar romanticizing and revirilizing. Though he suffered from tuberculosis and died at age twenty-nine, "poor frail Steevie" also sounds, at points, like a character out of one of his own stories (31). According to Ford, Crane would kill flies with a Colt revolver, "flicking the gun backhanded with his remarkably strong wrists" (26). "That's what you want to do instead of interring yourself amongst purple pre-Raphaelite pleonasms," Crane advised Ford during one of these sessions. "That's what you learn out in the West" (26). *Return to Yesterday* contains an earlier account of this "enviable trick with a gun" and further evidence for Crane's skill as a horseman and as a wielder of "a spade or an axe" (48).

While not hobbled by disease, two other subjects in *Mightier than the Sword* were more difficult to remasculinize than Hudson and Crane. The reason was simple: the public personae of the Pre-Raphaelite poet Algernon Swinburne, and "the master" Henry James, were almost as problematic as Oscar Wilde's.

Though Swinburne was his godfather, Ford did not want to include him in *Mightier than the Sword* at all. Writing to Paul Palmer, the editor of *American Mercury*, where the collection of literary portraits originally appeared, Ford asserted that "the

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antique figure" of Swinburne held little interest for him ("To Paul Palmer"). One obvious reason for his dismissive attitude towards his godfather is found in Swinburne's poetry, described by one contemporary critic as "epicene" and "far from being chaste or noble in the masculine or any other sense" (Sussman, "Study" 376).[11] This writer of homoerotic poetry, who had homosexual and sadomasochistic tendencies as well, clearly did not belong in Ford's book about "strong men." Since Palmer insisted that Ford include Swinburne in *Mightier than the Sword*, however, he avoided references to Swinburne's sexual "perversity," creating instead an alternative "masculine" persona for his godfather.

As Ford recalls it, Swinburne was a courtly figure in love with Gabriel Rossetti's wife, Elizabeth Siddall. Ford goes so far as to assert that the couple would have run off together had Swinburne not shown up at the rendezvous in an inebriated state, and Ford attributes Siddall's suicide to her disappointment over the failure of the supposed elopement. There is no evidence for this theory. Siddall, who had suffered a miscarriage, was extremely depressed when she took her life, but it is universally recognized that her troubled relationship with Rossetti, not unrequited love for Swinburne, motivated her. Only Ford's wish that his quasi-familial relationship with Swinburne would not stigmatize Ford himself can account for his final judgment of his remasculinized godfather as "a male creature of a great radiance [and] chivalry" (203).

The ambiguous sexuality of Henry James, whom Ford considered the "greatest author of our day," also challenged the claim that all the subjects in *Mightier than the Sword* were "strong men." The prevailing post-World War I perception of James was that he was impotent. In *Notes of a Son and Brother* (1914), James himself recorded that in 1861 he had received "a horrid even if an obscure hurt," referring vaguely to an accident of some sort (298). As Leon Edel explains, James's readers "were ready to imagine the worst":

> Critics in the 1920s tended to see a relationship between the accident and his celibacy, his apparent avoidance of involvements with women and the absence of overt sexuality in his work. As a consequence there emerged a "theory" that the novelist had suffered a hurt . . . which amounted to castration. (58)[12]

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Ford could not have avoided knowing of James's "unmanly" public image. While editing the *transatlantic review* in the 1920s, he had extensive dealings with Hemingway, who incorporated this "theory" about James into Chapter 12 of *The Sun Also Rises*, where Jake Barnes and Bill Gorton discuss impotence. Ford also knew Glenway Wescott, who wrote in *Hound and Horn* of James's "expatriation and castration" (Edel 722). As for Ford himself, although in the autobiographical *Thus to Revisit* (1921), he acknowledges that Crane used to refer to James as Henrietta Maria (111), in *Mightier than the Sword* and his other life writing about James, Ford makes little reference to James's eunuch-like reputation. On the contrary, Ford declares about James that "To anyone not a fool his must be a commanding figure. He had great virility, energy [and] persistence. . . . And upon the whole he was the most masterful man I have ever met" (*Return* 22).

In *Mightier than the Sword*, Ford strives to make James appear more overtly "manly" than he appeared to his contemporaries, depicting him as a "male and vigorous personality" (16). There has always been controversy about how well Ford knew James. Ford's latest biographer, Max Saunders, convincingly argues that "Ford's later claim to 'almost daily colloquies with Mr. James, which extended over a number of years' is an exaggeration," but that "his repeated claim to intimacy appears more reasonable than it has been thought in light of the frequent meetings recorded by Olive Garnett and others" (1: 135). It is this "intimacy" that allows Ford to tell anecdotes that can neither be substantiated nor disproved since the events occurred while the two men were alone. Ford can therefore assert with impunity that while "not a single rendering of esoteric sin, sexual incidents, or shadowing of obscenities" appears in any of James's work,

> that did not prevent him . . . from making his conversation heroically Rabelaisian . . . on the topics of esoteric sin or sexual indulgence. I have attended at conversations . . . that made the tall wax candles seem to me to waver in their sockets and the skin of my forehead and hands to prickle with sweat. (12–13)

Though Ford was perhaps the only source for how "James would utter his racy 'Ho-ho-ho's" (13), these details are clearly provided as evidence of a strong heterosexual nature, thus suggesting manliness.

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Ford also tries to revirilize the apparently chaste bachelor by placing him biographically squarely within the heterosexual norm. James had "two great passions": one for "a cousin whom he was to have married and who died of consumption while they were both very young"; and one "for a more conspicuous but less satisfactory personage who . . . let him down mercilessly after a period of years" (17–18). Most biographers agree that the young James had great affection for his cousin, Minny Temple, but few would argue he ever contemplated marrying her. Of the other "personage"—probably the American author Constance Fenimore Woolson—Edel writes convincingly that while she and James had a "long and continuing friendship," he kept the relationship on a platonic level (257).

And yet Ford's attempts to revirilize James are not surprising, given the younger man's special affinity for the writer whom he regarded as his literary mentor and whom he often cited as his "master." Even when he was writing about a conventionally "masculine" activity such as warfare, Ford, like James, was essentially a domestic novelist, citing James's novel of domestic intrigue and passion *What Maisie Knew* as the major inspiration for his 1920s war tetralogy, *Parade's End*. A stain on James's masculinity therefore also threatened to stain his disciple, leading Ford to present James as a very unlikely "he-man."

Ford never ceased to feel ambivalent and defensive about being a writer rather than a man of business or action. At times he could sound at peace, and even wise, on the subject. In 1913, he insisted on the mercantile class's need for art, writing "You cannot have a business community of any honesty unless you have a literature to set a high standard" (*Henry James* 50). At other times, writing for Ford was an attribute of virility. In 1919, he quoted "the old saying" that "I can build a house, plant a tree, write a book, and beget a son," concluding that "No man who cannot do all these things is fit to govern" (*No Enemy* 274). Though, ironically, Ford himself fathered three daughters and no sons, here, creating art and the stereotypically "virile" act of siring male offspring are requirements for becoming an effective male leader. At other times, such as in his 1935 eponymous meditation on the region of Provence, Ford espoused the hope that rather than seeking glory and adventure in war and other traditionally "manly" activities, "we, one day" might "in contentment live obscurely the inner life" (70). But unfortunately

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for Ford's psychological equanimity, middle-class Victorian conventions of masculinity were too deeply ingrained in him to reconcile himself completely to the passivity—a "feminine" trait—of the artist's life of the mind. To the end of his life, Ford would continue to assert self-consciously the manliness of the intellectual male.

## NOTES

1. See Buckton's exploration of the Victorian view that celibacy indicated effeminacy and homosexuality. Also see Adams, who suggests that because honesty and openness were viewed as quintessentially "manly" English characteristics by mid-century, the secret nature of these male groups would have been anathema to the conventional Englishman (*Dandies* 14).
2. Sedgwick defines "male homosexual panic" as a fear that heterosexual men may feel about their own sexual identity. Homophobia and violence are often the result. See *Between Men* for an excellent discussion of the Wilde trials' effect on what she calls elsewhere "the whole continuum of male homosocial bonds" ("Beast" 245).
3. See Adams's *Dandies and Desert Saints*, a full-length, wide-ranging study of how "male Victorian writers represent intellectual vocations as affirmations of masculine identity" (2).
4. In choosing the term "remasculinize" (and the similar "revirilize") to describe Ford's representation of aesthetic males as aggressively manly, I follow Linda Shires, who writes of Tennyson's attempts "to recover a male identity through remasculinization" (269). Like Ford, the male speaker of *Maud* fears that he is effeminate, and becomes a soldier to prove his virility.
5. In *England in the Age of Hogarth*, Derek Jarrett writes that the painter Hogarth, a founder of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks in 1735, had an "almost mystical insistence on the eating of beef as a means of acquiring the virility and the virtues of the sturdy, freeborn Englishman" (22). In his 1749 "The Gate of Calais," for instance, a skinny French cook's boy reels under the weight of a large joint of roast beef to be prepared for English visitors with hearty appetites. The writer Henry Fielding also celebrated roast beef as a symbol of English robustness, as this song from his suppressed 1731 *Grub Street Opera* demonstrates:

> When mighty Roast Beef was the Englishman's Food
> It enobled our Hearts, and enriched our Blood;
> Our soldiers were brave, and our Courtiers were good.
> Oh the Roast Beef of Old England
> And old England's Roast Beef!

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Then, Britons, from all nice Dainties refrain
Which effiminate Italy, France and Spain;
And mighty Roast Beef shall command on the Main.
Oh the Roast Beef of Old England
And old England's Roast Beef. (Uglow 274)

6. For a lively account of the Pre-Raphaelites' personal lives, see Daly.
7. Before changing his name after World War I, Ford was Ford Madox Hueffer.
8. For further discussion of the collaborators and childbearing imagery, see Koestenbaum's account of what he calls Ford's and Conrad's "Criminal Romance" (166-7).
9. Similar homoerotic strains can be detected in several of Ford's novels, and most famously in *The Good Soldier,* where the asexual John Dowell admires the robustly heterosexual Captain Edward Ashburnham so emphatically that the reader suspects a sublimated attraction.
10. Page numbers refer to the American edition, which bore the title *Portraits from Life.*
11. See Dellamora for a discussion of the sexual "perversities" found in Swinburne's poetry.
12. For a fascinating discussion of the sexually anesthetized nature of James, and his alter ego John Marcher in the story "The Beast in the Jungle," see Sedgwick's *Between Men.*

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# Elizabeth Gaskell's Ethnographic Imagination in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*

*Maria H. Frawley*

On Christmas Day in 1848, just a week after her sister Emily had died, Charlotte Brontë sent a note to her publisher W. S. Williams telling him of her loss. In a doomed tone familiar to readers of her novels, Brontë wrote: "Emily is nowhere here now—her wasted mortal remains are taken out of the house; we have laid her cherished head under the church-aisle beside my mother's, my two sisters', dead long ago, and my poor, hapless brother's. But a small remnant of the race is left—so my poor father thinks" (Wise and Symington 2: 295). Tersely cataloging the successive decline of her family, Brontë reveals what would become for her, as well as her biographers, central thematic guideposts with which to represent her life. Positioned between the dead and dying, Brontë remains emotionally immobilized in a house oddly marked by the presence of what is absent, her family. The remaining Brontës—Charlotte and her sister Anne as well as their father—are likened to vestigial relics of a vanishing tribe, a mere "remnant" of a "race" drawn inexorably, it would seem, to extinction.

The language Brontë chose to express her grief is intriguing. Clearly, it reflects personal anguish. After all, with Emily's death, coming only two months after her brother Branwell's, the balance between dead and live family members had shifted precariously to vantage the dead, leaving only three family members at home—Charlotte herself, Anne visibly ill with the symptoms that had killed Emily, and Patrick Brontë, over seventy years of age. But perhaps more significantly, Brontë's language exposes as well the particular ways that she understood her own cultural identity. In fact, much of her voluminous correspondence is laced with a similar language; that is, with vocabulary that likens the Brontë family to "remnants" of a "race," and that positions them within a remote region of Britain populated by the seemingly primitive.



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Rather than view such discourse as a personal peculiarity of Charlotte Brontë's, this essay will examine the broader implications of a language that might best be described as ethnographic in its appeal by tracing its effect in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, the influential biography published in 1857 by Brontë's close friend and colleague, Elizabeth Gaskell. Charlotte Brontë's representations of her self and family undoubtedly influenced Gaskell, who first met Brontë during the intense period of emotional adjustment when Brontë registered the loss of her siblings. From the beginning, Gaskell seems to have drawn from the same rhetorical source for a vocabulary to describe Brontë. After the first meeting with Brontë at the home of Lady Kay Shuttleworth in 1850, Gaskell wrote that Brontë "is the last of six; lives in a wild out of the way village in the Yorkshire Moors with a wayward eccentric wild father,—their parsonage facing the North" (560).[1] Seeing Charlotte Brontë as she had asked to be seen—that is, as a product of an environment characterized as remote and exotic, even primitive, in its appeal—Gaskell created a biography that reads in several critical respects as an ethnography. As biographer, she represents herself much like a "participant-observer," drawing on a range of tropes often associated with classic ethnography to establish in the text both an intimacy with and distance from her subject matter. An examination of both the sources behind and implications of the ethnographic stance and rhetoric that characterize significant portions of Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* reveals, moreover, the extent to which the biography itself participates in a specific moment in mid-nineteenth century British culture that some historians associate with imperialism, sociocultural evolutionism, and their emotional correlates—nostalgia for what was "lost" as landscapes and cultures were transformed by industrial progress. The ethnographic perspectives that characterized Brontë's self representations, and which would shape Gaskell's subsequent biography, are alike driven by a kind of nostalgia, a yearning to recover and to preserve what was irrevocably lost—for Brontë, her family; for Gaskell, Brontë herself.

Exploring connections between Brontë's view of her own life and Gaskell's view of her biographical subject helps to clarify some of the disparate purposes of the biography more generally, which has often been critiqued for its overreliance

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on oppositions (particularly between the woman and the writer) and its alleged lack of unity. Just as ethnographers have long acknowledged the extent to which they construct themselves through the others they study,[2] it has become something of a commonplace in biography studies to note that biographers inevitably reveal themselves in their representations of their subjects.[3] Nevertheless, little work has demonstrated the interplay between the two. Drawing as it does on a particular kind of discourse often invoked by Brontë herself—one that I will characterize as ethnographic in its attention to the habitat, customs, and behavior thought to be unique to the Brontë family and the Yorkshire culture—*The Life of Charlotte Brontë* provides an excellent representation of the ways in which the language of the "'biographer-persona" and that of her subject work mutually to constitute a life history.

## Charlotte Brontë's "Corner of Yorkshire"

Charlotte Brontë often sought to portray her family's habitat, both the parsonage at Haworth and the Yorkshire countryside itself, as far removed from contact with the outside world. In many letters she calls attention to the remoteness of her social environment, both to explain her family's aloof disposition and to account for atypical aspects of their professional work. In one letter she notes the "rough and rude" nature of her "corner of Yorkshire"; in another she describes the "existence of absolute seclusion" that dominates her family's existence; in still another she refers to the "rude north country ideas" of the other "Bell" sisters and herself (Wise and Symington 2: 219, 242, 290).

Although Brontë clearly had limited social prospects and essentially worked without a community to nurture her intellectually or to support her professional aspirations, the substance of her fiction undercuts the sense of isolation she so evidently desired to associate with her experiences and milieu. As Sally Shuttleworth has recently shown, "her novels are permeated by the psychological language and theory of the time, the texture of her fiction belying the myths of her social and cultural isolation" (11). In fact, Shuttleworth concludes that "Brontë, despite her much vaunted social 'isolation' offers a brilliant anatomy of the structures of power within the industrial culture of Victorian England" (244). Nevertheless, Brontë was clearly attracted to a notion of her cultural heritage

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that stressed its inaccessibility and that sought to identify Yorkshire with a part of Britain oblivious to the processes that were transforming the rest of the nation.[4] An early letter to her close friend Ellen Nussey, exemplifying what Juliet Barker describes as Brontë's "jaundiced view of Haworth," refers to "the solitude of our wild little hill village."[5] In a later letter, she quotes with relish excerpts from a local paper that describe Haworth as "situated amongst the bogs and mountains and until very lately supposed to be in a state of semi-barbarism" (Wise and Symington 1: 203).

Brontë's desire to be seen by others as living within this kind of environment evidently extended to Elizabeth Gaskell as well. In a letter of 1 June 1853, written to invite Gaskell to her home, she cautioned:

> When you take leave of the domestic circle and turn your back on Plymouth Grove to come to Haworth, you must do it in the spirit which might sustain you in case you were setting out on a brief trip to the backwoods of America. Leaving behind your husband, children, and civilization, you must come out to barbarism, loneliness, and liberty.[6]

With this caveat, Gaskell is invited to think of Charlotte Brontë's region and home—both implied by Haworth—as foreign country, and in essence to treat her visit as an expedition into unfamiliar, exotic territory. Although the trip would ostensibly deprive Gaskell of the comforts of her middle-class "domestic circle," Brontë promised Gaskell an emancipatory experience.

Gaskell took Brontë up on her offer, of course, becoming one of the relatively few people ever invited to stay with the family at Haworth Parsonage, a privilege she must have recognized. The intimacy that Gaskell established by visiting Haworth, and by having Brontë as a guest in her Manchester home, combine with her own status as an accomplished author to account for her eventual invitation by Brontë's father to write the first and only "authorized" biography of her subject.[7] Even before the idea of a biography came into being, Gaskell emerged as the figure suitable to present Brontë to a public eager for details of the deceased author's life. When a scandalous and gossipy article on Brontë appeared in *Sharpe's London Magazine*, for instance, Ellen Nussey pressured Brontë's husband, Arthur Nicholls, to ask Gaskell to refute publicly some of the claims

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within the article, writing "Her personal acquaintance with Haworth, the Parsonage, and its inmates, fits her for the task."[8] Nussey's wording is significant, for it suggests that Gaskell's chief qualification was her familiarity with and supposed sensitivity to Brontë's habitat. Although Patrick Brontë supposedly laughed off the very article that so worried Ellen Nussey, he did in fact write to Gaskell soon after, on 16 June 1855, urging her "to write a brief account of [Charlotte's] life—and to make some remarks on her works," going so far as to suggest that "could my Daughter speak from the tomb, I feel certain, she would laud our choice" (qtd. in Barker 781-2).

*The Life of Charlotte Brontë* is far more than the "brief account" that Patrick Brontë may initially have envisioned, but in the biography's obvious attempt to place the Brontës within a marginalized "corner of Yorkshire" and its attendant emphasis on their life of "absolute seclusion," Brontë does in fact seem to "speak from the tomb." As Juliet Barker notes in *The Brontës*, her monumental study of the family, when Gaskell's biography appeared in 1857, it "created a sensation comparable to the first publication of *Jane Eyre*," and

> was seized upon and avidly read by everyone, from London literati to provincial novel readers, all of whom were intrigued to discover how and why a woman as retired as Charlotte Brontë had produced some of the most passionate and explosive fiction the world had yet seen. (796)

As Barker's own language suggests, assumptions about Brontë's habitat seem somehow inevitably to have structured understandings of her personality and her writing from the very beginning. Indeed, Margaret Lane claims that "there can hardly ever have been a story more powerfully riveted to a place than that of the Brontës at Haworth; and the intensity of their identification with it had been stamped again and again on Mrs. Gaskell's perceptions until it seemed to her that the very stones might speak" (19).

As reviews of Gaskell's work clearly revealed, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* both created and reinforced such assumptions. *The Christian Remembrancer*'s anonymous review of July 1857 was typical in its emphasis on "Charlotte Brontë's small glimpse of the world," and on Gaskell's use of "the home and the neighbourhood" of Brontë to explain her alleged "want of

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refinement." Similarly, in an October 1857 review of *The Life*, the *North American Review* exonerated the Brontë sisters for the "coarseness" of their writing after learning from Gaskell that "the authors painted life as it lay around them in their daily path" (Barker 796).

As these reviews tantalizingly imply, Gaskell did much more with her biography than critics today, focused almost exclusively on either supporting or challenging the supposed feminist aims of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, acknowledge.[9] When Gaskell critics have addressed the use of place within the biography, it has often been to compare her technique in it to that of her novels. Hilary Schor, for example, connects *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* to *Sylvia's Lovers* through their shared use of Yorkshire as a site of Victorian class conflict.[10] Yet Gaskell's earliest readers seem to have delighted particularly in her evocations of Brontë's surroundings, finding in these descriptions of Yorkshire and its customs and habits "evidence" with which to understand the subject at the heart of the biography.

### The Ethnographic Interest of Britain's Ethnic Peripheries

The Yorkshire setting that pervades *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in fact provides much more than what Alan Shelston describes in his edition of the biography as "locational atmosphere" (29). Like Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell found it advantageous to construct a myth of the social and cultural isolation of Yorkshire, and to position Brontë squarely within this environment. As Juliet Barker writes,

> Mrs. Gaskell's description may be a fairly accurate picture of Haworth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it completely ignores the Industrial Revolution and the major impact it had had on life in the nineteenth-century township. "Isolated", "solitary", "lonely" are the epithets on every page. But in reality, Haworth was a busy, industrial township, not some remote rural village of Brigadoon-style fantasy. (92)

Barker's critique of Gaskell's biography could, however, extend to Brontë's correspondence as well, where "isolated," "solitary," and "lonely" make regularly scheduled appearances. Of course, Brontë's correspondence and the biography are very tangibly related, for excerpted portions of her letters account for a good

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deal of the bulk of Gaskell's project—another way, perhaps, that Brontë could be said to "speak from the tomb."

In reproducing many excerpts from Brontë's letters within her biography, Gaskell may well have picked up on her subject's mode of representation and reliance on ethnographic rhetoric, mimicking Brontë's propensity to exaggerate the primitive appeal of Haworth. Yet the biography and the correspondence on which much of it is based both belong to what Christopher Herbert identifies as a "movement of thinking" emergent in Victorian Britain that concerned itself with articulating the idea and logic of culture. The impact of this movement can be seen most obviously in influential works like E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871), which applied the language of natural science to the study of human life. Indeed, the cluster of examples appearing in the entry for "ethnography" in the *OED* all date from around the mid-nineteenth century, and in their shared emphasis on the description of the customs and habits that differentiate human populations, reveal the considerable overlap between ethnography and anthropology at the time.

Despite attempts to apply scientific methods, studies of culture that prospered during this period relied, as Herbert claims, not on a "dispassionate investigation of evidence," but more frequently on a "sometimes insidious reconfiguring of moral and religious ideas, in fact of a whole sensibility, at a historical point of crisis" (42). Particularly relevant to Gaskell's techniques in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* is what Paul Atkinson labels the "ethnographic imagination," a term that foregrounds the difference between the claims of ethnography to truth and its truthfulness. Resisting the impulse to define ethnography as a kind of writing with "a closed set of common features," Atkinson instead points to the features it shares with other kinds of writing—both "literary modes" and other "factual genres, such as history, biography, and scientific reports" (8). Stressing in particular the rhetorical conventions that ethnographies share with these other "textual types," Atkinson shows that the "sociological arguments that such texts convey are largely developed through their construction of plausible social worlds" (9).

To address the issue of how "plausible" was the social world constructed by both Brontë herself and by Gaskell in *The Life*, one must understand more of the historical context associated

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by Herbert with a movement of thinking about culture and by Atkinson with an emerging ethnographic imagination. While colonial and post-colonial studies have brought attention to the multifaceted relationship between emerging social science fields such as ethnography, anthropology, and sociology, and British imperial efforts in the nineteenth century, scholars have only recently begun to acknowledge the extent to which power relationships very similar to those associated with Britain's colonies structured life within Great Britain as well. An ethnographic imagination shaped the understanding of regions within Britain just as it did of those seemingly far removed from the country, arising simultaneously with, and impacting in complex ways, what Michael Hechter has called "internal colonialism." As Nancy Armstrong has argued, this process resulted in a large-scale "regional or ethnic remapping of British cultures," one that constructed ethnic peripheries throughout the British Isles ("Emily's Ghost" 245).[11] Charlotte Brontë's propensity to see herself as living within a "corner of Yorkshire" associated by her nation with bogs and barbarism was no doubt shaped by, and perhaps even a consequence of, the discourse about Britain's peripheries that surfaced throughout the nineteenth century.

*The Life of Charlotte Brontë*—and perhaps the genre of biography more generally—belongs to this "long overlooked chapter of modern cultural history," and invokes a kind of power relationship comparable to that cultivated by internal colonialism (Armstrong, "Emily's Ghost" 245). The discourse of internal colonialism enabled middle-class people to represent themselves as "elite overseers" of the "quaint and primitive" (262). North of Gaskell's Manchester and home to the Brontës, Yorkshire became just such an ethnic periphery in the 1830s and 1840s. Written at a time when Manchester began to lose something of its economic and cultural prestige, Gaskell's industrial novels *Mary Barton* (1848) and *North and South* (serialized 1854–1855) both show that Gaskell was well aware of the symbolic import attached to regional divisions within Britain.[12] Nancy Armstrong argues further that *Mary Barton* shows Gaskell had mastered the technique of working with "new historical material" in her attempts to show how "domestic relationships must somehow be rescued out of the stuff of the new sociology" (*Desire* 177).[13]

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Although Gaskell did not undertake *The Life* to fashion herself an ethnographer, she was clearly influenced as a first-time biographer by the conventions of investigation associated with a range of emerging fields of social science. Scholars have long acknowledged the extent to which contemporary social study shaped Gaskell's novels. Calling her the master of the social protest genre, Lynette Felber has written that "Her vivid descriptions of the living conditions of impoverished, unemployed workers compare favorably with Engels' accounts in *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* and give her novels a naturalistic edge that even Dickens, in other respects the better novelist, lacks" (55-6). The conventions of social study which influenced her biography were found in such works as James Phillips Kay's *The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes . . . in Manchester* (1832), and were advocated by organizations such as the Manchester Statistical Society and the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences as well.[14] *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* was therefore crafted and published at the same moment in which the textual conventions associated with such disciplines as anthropology, ethnology, sociology, and statistics converged in a shared fascination with the idea of culture and a corresponding zest to locate and chart the exotic within Britain.

## Elizabeth Gaskell's Ethnographic Imagination

As Christopher Herbert has shown, while not "coherent and conscious of itself as a tradition," the idea of culture nevertheless "appears intermittently, often in marginal or trivial seeming texts, always in troubled, contradictory relations to its own stated principles" (24). These words seem almost uncannily applicable to *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, a work that from its inception was nothing if not "troubled", that has been seen as "marginal" within the Gaskell canon, and that displays in many ways the "contradictory" aims of its author. Invited by her subject's grieving father to write the biography, Gaskell wanted at the very least to pay proper homage to her subject, who appears as a "dear friend" throughout the text, and who is figured as a "holy sister" at its end (525). Though Victorian biographers were encouraged toward candor, there was at the same time a strong belief in the ethic of not betraying one's subject.[15] In "E. C. Gaskell's Charlotte Brontë," Christopher

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Ricks calls attention to the "perfect . . . clarity of grief" and "profound sympathy" which characterize *The Life*'s final chapters (122–3), and Gaskell herself, in her eulogistic closing paragraph, appeals to her readers to look on Brontë with "tender humility" and "warm, full hearts" (526).

What makes Gaskell's attention to her friendship with Brontë and her overt appeals to the emotions and sympathies of her readers particularly significant is that these qualities coexist within the biography with an equally obvious effort to treat her subject with dispassionate objectivity. As Mary Louise Pratt has shown, ethnography shares this "vexed but important relationship" between the personal and impersonal ("Fieldwork" 28). Elizabeth Gaskell was, as Ricks notes, "prone to melodrama" (141), but at least in the opening pages of her work, she was not willing to risk an open invocation to sentimental subjectivity, maintaining instead a rhetoric of distance.

*The Life* opens with a passage that would be more at home in a travel guide, a genre closely associated during the nineteenth century with ethnography. Gaskell begins, "The Leeds and Bradford railway runs along a deep valley of the Aire; a slow and sluggish stream, compared to the neighbouring river of Wharfe. Keighley station is on this line of railway, about a quarter of a mile from the town of the same name" (53). Not until the next chapter does Gaskell explain her strategy:

> For a right understanding of the life of my dear friend, Charlotte Brontë, it appears to me more necessary in her case than in most others that the reader should be made acquainted with the peculiar forms of population and society amidst which her earliest years were passed, and from which both her own and her sisters' first impressions of human life must have been received. I shall endeavour, therefore, before proceeding further with my work, to present some idea of the character of the people of Haworth, and the surrounding districts. (60)

The biographer-persona here is that of a "generalizable stranger" (Ricks 120): Gaskell will concern herself with the recreation of cultural milieu—those "peculiar forms of population and society" surrounding the Brontë family which must be understood as the basis for the Brontës' conception of "human life." The intent here is to establish for the biography a

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level of authenticity similar to that of ethnographic texts. As Paul Atkinson explains, ethnographic texts are "persuasive fictions" that "lay claim to a certain 'authoritative status' based on their appeal to authenticity" (26). The authenticity that Gaskell sought to establish would arise from her recreation of Brontë's social world and the alleged explanatory power of the Yorkshire environment. To be a reader-friendly biographer, Gaskell needed to construct herself as a tour guide—one knowledgeable about the area and about her subject, but sensitive to the outsider perspective of her audience, those on tour for the first time in the foreign country of Yorkshire. Intent on providing a necessary foundation for her audience, and on finding the most appropriate ways to introduce them to the unfamiliar, Gaskell therefore positions herself as a kind of "elite overseer," to use Nancy Armstrong's words—one uniquely able to provide readers with knowledge of "peculiar forms of population and society."

Gaskell begins her sociological study of Brontë country with a chapter on how her readers could get there—the guide to access that typified Victorian tourbooks. In a narrative pervaded by metaphors of enclosure, she arrives at Haworth village via the larger town of Keighley, described as "in a process of transformation" due to its rapid industrial growth (53). The road to Haworth takes her through the spectacular scenery of the moors, which Gaskell describes as "grand, from the ideas of solitude and loneliness which they suggest," yet "oppressive from the feeling which they give of being pent-up by some monotonous and illimitable barrier" (55). Such language will serve her equally well later on when she tackles troublesome issues of Charlotte Brontë's antisocial tendencies and the professional ambitions of the woman writer. Once in Haworth, Gaskell goes directly to the church, in essence beginning her family narrative with its end. After detailing the epitaphs on the family tombstone, Gaskell describes Charlotte Brontë as "the last of the nursery of six little motherless children" (59).

This sentimental strain gains momentum as the biography continues, but in no way does it overshadow the sociological portrait painted in the next several chapters. Here Gaskell details the "strange eccentricity" of the "wild, rough population" that surrounded the Brontës (67, 61), creating in the process a "manners and customs" account which Mary

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Louise Pratt has shown to be conventional to nineteenth-century ethnography and travel writing. Gaskell enumerates instances of the "strange wilfulness" found in Yorkshire's "out of the way villages" (64) and "remoter districts" (67). The tendency of this "lawless, yet not unkindly" population (76) to persist in "wild rough heathen ways" is borne out in a number of old customs, among them the practice of *arvills*, a mourning ceremony that Gaskell explains at length. "Forest customs, existing in the fringes of dark wood" and "execution by beheading" (65) are other practices which Gaskell lists as she constructs Yorkshire as barbarous yet sensational territory.

Although she admits that some of these traits are dated, Gaskell has "little doubt that in the every-day life of the people so independent, wilful, and full of grim humour, there would be much found even at present that would shock those accustomed only to the local manners of the south" (73). Transforming inhabitants of Yorkshire into a homogenous group, Gaskell sees the "savage yeoman" who is "still living" (68) as a symbol for the population at large. In this way she constructs the cultural milieu of the Brontë family much as the manners and customs accounts studied by Pratt "fix the other in a time less present where all 'his' actions and reactions are repetitions of 'his' normal habits" ("Scratches" 120). Though her implied audience is clearly from more central or southern regions of Britain, who would look on Yorkshire as the distant—and foreign—north, Gaskell inverts the usual formula, simultaneously constructing all who are outside Yorkshire—including herself—as the "strangers" or "foreigners." Her strategy enables her to posit a Yorkshire *mentalité* which sees all "non-natives" as foreigners.

Nor do her ethnographic strategies end with her "manners and customs" account of Yorkshire. Chapter Three of *The Life* studies the genealogy and ethnic heritage of Brontë's father and stresses the persistence of superstitious beliefs in his Irish heritage and the "antique simplicity" of his nature (89). Similarly, when describing Maria Branwell, Charlotte's mother, Gaskell presents long passages from John Davy's *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Humphry Davy* (1836) to introduce us to what she calls the "primitive state of society" in Penzance, where Maria Branwell grew up (78). Her "deep piety," which Gaskell calls the "family characteristic," is traced back to Maria's Methodist roots.

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Gaskell's ethnographic methods are as illuminating as her findings. While the sheer breadth of sources demonstrate Gaskell's commitment to granting *The Life* authoritative status, such citations in the opening chapters pale in comparison to the plethora of verbal reports that Gaskell marshals as "evidence." Sometimes her source is Charlotte Brontë herself: "Miss Brontë related to my husband a curious instance illustrative of this eager desire for riches," Gaskell informs her readers as she explains the "pursuit of money" characteristic of Yorkshire. Like a wily news reporter, she on occasion refuses to reveal her sources: "I have it on good authority that, not thirty years ago, the phrase, 'in Oliver's days,' was in common use" (63). Gaskell herself serves as a chief informant: "I have known people who, travelling by the mail-coach over Blackstone Edge, had been snowed up for a week or ten days" (67).

Gaskell is careful as well to include a variety of "native" perspectives among her sources. She reports that she discussed "the character of the inhabitants of the West Riding with Dr Scoresby, who had been for some time Vicar of Bradford" (73); that "one of my informants is an old man, who was the landlord of the Black Bull at the time" (75); and that she talked with those "yet alive" who remembered the day the Brontës arrived in Haworth (76). By transcribing excerpts from these conversations, and presenting inferences drawn from her observations, Gaskell does more than simply convince readers of the accuracy of her account. She also creates what Paul Atkinson, writing of the tendency of ethnographic texts to incorporate a variety of forms of evidence, has called a "polyphonal and collaborative text," one "constructed between the sociologist, the reader, and the social actors represented in the setting" (82).

Many of the passages on which I have thus far drawn occur in the first six or seven chapters of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. The most overtly ethnographic portions of Gaskell's biography occupy roughly one half of the first volume, or one quarter of the text in its entirety. After this point the biography turns to address the professional components of Brontë's life, as Gaskell increasingly represents Brontë—both literally and metaphorically—as away from her home and her particular "corner of Yorkshire." Gaskell describes Brontë's stint teaching at Miss Wooler's school, her experiences in Brussels, and finally, her visits to and relationships with publishers in London. In this

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larger portion of *The Life*, Gaskell's own authority as biographer is determined less by her research methods or ostensible comprehensiveness than by her proximity to her subject. The emphasis on distance, so critical to the objectivity claimed by the ethnographer, is replaced by an insistence on the author's intimacy with her subject, one that allowed her to witness many of the domestic scenes she would reproduce for her readers and that enabled her to be trusted with private materials.

The strategy governing the opening chapters nevertheless exerts a powerful influence on subsequent chapters, extending Gaskell's work beyond the traditional boundaries of biography by shaping the succeeding construction and interpretation of her subject. Having first represented Charlotte Brontë and her family as a site of ethnographic inquiry, Gaskell implicitly encourages her readers to bring to the biography's remaining chapters a heightened awareness of cultural identity and a concomitant emphasis on insider and outsider status. Such a perspective allows Gaskell to present the family as existing within an enclosed social world, one open to the observation and analysis of her audience. Being initiated into the language, customs, and history of this world prepares the reader to comprehend the experiences and behavior of the Brontë family, and finally of Charlotte Brontë herself.

At this critical juncture, Gaskell carefully emphasizes the limits of her presentation: "I do not pretend to be able to harmonize points of character, and account for them, and bring them all into one consistent and intelligible whole," she warns, "The family with whom I have now to do shot their roots down deeper than I can penetrate" (90). Her stress on the Brontës' solidity and their "rootedness" in their oblique, Northern habitat is ironic, for the family history that Gaskell constructs is marked throughout by *disruption*—disruption prompted first by geographical displacement (moves from Ireland to England, from south to north, from Thornton to Haworth); later by the scandal of Branwell's social and moral failures, and Charlotte's ambivalent relationship to M. Heger; and finally by illness and death. This contradictory posture has its ethnographic equivalent as well, for as Renato Rosaldo has argued, such accounts often juxtapose "putatively static savage societies" with "progressive" civilization: "'We' (who believe in progress) valorize innovation, and then yearn for more stable worlds,

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whether these reside in our own past, in other cultures, or in the conflation of the two" (70).

The isolation invoked by the biography's ethnographic framework serves Gaskell well, providing a social equivalent of the psychological state she repeatedly describes. When discussing Brontë's loneliness during the composition of *Shirley*, for example, Gaskell writes: "The reader, who has even faintly pictured to himself her life at this time,—the solitary days,—the waking, watching nights,—may imagine to what a sensitive pitch her nerves were strung, and how such a state was sure to affect her health" (402).[16] This rhetoric of observation, analysis, and directives to the reader will be familiar to Gaskell readers. The scene also echoes many others, which as Angus Easson has shown, treat "the enclosed suffering of Charlotte—imaged almost as though walled up or within a labyrinth" (169). But while Gaskell has often been seen as foregrounding this isolation to capture a sense of the "romantic subjectivity in her cast of mind" (Easson 170), her strategies in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* make it equally apparent that Yorkshire itself was a correlate for Brontë. The "lonely country house" of the family became a microcosm of "life in an isolated village," and even more broadly, of all of Britain's underdeveloped peripheries. More significantly, as the family of eight gradually diminished to one, the aging patriarch Patrick Brontë, Charlotte Brontë was lost to a process of cultural transformation that, like species extinction, undercuts assumptions of continuous history. By treating Haworth as a kind of "contact zone" for her readers, and the Brontë family itself as a vanishing exotic tribe, Gaskell addresses the challenge of the ethnographer—to preserve in writing something essentially lost. In keeping with this imperative, her study closes with an open declaration: "to that Public I commit the memory of Charlotte Brontë" (526).

The ending of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* at first seems diametrically opposed to its beginning: the detached, analytical perspective has become overlaid with an emotional appeal.[17] Yet as it moves between ostensibly separate modes—the objective and sentimental; the private and professional; the realist and romantic—Gaskell's work achieves the kind of "cultural depth" heralded by such recent ethnographers as Renato Rosaldo and Kirin Narayan, both of whom are suspicious of classic ethnography's strictly objective pose.

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Narayan, for instance, calls for an ethnography that comfortably integrates "lively narrative" with "rigorous analysis," that reorients the position of "insider" and "outsider," and that acknowledges the "hybrid and positioned" nature of its own identity (682). Once we place Gaskell's biography more firmly within its historical context, recognizing the book as responding to and even complicit with the internal colonialism at work in Victorian Britain, we can see how much the biography corresponds to the kind of ethnography that Narayan here envisions. Biographies too are "hybrid" and "positioned," with the biographer-persona adopting and abandoning as necessary insider and outsider perspectives in relation to his or her subject.

As *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* reveals so well, biographies are also part of shifting social and cultural histories. As part of her summarizing of the process of internal colonialism, Armstrong notes that "the cultures that were thus rendered quaint and primitive came to be valued much as antiques are—as things that, having lost their usefulness, can be revalued nostalgically" (262).[18] The "antique simplicity" that Elizabeth Gaskell once attributed to Charlotte Brontë's father has by the biography's end been extended to her subject as well. In *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Gaskell inaugurates Brontë's revaluation, precisely to ensure that her dear friend and competitor would be valued in just this way. To do so, Gaskell constructed a biographer-persona comparable to the "elite overseers" of ethnography. The nostalgia with which others have come to regard Brontë is no doubt partly a result of Gaskell's efforts. The nostalgic impulses that emerge out of Brontë's own beliefs about herself and family, and also inform the seemingly disparate motives of Gaskell's biography, highlight the extent to which the language of the "disappearing object," and the subsequent attempt to salvage and preserve it, represents the desire of biography itself to record "our impossible-to-realize pastoral primitive desires" (Manganaro 29). Charlotte Brontë may herself in fact have understood this process—and perhaps the interplay between biographer and subject—best, as Gaskell records her saying in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, "grief is a two-edged sword, it cuts both ways; the memory of one loss is the anticipation of another" (417).

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NOTES

1. Gaskell's letters referring to her first encounters with Charlotte Brontë are appended to *The Life*.
2. Clifford, for example, discusses the many "determinations" that "govern the inscription of coherent ethnographic fictions" (6).
3. For an overview of some of this scholarship, see Helms. Another interesting study of readers' expectations about biography and the work of the biographer can be found in O'Brien.
4. For a good overview of British thought about industrial transformation and the relationship of this process to the emerging social sciences see Stocking, who identifies major attitudinal shifts with 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition and also the time that Gaskell's friendship with Brontë solidified.
5. Both Barker's phrase and Brontë's letter to Ellen Nussey, dated 11 February 1834, are in Barker 209.
6. Chapple offers a rich analysis of Brontë's and Gaskell's evocations of place, and notes Brontë's stress on the North's distinguishing features, but cites this passage as exhibiting their "easy chit chat" and "emphatically provincial" ethos (316).
7. For an elaboration of how Gaskell came to be selected for the task, and on how she proceeded once invited, see Barker 780–808.
8. Additional portions of this letter are quoted by Barker, who goes on to reveal "the great irony"—that Gaskell herself had authored the article in *Sharpe's* (780).
9. See, for example, D'Albertis, who by focusing in particular on Gaskell's use of tropes associated with health and morbidity, makes an interesting case for regarding the relationship between the two women as competitive.
10. John Lucas also discusses Gaskell's interest in social change and concern for rural communities, but inexplicably neglects to include *The Life* in his analysis.
11. Armstrong uses Hechter's work to show that Yorkshire came to be considered an ethnic periphery in the 1830s and 1840s.
12. For Gaskell's relationship to Manchester, and Manchester's place in England, see Easson, "Elizabeth Gaskell."
13. See Armstrong's discussion of the "Politics of Domestic Fiction: 1848" in *Desire and Domestic Fiction*. For Gaskell's novelistic response to notions of social change, see Bodenheimer, who focuses especially on *North and South*, published in 1855, just two years before *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*.
14. Gaskell socialized with Kay and his wife. For a good discussion of the kind of social investigation undertaken by Kay and others at this particular moment in British history, see Poovey.

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15. A short overview of critical practices and belief appears in Nadel.
16. D'Albertis argues that by emphasizing Brontë's frail health and suffering, while distancing herself from it, Gaskell implicitly questions "the equation of infirmity, pain, and morbidity with artistic excellence" (2).
17. The divide between the realist and romantic has, predictably, structured the ways critics have discussed Gaskell's novels; Davis, for examples, sees *Mary Barton* and *North and South* as "social problem novels," while *Cranford, Sylvia's Lovers*, and *Wives and Daughters* function as emblematic "domestic novels" (522).
18. For an interesting discussion of nostalgia's connection to imperialism, see Rosaldo, who relates nostalgia to the "civilizing mission" that emerged in Western Europe, arguing that it invariably results in an attempt "to establish one's innocence and at the same time talk about what one has destroyed" (70). This argument could be applied to *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, shedding light on what some scholars see as Gaskell's ambivalent and competitive relationship with Brontë.

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# Sketches from Life

## Philip Larkin — An American View

*Dale Salwak*

Probably all of us who are avid readers of biography have a list of individuals from the past whose lifestyles are not particularly appealing to us. My own life would be less rich if I eliminated from my shelves the works by those musicians, artists, and writers whose lives or morals I didn't necessarily agree with. Should those revelations in any way deter us from wanting to read an artist's work? Should they affect our assessment of that work, other than perhaps to open wider possibilities of interpretation?

For any writer there is bound to be more than one kind of personal or literary reputation, and the portrait that gets into the literary history books is not the only possible likeness. "The words of a dead man / Are modified in the guts of the living," Auden has told us ("In Memory of W. B. Yeats"), and when public and private personalities both enter the picture, their seeming disparity often makes it difficult to get to the creator's art. In his essay "Samuel Johnson's 'Body Language': A New Perspective," the late Donald Greene summarizes nicely what happens when we let personal biography take precedence over artistic achievement. We wind up asking:

> How does the writer measure up to our own moral and social standards? Does one really approve of the existence of such a person? Would one really have cared to have the author as a friend or even as an occasional companion? Would he have been a congenial member of one's household, a suitable associate for one's spouse and children? . . . The worst consequence of this attitude is that it distracts or excuses us from paying attention to what is the only reason for [the artist] being remembered at all—the fact that he has a great deal to say to us, in remarkably effective language, concerning matters that are and will continue to be of prime importance to the human race. (240, 257)


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All of this came to mind recently as I reflected upon some of the reactions to the life of poet Philip Larkin since his passing in 1985. While it is true that Larkin's reputation in America is slim, that he does not possess what Martin Amis has called in *Vanity Fair* the "inescapable presence" that he has in England (46), his name has always been very much alive among serious readers of poetry ever since the publication in 1955 of *The Less Deceived*. That presence grew significantly in 1988 with the publication of *Collected Poems*, which finally made his poetic work accessible to a wider reading audience. The controversy that has swirled around Andrew Motion's biography and Anthony Thwaite's edition of the *Selected Letters* has also added breadth to Larkin's reputation.

"Poor Philip Larkin," wrote the American reviewer Bryan Aubrey on the occasion of the publication of the *Selected Letters*, "At the time of his death in 1985, he held an exalted position as one of the finest and most read poets in England since World War II. . . . Since then, however, Larkin's reputation has taken a nosedive. Part of this results from the inevitable reappraisal that every poet undergoes after death. For Larkin, however, it seems a case of his having done himself in, so to speak" (724). As Larkin's reputation grew and information about him became more accessible, those who knew Larkin primarily from his published writings were not prepared to see how often his private correspondence contained revelations of his complicated love life, his affinity for pornography, and his sometimes strident, right-wing, racist, xenophobic views. If there is a theme that runs through many of the critical responses in England at the time of the *Selected Letters*' publication, it is in effect, we thought Larkin one of the greatest English poets of our time. How he deceived us!

Aubrey goes on: "Motion's biography did nothing to rehabilitate Larkin, and in England it set off another cavalry charge aimed not only at the man but also at his poetry" (725). That charge had its effects across the Atlantic. Originally, the volume of letters was to be published in America in January 1993, but the publishers postponed it for eleven months, fearful that its reception would adversely affect sales of Motion's biography, which was published that summer.

Martin Amis opened a preemptive defense of Larkin in *The New Yorker* by saying, "The reaction against Larkin has been unprecedentedly violent, as well as unprecedentedly hypocritical, tendentious, and smug. Its energy does not—could not—

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derive from literature: it derives from ideology, or from the vaguer promptings of a new ethos" (74). And then he went on to rebut one-by-one each of the charges against Larkin: pornography, sexism, misogyny, racism, lack of progress in his life, his gloom. Nevertheless, as William Pritchard has noted, advanced publicity directed attention to Larkin's bad attitudes, "with the effect of alerting people who had no interest in reading his poems anyway to the scandal of the poet as unacceptable human being" (7). In more than one instance, I know of readers who turned to the biography without ever having read the poems—in search for anything even remotely scandalous.

Could Larkin really have been as bad as all that? Even if he was, does it matter? These are among the questions stated or implied by many of the American reviewers. While dismayed by some of the glimpses into Larkin's private side, and surprised if not shocked by the fury of reactions in the British press, most reviewers tended to focus sympathetically on the subject's unhappiness and quickly came forward with reasons why both the *Letters* and the *Life*—with their revelations of unsuspected foibles, weaknesses, inconsistencies, and faults—should not seriously diminish our admiration of Larkin's gifts. The poet's first duty is to be true to himself; Larkin had a perfect right to express the depressing aspects of that self, just as he expressed its humorous or kind or sympathetic facets.

"Why," Pritchard goes on, "would one want to read all this when the matchless poems are there, still fresh and glittering as creation itself? Because, if we decide that these poems constitute a great creative achievement, we want to know everything, even too much, about the man who wrote them" (9). Yes, we want to know all we can about the artist, but as Bernard Knox said recently at a meeting of the Association of Literary Scholars and Critics, "the facts of the author's life should not be allowed to obtrude their presence into judgment of the work, especially if, as so often happens, perfection of the work is not matched by perfection of the life" (81).

Many commentators agree. Christopher Porterfield calls Larkin's coarseness, his penchant for pornography, and his racist remarks "boisterous role-playing" (69). Joseph Epstein calls the biography "oddly prosecutorial," but sees the letters as penned by "a good-hearted man who could write with exquisite tact to a woman . . . who could soothe friends in their grief, stick by them in their suffering . . . entertain them in their boredom, delight them with his faithful attention. The

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occasional politically-incorrect opinions have obscured the fact that there is scarcely a letter in the *Selected Letters* that does not contain something charming, touching, funny, or generous" (42, 45). Epstein goes on to laud Larkin as "a man unable to lie about his experience and who, no matter how dark or even pathetic that experience, finds reason to laugh about it" (45).

Diane Middlebrook comments on Motion's views, noting that "Every biographer is situated in some mode of social relationship to the worthy under discussion. I think Motion has chosen . . . the most productive relation to the problem of Larkin's character: that of son and heir to *mon semblable, mon père*" (753). Nonetheless, Middlebrook admits that while "Larkin's public demeanor was polite, reserved, and funny" and "people loved being with him," the "crudities isolated from his private communications are being held against him now, because of their power to diminish the character-ideal Larkin had become for the British public: an island of personality traits deduced from the speaking voice in his poems" (756).

Or as Vereen Bell puts it, Larkin, like Eliot, "became in his poems the best possible version of himself" (359).

In very quick time, therefore, the controversy—provoked when the refinement of the poems came up against the coarseness of the life—died out, and while Tom Paulin may continue to write letters to the *TLS* raving on about "the sewer beneath the national monument," few in America are listening. They are too busy rereading the poems and the novels, discovering the art anew, and most readers dismiss the attacks in the press as mere *argumentum ad hominem*. And although some may disapprove of the shattering of the Larkin icon, Neil Covey says that the Larkin biography and letters "should result in a healthy trend toward criticism of Larkin and his work that acknowledges him for what he was—a deep feeling, complicated, contrary, contradictory, not easily pigeonholed artist" (568).

I think Covey and others are absolutely right when they say that complaints about Larkin's viciousness and misogyny say more about the reviewer and his own agenda than they do about Larkin. Whatever one thinks of Larkin's life, it cannot be denied that he created exquisite poems that will last, and Motion does better than anyone I know in exploring some of the raw material from which those poems were fashioned. One of Motion's most interesting arguments about Larkin is that he needed the pain of his life in order to work, a condition that Richard Rhodes describes well: "writing is always a healing

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process because the function of creation is always, *always*, the alleviation of pain—the writer's, first of all, and then the pain of those who read what he has written. Imagination is compassionate" (4).

Clearly, compassion is not on the minds of those readers and critics for whom the publication of Larkin's *Selected Letters* and Motion's *A Writer's Life* was upsetting, disquieting, even disillusioning. As John Updike notes with keen insight, however, "The trouble with literary biographies, perhaps, is that they mainly testify to the long worldly corruption of a life, as documented deeds and days and disappointments pile up, and cannot convey the unearthly human innocence that attends, in the perpetual present tense of living, the self that seems the real one" (187).

Larkin will survive, of course, and it will be because of that unearthly human innocence, that authenticity in what *he* wrote rather than anything that *we* have written about *him*.

Samuel Johnson's admonishment to a lady anxious for an introduction to some writer then much in the limelight remains true: "Dearest Madam," he wrote, "you had better let it alone; the best part of every author is in general to be found in his book, I assure you" (Greene 260).

* * * * *

Certainly the culmination of my own admiration for Philip occurred when I was able to meet him, first in 1982, and again shortly before he died, in 1985. In 1980, upon learning of my love for twentieth-century English literature, and of my particular admiration for Philip Larkin, Eddie Dawes—a professor of biochemistry at the University of Hull and fellow conjurer—asked if I would like to meet the man. Eddie said he knew him and that they worked together on the library committee. "Although Philip is a shy man," Eddie wrote, "it should not be too difficult to set up a dinner party for you to meet him."

It wasn't until two years later, when I was finally able to travel to England again, that I had that opportunity at the Dawes' home. The event was completely stage-managed by Eddie, who had suggested to Larkin that he come to the house for a brief private performance of magic. Larkin was wary and shied away from the thought that he would have to discuss his poems, but Eddie reassured him. He accepted and arrived promptly at 7:00 p.m. dressed in a black suit, white shirt, and dark green knitted tie, and carrying a brown briefcase in which he had brought copies of some review articles I had previously

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requested. Having driven himself, he complained how he had almost lost his way. He sat down, had a gin-and-tonic, and then we enjoyed one of Amy Dawes' splendid dinners. Afterwards we moved upstairs to Eddie's magic room and performed a show for Philip, including the three-card trick, which he took part in himself. The next day he invited me to his office, where he left me alone for an hour with his archives, and I noted those items from English journals that I didn't have, which he promised to copy for me. When I told him that I had in mind an annotated bibliography on him much like the one I had done in 1978 on Kingsley Amis, Larkin looked up quickly from his desk and said, "Sounds like a super-Bloomfield." I left Hull the next day.

In July 1985, at lunch with Kingsley Amis, I learned of the seriousness of Philip's illness—something Eddie had alerted me to in an earlier letter. When I mentioned that I was going to Hull, Amis said, "Surely you don't intend to see Philip." I said I hoped to, but he shook his head, saying he wasn't well. (Much later I learned that neither Kingsley nor his first wife, Hilly, had ever seen Larkin's home in Hull.) My wife Patti and I traveled to Eddie's not expecting to see Philip, but that morning Eddie called Philip, who said, "Yes, please come over." We arrived at 10 a.m. and sat in his Newland Park home #105, in the sitting room, for an hour. He apologized that Monica Jones couldn't come down but she wasn't well. He sat in his chair, I to his left, then Patti on the couch with Eddie. Philip seemed hard of hearing, but spoke with great interest. He thanked me again for the show three years before, said he had been so moved by it that when he returned home he had written about it in his journal. "I should show you what I wrote," he said, but the opportunity never developed. Next he asked how the Barbara Pym book was coming along, to which he had contributed an essay. And we talked about Kingsley Amis, about whom I was writing at the time, and I mentioned that I'd love to show Kingsley my magic, too.

As the hour drew to a close Eddie took out his camera and Philip sat between Patti and me on the couch with an arm around each of us. He drew Patti close to him and said to her—she was twenty-five at the time—"You could be my granddaughter." Patti took to him right away; afterwards I asked her impressions, and she said two words: sensitive and vulnerable. Like me, she was much moved by the gentleness of the man, and the melancholy.

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Eddie's flashbulb did not work, and so we went outside and there took the picture that I later reproduced in an anthology I edited. Under my arm I carried a copy of *All What Jazz* with the inscription: "From Philip Larkin in the shade to Dale and Patti in the sun (temporarily and permanently, respectively, we hope)." A day later he called Kingsley to say he'd like to hear his reaction to the magic show.

"We're all very excited about seeing your magic," said Kingsley to me the next morning over the telephone. And so yet another dinner party was set up, followed by a show—this time at Kingsley's home, and all because Philip had followed up on my comment the previous day. I have since learned that Kingsley retold the story of how I had met and entertained Philip, always with humorous embellishments.

Andrew Motion tells us that "as [Larkin] grew older he was more inclined to show each of his correspondents the face he knew would please them most" (333). Every one of the thirty-seven letters I received from him—some handwritten, many typed—bears the stamp of Philip in various ways, by turns warm, humorous, helpful, self-deprecating, generous, poignant, and always encouraging—someone with whom I wish I had spent more time, someone to whom I wish I had written more often. For he always answered my letters, and apologized when he delayed in doing so. Only later did I fully appreciate that Larkin's private correspondence was for him what someone has called a kind of consolation and healing. As he wrote in "Aubade," "Postmen like doctors go from house to house."

The earliest letter I received from him is dated June 9, 1981. Eddie Dawes had very kindly passed along to Philip one of my books, and he wrote to thank me and say, "I see . . . that you have rather specialised in British authors of the Fifties, and hope it has not proved too distressing. I think you deserve a spell of Tennessee Williams." On August 25, 1982, he expressed "a deep sense of gratitude" for the magic show that Eddie and I had presented, and said: "I have gone round telling people about it. My publisher asked me if I knew the story of the juggler and the statue of the Virgin Mary, which apparently ended with a deep and disembodied voice saying, 'Don't call us, we'll call you,' but I expect you've heard that." In that same letter, "Since our meeting I have duly become weighed down with my sixtieth year, which all seems very odd. 'Now of my three score years and ten, Three score will not come again,' I remarked to our archivist, who replied (well, almost) 'And very soon I'll be

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bereft of the ten singles that are left' (he is almost exactly the same age). So you see, poetry is not a specialism round here."

Upon hearing from Eddie of my marriage, he wrote on December 21, 1983, "I hasten to offer my congratulations, if a bachelor's congratulations on such a matter are worth anything. At any rate, if you do come this way next summer, as you hint, I shall be delighted to see you both." About the appearance of *Required Writing*, he wrote in the same letter, "I expect by now you will have heard of my collection of oddments. . . . The reviews it has had have been far too favourable; very soon someone will cut me down to size, and not before time."

University of Hull affairs sometimes entered his letters, too, as on January 5, 1983: "The University here has offered me the choice of having my arms or legs chopped off (professionally, I mean), and I am just composing my reply. It will probably fall to Eddie to hold me down." Or on March 19, 1984, "We had a sit-in here last week, and Eddie (who is my Chairman) came from compeering a conjuring show to help me patrol the body-strewn floors. I wish he could have made them all disappear."

When I asked if he would consider submitting an essay on Barbara Pym for a collection that I was editing (he did), he wrote: "You mustn't think of me as a scholar—just a hack reviewer" and offered to contact on my behalf another possible contributor, A. N. Wilson. "I met Andrew Wilson in Oxford recently," he wrote in another letter, "I tried to impress him with the worthiness of the project."

On April 26, 1985, when I asked if I might interview him for a book I was writing on Kingsley Amis, he replied at length:

> I feel uncertain . . . how far I should be able to help either you or Mr. [Julian] Barnes [also thinking of writing one] in any practical way. I have never had much critical ability, and Kingsley strikes me as an above-average difficult case for comments of this kind. As for the personal side, well, without suggesting that Kingsley has any special skeletons in his cupboard I should be rather reluctant to do anything approaching gossip about him, if only because he might do the same about me one day. So you may find yourself in the position of trying to get blood out of a stone! However, as a magician, this should present no problems—to you!

On September 15th, 1985—my last communication with him—I sent by overnight mail a letter asking Larkin if he would

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consider writing in support of my application for a fellowship to cover another trip to England, and he wrote by hand five days later: "Your letter arrived this morning with full honours of bell-ringing and receipt-signing. $23.00! That's a lot of money. I only hope this more humble communication will take less than a week." And regarding my application, "Well, all right, but *caveat emptor*—I will act if you are prepared to risk it." In that same letter, "I suppose I am getting better slowly, but the whole business has led to rather a crisis of confidence. To go through the ice of daily life means you can never forget how thin that ice is—you are always listening for the next cracking."

That cracking would come sooner than any of us could guess. On December 2nd, early in the morning, I was awakened by my wife's gentle touch on the shoulder, and opened my eyes, "Dale, Philip Larkin has died."

I can't imagine the distress that those close to him must have felt on that day, or the totality of the loss they must continue to feel thirteen years later. I know that I was filled with regret, but also gratitude that I had had a chance to meet the great one, and that my wife had as well.

*Philip Larkin with Patti and Dale Salwak, outside Larkin's Newland Park Home # 105, Hull, 27 July 1985.* (Credit: Edwin A. Dawes. Used with permission. Original Appearance: *Philip Larkin: The Man and His Work*, ed. Dale Salwak [London: Macmillan; Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1989].)

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The American consensus is that Philip Larkin was a very good poet who knew how to say serious things about serious subjects. We do not read him as simply the crusty provincial grinding away about old rundown Britannia, nor are we distracted by the many cynical voices that have made themselves heard since Philip died. He speaks to our condition. "One can only marvel," wrote Bryan Aubrey, "that from the pen of a man who so often was oppressed by the weight of living came poems of such unblinking honesty, such clear-cut, glistening beauty . . . and such subtle, controlled power—brief moments of perfection quarried from the chaos of a life" (728). In *The New Yorker*, Clive James wrote that Larkin's voice "made misery beautiful," and I cannot improve on that judgment (88). James continued, "the impact that Larkin said Bechet made on him was exactly the impact that Larkin made on readers coming to him for the first time":

> On me your voice falls as they say love should,
> Like an enormous yes.
> —"For Sydney Bechet"

Or as J. D. McClatchy wrote of him two months earlier in *The New York Times Book Review*, "when most of the flashier, more blustery contemporary literature has passed away, his poetry—ghostly, heartbreaking, exhilarating—will continue to haunt" (25).

AUTHOR'S NOTE: This essay is adapted from a version presented at the Philip Larkin Society, Hull, England, on 25 February 1997.

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# Reviews

Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints: Hagiography, Typology, and Renaissance Literature.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996. 269 pp. $39.50; ISBN 0-8047-2643-4.

Biography in Julia Reinhard Lupton's study collapses into "afterlives" that work through the condensation of hagiography, typology, and iconology to initiate a dialectic which wishes both to annihilate the past, to cut it off (decapitation is a prominent motif in this study), and to resurrect it, in a new or transformed generic presentation. As she puts it so eloquently, "*secularization and Christianization are bound up in a dialectic that raises what it cancels*" (xxvii); Christianity, along with classicism and Hebraism, provide formulas which, emptied of their initial cultural or theological content, arise more powerfully because their abstraction can be carried into new historical and cultural moments. Theoretically, the book draws on Burckhardt (in the sense of period), Warburg (in the sense of displacement), and Lacan (in the sense of linkages established through idea and word).

Lupton herself provides the best possible summary of her self-appointed task:

> As a case study in literary history, this book establishes a family of hagiographic and typological conventions and motifs—annunciation, vocation, trial, martyrdom, iconoclasm, reliquary encryption, and so on—that together affiliate a number of apparently disparate works of Renaissance literature in a shared generic genealogy. These motifs make a repeated pilgrimage between medieval saints' lives and Renaissance literary works, tracing out a web of intersections, detours, and divergences that both link and distinguish religious and secular traditions. Such motifs come to describe the relation between medieval narrative and a secular literature that emerges as such through the typological cancellation of hagiography. Thus we can speak of hagiography undergoing the passion of secularization, or of later literature encrypting relics of the legends, or of comic tales and plays parodically "enunciating" biblical and hagiographic scenes of annunciation. (xxi)

In setting forth her argument, she shows first how typology as figural representation allows earlier pagan and religious mythos to survive through a kind of rebirth, followed by a chapter showing how mutilation and dismemberment of the past allow the later artist to

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clear the ground while preserving for reconstruction the past in its now-fragmentary forms. "Afterlives," then, is not a transferal of whole lives, but of discrete figurations or parts reshaped contextually or parodically. The "prior lives" thus represent archeological remains for subsequent artists in subsequent periods—for Lupton, largely the Renaissance.

The conduit from the past to the Renaissance is introduced by a brief digression into Chaucer, where in *The Legend of Good Women* he makes a telling analogy between writing and gleaning: "the new author does not simply cull words and motifs from earlier writings, but rather articulates what was left unwritten by previous works" (75). A digression, since the chief channel from the past to the Renaissance, is for her Boccaccio's *Decameron*, for her a parodic thesaurus of earlier motifs reassembled as prose narrative, biography, and drama: overall, "the *Decameron* dismemberment thematizes the alienation of the subject, but now in the order of the family rather than the Church" (95). On the one hand, it is this perspectival change—the secularization; on the other, it is the recovery of the alien—the reassembling: together and at odds, these forces herald a new age. Fiction and biography can take other forms such as drama, however, and this portion of her argument concludes with a study of *Measure for Measure* read doubly: first as Isabella recreating a potentially bloody martyr, especially at the hands of the tyrant Angelo, and, redesigned, as the dramatic distancing of the audience so that the playgoer and critic are asked to duplicate the play's own interest in judgment, the martyr-tyrant "scenario" re*enacted* as "the typological debate between justice and mercy" (111).

Iconography as well as dramatic narrative is another way the Renaissance provokes the past and reconfigures it, gives it "afterlife." Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, one of two chief examples, is seen as a "devolving hierarchy of historiographical patterns" (144) in which the lives, both separate and coordinate, reenact Scriptural narrative and motif, beginning with the Creation itself, refiguring both classical and Christian rebirth in ways that pervasively argue art as the new religion. (In a brilliant aperçu, Lupton notes "this shift from a historical to a theological framework allows Vasari to bypass the idolatrous origins of art with which the historical record necessarily confronts him" [148].) Vasari also desacrilizes history by turning to Pliny and others, but again dissembling—in the case of a curved buckler painted by Leonardo's studio in which "fragments of strange animals do not congregate so much as aggregate in a monstrous disunity" (171). This section, and the book, conclude with a detailed analysis of *The Winter's Tale* as a movement from Hebraic law and tragedy through a pastoral laden with Catholic-like natural icons (worshipped in the case of Flora-Perdita), to a kind of Protestant erasure of both in the artist Romano's ability to sculpt, and the playwright's ability to restore, Hermione. Her afterlife thus stands for all the afterlives in the Renaissance of

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this book, both eradicating past traditions while renewing them in its own terms—here the terms of iconic art.

"Within the circuit of loss and gain, we always need to begin by reconstructing both an initial historical context and the later crises that will have retroactively rewritten the emphases and surface tensions of a text," she writes, "by heeding those foreign elements *made foreign* precisely by the fact of persisting beyond the moment of their historic supersedure" (xxix). This is a dense, brave, original, and provocative proposition that splits the atom of history into component molecules and at the same time, in their fallout, restores them through epochal change.

*Arthur F. Kinney*

Cecilia Ferrazzi, *Autobiography of an Aspiring Saint*. Transcribed, translated, and edited by Anne Jacobson Schutte. The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe; Series Editors Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, Jr. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996. 117 pp. $14.95; ISBN 0-226-24447-4.

In this volume of The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe series, Anne Jacobson Schutte presents not only a previously unheard voice, that of the seventeenth-century Venetian Cecilia Ferrazzi (1609–1684), but also a new genre of autobiography.

The texts include four transcribed records of Ferrazzi's testimony during her 1664 trial by the Roman Inquisition for pretense of sanctity (*sanctitate affectata*), or in modern police jargon, impersonating a saint. Schutte labels these documents "interrogations" because Ferrazzi generated them as responses to specific questions from Inquisitors. To these interrogations Schutte appends an extraordinary text, the transcription of a self-directed statement Ferrazzi made in her own defense. Ferrazzi audaciously requested, and astonishingly was granted, permission to tell her story in her own way. Because Ferrazzi's signature suggests that she wrote with some difficulty and because Inquisitional procedure surely would not have permitted her the privacy of written composition, she dictated her statement to two court scribes. Ferrazzi's method of self-defense was a narrative of numerous episodes in her life, which Schutte designates "inquisitorial autobiography."

Ferrazzi's narratives hold enormous interest for scholars in many fields. For cultural historians, they provide a glimpse of daily life in seventeenth-century Venice. For example, she tells of preparing lasagna noodles with greens sautéed in butter, thus citing specifics of material culture that are extremely rare in medieval religious biographies. Yet in accordance with her religious world view, Ferrazzi concentrates on the miraculous rather than gustatory qualities of her

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cuisine. She relates that she cooked this dish after an "internal voice" told her it would dislodge the hook-shaped needle her sister Maria had swallowed a week earlier. Ferrazzi credits the divinely inspired lasagna with success where other means, such as holding Maria upside down, had failed. She pulled the hook from her sister's protruding intestine, and a barber sealed the wound with a hot iron.

For feminists the texts reveal another twist in the familiar plot of women's vulnerability to sexual abuse. Schutte explains that a woman such as Ferrazzi could contemplate only two respectable possibilities for her future—wife or nun. The girl who reached adolescence with the requisite virginity was quite fortunate. Ferrazzi apparently kept her virginity intact but after she lost her dowry with her parents in an epidemic of plague, she could not consider either of these roles. As a result, she devised an alternative occupation for herself—guardian of young women against sexual assault and exploitation. At the time of her arrest, she was supervising a household of three hundred women ranging in age from five to thirty. Some were sent to her by their aristocratic families; others she rescued from compromising situations. Ferrazzi was never charged with failing to protect their chastity, but instead with abuse of power. The accusations of imperiousness and cruelty probably would not have interested the Inquisition, but her practice of having the women confess their faults and allotting punishments herself seemed to preempt the Church's privilege of confession and absolution.

According to Schutte, this is the only known text created under similar circumstances for the Roman Inquisition. But as Schutte also notes, variants of the genre of inquisitorial autobiography have been identified. She cites Adrienne Schizzano Mandel's account of Sor María de san Jerónimo, who in 1581 denounced herself to the Spanish Inquisition, in effect using the forum to create a subject position for herself (5, n. 6). Although these texts originated in oral discourse, I concur with Schutte's consideration of them as autobiography, with the qualifications she appropriately makes.

This volume includes many elements that make it useful for teaching purposes: a brief history by the series editors of the Western misogyny from 500 BCE to 1700 that rendered these "other voices" inaudible; a list of abbreviations; a 1729 map of Venice; a facsimile page of transcribed testimony in two hands, with Ferrazzi's signature; Schutte's introduction to Ferrazzi's texts; notes on the translation; an appendix of persons named; an appendix of places mentioned; a glossary; and an extensive bibliography. Schutte's discerning introduction is both scholarly and accessible to general readers, and her informative footnotes to the texts explain obscure references and identify those passages that for one reason or another elude accurate translation. The Italian version of the texts can be found in an edition by Schutte, *Autobiografia di una santa mancata* (Bergamo: Pierluigi Lubrina, 1990).

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Schutte wisely refrains from imposing her own interpretations on the texts. Although they virtually beckon interpreters, I also will refrain. I would like to suggest a couple of questions, however. Why was Ferrazzi so sensitively attuned to the possibility of sexual violation? Schutte rightly deflects use of the word "paranoid" to describe Ferrazzi's fears, which were not unfounded. The texts are cryptic and indirect on matters such as motive, but an analysis of the associational logic probably would yield some hypotheses beyond the more obvious explanations. Also, why did Ferrazzi believe that this particular narrative would exonerate her, and why did it fail to do so? In 1665 Ferrazzi was convicted "as lightly suspect of heresy, that is, of holding and believing that it is licit for a Catholic Christian to make herself considered a saint." She spent two years of a seven year sentence in prison, two more years in house arrest, and then was released. After 1669 she disappears, presumably behind some massive Venetian shutters, until brief notices of her death on 17 January 1684 and her burial in the churchyard of San Lio.

Thanks to Schutte's accomplished archival and editorial work, those who love Venice, and even those who don't, will not be able to think of the Grand Canal again without imagining the scene of Cecilia Ferrazzi's arrest on her gondola and remembering her courageous narrative of self-defense.

*Carole Slade*

Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996. 269 pp. $25.00; ISBN 0-300-06951-0.

In this book Jaroslav Pelikan, the distinguished historian of Christian doctrine, offers a companion volume to his well-known *Jesus Through the Centuries* (Yale UP, 1985). Like the earlier work, this one aims "to present, in roughly chronological order, a series of distinct but related vignettes of the Virgin both in their continuity and in their development across various cultures and 'through the centuries'" (ix). Thus, the chapters of the book explore such themes as "The Second Eve and the Guarantee of Christ's True Humanity" (the early church), "The Mater Dolorosa and the Mediatrix" (the high middle ages), and "The Model of Faith in the Word of God" (the Reformation). Each chapter opens with a quotation from the Bible, illustrating how Marian themes have been elaborations of scriptural motifs.

The promise of such a project is exciting in today's intellectual climate. Recent scholarship has devoted considerable energy and imagination to the topic of "culture," resulting in an entire field known as "culture studies." Mary is a prime candidate for such work, for her presence in western culture runs the gamut from her brief and often

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ambivalent appearances in the New Testament to her glorious apotheosis in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, from the solemn creedal formulations of her identity as *Theotokos* ("Mother of God") in ancient Christian councils to the use of her as a symbol of revolutionary change in modern liberation theologies, from the luminous images of her life in medieval art (including numerous paintings of her with one breast exposed) to the revisionary images in such modern films as Jean-Luc Godard's *Hail, Mary!*, from the detailed literary depictions of her as a silent, submissive, and reclusive virgin in the Church Fathers to the multimedia phenomenon of a pop star named Madonna, who writhes ecstatically on stage singing "Like a Virgin." The volume of material is enormous, and the issues that it raises, such as the construction of gender and the interaction of elites and masses in "popular piety," are subtle and fascinating.

Pelikan is aware of such issues, but has little use for them. In the Introduction he observes that Mary has served as an image for the "feminine" in a way that Jesus has not served for the "masculine" (1) (Pelikan must be unaware of the "muscular Christianity" movement or of the Promisekeepers of today), and that the effects of Mary on gender construction are debated by feminists (3–4). But the book's exposition remains undisturbed by such complicating, or rather, enriching perspectives, with the exception of the chapter on the Marian apparitions at Guadaloupe, Lourdes, and Fátima, which does consider the complexity of interactions between ordinary Christians and the church hierarchy. Indeed, the diverse, nuanced, and sometimes brilliant scholarship of the last thirty years on gender constructions in early Christianity is dismissed as the work of "modern polemical writers" (44). Ordinary Christians appear here as merely secondary characters, and fickle ones at that, alternately heroes and villains. On the one hand, Pelikan more than once quotes approvingly Cardinal Newman's pithy (if not very accurate) observation that, during the great controversies over Arianism in the fourth century, "the people were orthodox even when the bishops were not" (e.g., 59); on the other, he points to (but does not deign to describe) "kinds of confusion about Mary at the level of folk religion that were making her into a goddess" (77). By turning to popular piety only as a foil to his narrative of elite cultural formations, Pelikan can simply refuse to admit any role for "the 'mother goddesses' of Graeco-Romanism paganism" in the development of Marian devotion, despite considerable responsible scholarship demonstrating such a role (57–8). The name Isis appears nowhere in the book.

What then is the "culture" to which the subtitle refers if not the "folk religion" of most people? Here it consists mainly of the learned theological reflection of Christian intellectuals, church councils, and popes, and of such literary heavyweights as Dante and Goethe. Pelikan's interest in the former leads him to spend some time defending to his fellow Protestants the notion that Christian theology

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can "develop," that in its effort to be faithful to the biblical witness Christian doctrine can go beyond what the Bible itself actually says (esp. 7–12). Few scholars are as good as Pelikan at explaining how such seemingly unbiblical doctrines as Mary's immaculate conception and her bodily assumption into heaven express or follow from beliefs that have been at the core of the Christian faith from the beginning. The chapters on these doctrinal developments—4, 11, 14–15—are particularly strong.

But Pelikan's masterful, and in fact, apologetic focus on high theology can distort the story of Mary's "place in the history of culture," however "culture" is understood. This problem is especially evident in the early chapters. The treatment of Mary in the New Testament concentrates on those passages that became significant for later Mariology, and thus the diversity and ambivalence of the presentations of Mary in the Bible are obscured. No interest here in Jesus's stinging rebuke of his mother at the wedding in Cana (John 2:1–11), or in Mark's contention that Jesus's family considered him to be insane (Mark 3:21). As Mark tells it, when Mary and Jesus's brothers asked to see him, Jesus asked "'Who are my mother and my brothers?' And looking at those who sat around him, he said, 'Here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother'" (Mark 3:31–35). The implication about Mary and her sons is not good. Matthew is not so negative, but his birth story focuses on Joseph: Mary does not say a word. Only in Luke do we meet the Mary "full of grace" of later tradition. It has been the great achievement of modern critical biblical scholarship to bring out the diverse and distinct voices of the New Testament, but Pelikan has no patience for historical criticism and its "two-dimensional perspective": he waxes nostalgic for the pre-Enlightenment days of allegorical interpretation, in which not only the New Testament but even the Hebrew Bible were read as a single witness to Christian doctrine (36). (Similarly, he quotes only the beautiful, but inaccurate King James Version, even when he has to correct its errors [35].) Perhaps it is this "pre-critical" sensibility (as much as it is editorial error) that leads him to claim that "Christian asceticism certainly predated Christianity" (113).

This statement begins Pelikan's discussion of Mary as "paragon of chastity," which his narrow focus on Mary as cipher for christological doctrine leads him to delay until the eighth chapter, well after his discussion of Mary in the Qur'ân. Somewhat embarrassed by early Christianity's resolute preference for celibacy over marriage, Pelikan chooses to focus on Mary's function as a guarantee of Christ's full humanity rather than on her far more frequent function as the model virgin. (Pelikan's beloved Athanasius had far more to say about Mary as a model for Christian virgins than about her as "Mother of God.") A good example is the treatment of the *Protevangelium of James*, a very early (second century) document that introduced most of the elements

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of later Mariology: Joseph was really an old widower who would not have wanted sex anyway; Jesus's "brothers" were Joseph's children from his previous marriage; Jesus's birth took place in a cave; Mary remained physically a virgin even in childbirth and suffered no pain; and so forth. But this work, so crucial for Mary's "place in the history of culture," receives only fifteen lines of discussion (by comparison, Goethe's *Faust* receives eight pages; Pelikan himself, two pages), and its "legends" are attributed to "a hesitancy to ascribe total humanity to her divine Son" (47). In fact, the primary goals of *James* are to present Mary as a model for young Christian virgins and to reconcile the completely different accounts of Jesus's birth in Matthew and Luke. Much, if not most, of early Christian discourse about Mary really is about *Mary*, her virginity, her supplanting the goddesses of traditional religion, and her utility in broadcasting imperial power (especially of the Byzantine empresses), and not first of all about the ontological status of her son.

If the Christian tradition presented here develops only internally, elaborating the logic of its own convictions without much "influence" from such "external" factors as "paganism" and sexual or civic politics, so too the book itself displays little interest in recent vigorous discussions of the themes it addresses. Innovative studies by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza on women in the New Testament, Peter Brown on sexual renunciation, Vasiliki Limberis on Mary's role in the civic culture of Constantinople, Marina Warner on Mary and gender, and numerous others, if not ignored entirely, receive only a footnote or two, their significant contributions having had no effect on the narrative. The bibliographic note mentions five reference books and then discusses nine of Pelikan's previous works.

Still, even this hard-core historian could not help but find somewhat appealing a work of such personal reverence. The book is handsomely produced, with sixteen pages of full-color plates of artistic representations of the annunciation and the author's initials embossed on the cover in gold. It is at least a little charming to find a working scholar of the 1990s who can quote with approval these lines of Romanos Melodos without any mention of the none too subtle eroticism that underlies their paradox:

> Lay aside your grief, mother, lay it aside [Christ says].
> Lamentation does not befit you who have been
> called "Blessed."
> Do not obscure your calling with weeping.
> Do not liken yourself to those who lack understanding,
> all-wise maiden.
> You are in the midst of my bridal chamber.

In its thoughtful defense of the basic lines of development in Mariological doctrine, in its refusal to see any "pagan" influences on

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the rise of the Marian cult, in its eschewing of "legendary" texts like the *Protevangelium of James* in favor of profound ones like the *Divine Comedy*, in its unwillingness to subject the primary sources to anything resembling a rigorous scholarly interrogation, this book represents not so much a critical history of devotion to Mary as a remarkable example of such devotion at the end of the twentieth century.

*David Brakke*

Judith H. Anderson, Donald Cheney, and David A. Richardson, eds. *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1996. 256 pp. $37.50; ISBN 1-55849-050-7.

This book is comparable to the renaissance *sylva*, or promiscuous collection of trial essays of various kinds. It is written in opposition to *biography*, the narrative form that some contributors regard as difficult, some as impossible, and others as undesirable. Certainly little attempt is made to see and assess Spenser's life as a whole; his writings are taken as pretexts for self-reflexive investigations into facts and documents, texts and interpretation, literature and history. There is little pretense to new information but much to novelty of interpretation. There is some post-structuralist doodling but moments of illumination are not wanting either. Nine essays are framed by the editors' foreword and afterword: two on biographical readings of Spenser, three on Spenser's participation in the patronage system, and four literary-critical essays to illustrate the challenge of drawing biographical inferences from difficult texts.

Richard Rambuss finds earlier biographical criticism apologetic towards or complicit in the colonization of Ireland. He proposes that Spenser's career as a poet be marginalized so that we might better appreciate his career as a state official. Examining the roles performed by biography in Spenser's poetry, Jay Farness compares Spenser's way with allegory to that practiced by historicists old and new. Farness suggests that we would do well to avoid sociological reductionism by learning "to read his text more closely and thereby distinguish better between Spenser's biography, for which *The Faerie Queene* is not very helpful, and biographies of Spenser, biography according to Spenser [in] the poet's life-writing of Colin, Malfont, Melibee, Radigund, and the rest" (30).

The three essays on the patronage system strive to divine Spenser's intentions from an incomplete and sometimes ambiguous set of facts. Carey and Carroll compare the successes and failures of the Leicester faction to their representations in Spenser's poetry. Jean R. Brink draws inferences from the early career of Gabriel Harvey, about which we know much, and applies them to Spenser, about whose early years we know little. F. J. Levy considers the ideal of

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public service espoused by renaissance humanism and how learning afforded access to power and authority even to low-born citizens. These three essays arrive at strikingly different conclusions: Carey and Carroll regard Spenser as working the system to his own advantage; Brink concludes that Spenser was preferred because, like Sidney, his idealism set him apart from the rest; Levy believes that "Spenser never understood the political system at court well enough to manipulate it" (75).

The four interpretative essays operate at the margins of the Spenser canon. Jon A. Quitslund explores an underworld "institutional and discursive matrix" (84) that renders the Harvey correspondence thoroughly problematic as a source for biographical information. Nonetheless, he intuits an incipient romance in which the poet's affections are divided between his special friend and the lady he had just married. In an impressive essay on the dedicatory sonnets to *The Faerie Queene*, Joseph Lowenstein examines crossings between public and private utterances, amatory and heroic genres, and print and manuscript publication. Anne Lake Prescott develops Thomas Warton's observation that Spenser "imitated himself," noting how images from du Bellay turn up in the later writings as "decontextualized fragments ready for reuse" (131); here again, liminal texts become the center of attention. The concluding essay by David Lee Miller foregrounds the evidentiary problem in an essay on "The Earl of Cork's Lute," an epigram about a telling absence sometimes attributed to Spenser. It displays wit, learning, and a relish for indeterminacy.

This collection aspires to give us a Spenser for the 90s; in the words of Judith H. Anderson, "the suggestive ghost of an author whose decentered lineaments look persuasively postmodern: our own eyes always meet us in the mirrors" (x). It is not a particularly attractive portrait—the 90s of whatever century seem to be predisposed to decadence and doubts. This "new" Spenser is less the reforming crusader of the 70s and 80s than the alienated colonial of the late verse. Writing in the spring-tide of the nineteenth century, Hazlitt observed that "The three first books of the *Faery Queen* are very superior to the three last. One would think that Pope, who used to ask if any one had ever read the *Faery Queen* through, had only dipped into these last." He was thinking of the *Dunciad*, which New Historicism comes to resemble in its remorseless leveling of reputations and prurient fascination with archival rags and bones. The point of political departure in this collection is not *Mother Hubberds Tale* but Book V of the *Faerie Queene*.

Richard Rambuss is boldest, calling for a Spenser-as-state-official to replace the old "Prince of Poets." He makes the surprising claim that Spenser studies have been dominated by biographical criticism in a way that Shakespeare criticism has not (3). Spenser's career as a secretary deserves the same kind of extra-biographical attention given to Shakespeare's theater. But perhaps that would still be too close to

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literature; what is proposed might be more like a study of "Shakespeare as investor." No longer would we be puzzled by the poet "larger than his cultural moment" previous biographers have mistakenly supposed (15). This would open up whole new territories for the company of scholars to penetrate: Milton and Cowley, Dryden and Swift, Prior and Addison all made a living as state officials. It might be objected that Spenser's contemporaries and not just modern critics prized the poet more than the secretary. Harvey aside, relatively little attention is given in this collection to what contemporary writers had to say to and about Spenser.

Readers need to know about secretaries and about violence in Ireland. Yet several contributors express unwillingness to reduce text to context, a proclivity common to both old and new historicisms. Of the old guard, Rambuss says, "With insistent, even fantasmatic, recourse to the trope of him as 'a lover of beauty' Spenser's biographers are able to displace politics with poetics, able implicitly to justify the colonial enterprise . . . by the poetry that results from it" (8). If their emphasis on Christian neoplatonism was not misplaced, he correctly traces it to nineteenth-century ideas about aesthetic culture. Recent criticism is more likely to derive from nineteenth-century political economy; cultural critics of either stripe explain poetry in terms of some informing totality that lies behind, below, or above it. The critic construes texts as fragmented expressions of an underlying point of view—a *spirit* of the age or *discourse* of colonialism—and explains them as stages in a process or as functions of a system. There were and are readers willing to resist this sort of reduction; C. S. Lewis thought that for all his exalted imagination Spenser could write as a bad man, and Jean R. Brink thinks that in spite of the system Spenser won promotion because he was a good man.

A thorough revisionism will need to modify or do away with cultural criticism and the forms of discourse associated with it. Doubtless the editors are on the right track when they look to premodern alternatives. "The conventions of the Renaissance dialogue confront us at every point," writes Donald Cheney, "in the poet's dialogic intertextuality and in his invention of personae that refract elements in his sense of self, and in the debates among readers who seek a theoretical perspective from which to write a poet's life" (173). And as Judith Anderson adds, "we have declined to adjudicate or mask valid differences in emphasis on and interpretation of the biographical materials that delineate Spenser's life" (x). Dialogue complicates the informing totality model by rendering a writer's intentions implicit or opaque; the arguments of characters who speak for themselves demand to be weighed on their merits. Farness makes this point when he suggests that it is a mistake to "define 'Spenser' against narrower institutional specification, first reconstructing the backdrop, so to speak, then trying to infer the actor from the stage

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and its scripts" (20). If we are to be skeptical about constructions of subjectivity in biographical writing, we should be equally skeptical about constructions of periodicity in historical writing.

In practice, it is very difficult to escape the point-of-view paradigm adopted by culture-critique: when Cheney speaks of a "theoretical perspective" he implies norms proper to treatise rather than dialogue; Anderson offers first the open palm when she declines to adjudicate, then the dogmatic fist when she declares that the selection of essays is "representative" and that "their emphatic presence in the volume asserts our own belief" that interrogation must precede biography (x). The selection is not particularly broad. Cheney observes that "If Judson's life of Spenser seems dated and inadequate today, it is in large measure because the academy and its privileged terms have changed: feminist, postcolonialist, queer perspectives on culture all call into question some of the terms in both Spenser and Judson that a white, Protestant, male academy considered secure" (176). One point of view precludes another: we neuter privileged terms by placing them in scare-quotes and exclude opposing positions on the grounds of generational or demographic prejudice. This may assert a perspective, but it is not an argument.

Spenser's sometimes willingness to dramatize multiple and contrary sides of politically delicate questions renders his intentions difficult to read. This collection persuades me to regard this less as cultural contradiction than as a humane if imperfect response to wrenching anxieties and complex aspirations. If we are left with a view of the trees rather than the forest, such is the nature of *sylva* as opposed to biography. The publisher has been generous with illustrations, though the book lacks an index and is marred by an embarrassing error in a running head.

*David Hill Radcliffe*

Kevin Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author: Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England*. Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 12. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. 228 pp. $49.95; ISBN 0-521-48155-4.

> . . . he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition, and patterne of the best and honourablest things . . .
>
> —John Milton, *An Apology for Smectymnuus*

Chaucer is the earliest poet in the history of English literature whose life has conventionally been appended to, and used to explicate, his writings. Yet he conceived of himself not as an author, but following

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medieval custom, as a "compilator" (Pref., *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*); he represented his works as "mere translaciouns and enditynges" (*Parson's Tale*, 1085). Furthermore, and following from this, Chaucer did not describe any connection between his self and his poetry. Any statement in his writings describing the relation between writer and text is assigned to a fictional narrator, and the texts are further distanced even from this representation of a writer by frequent qualifications of the type "Disblameth me, if any word be lame, For as myn auctour seyde, so sey I" (*Troilus and Criseyde*, Book II, 17f). Chaucer's portrayal of his role as a writer is very distant from Milton's representation of the writer himself as a "Poem," a "composition," a "patterne." In chapters discussing Chaucer, Sidney, Spenser, Donne, and Milton, Pask traces the history of the construction of a place for the "life of the poet," exploring the cultural and conceptual distance separating Chaucer from Milton.

Pask's history makes clear that the position of these five writers within the canon of English literature took shape through the process of the scripting of their Lives. Each had to be granted a certain cultural authority in order for his Life to be thought worth writing, and his enhanced authority, following from the inscription of his Life, determined for him a place in the canon. The cultural authority of the author as represented through his life-narrative echoed and then eventually replaced that of the saint portrayed in medieval hagiography. "The 'life of the poet' in England," Pask writes, "only emerged after the retooling and eventual disintegration of the dominant life-narrative up to the Reformation, that of the Christian saint" (12). Yet, the idea of the saint's Life was referred to again in seventeenth-century biographies of Donne. Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Dr. John Donne* (1640), reconciles the author's "profane" and "sacred" texts by creating a turning point in Donne's life, a conversion comparable to that portrayed in St. Augustine's *Confessions*. The saint's Life seems to have lingered as a significant reference point for biographies of poets; the practice of embodying cultural values in an exemplary individual was common to both forms of life-narrative.

Authors inherited the role of saints in being represented as models for their readers. Pask quotes Ben Jonson's articulation of this principle:

> [Young gentlemen who] are familiar with the best Authors, shall ever and anon find somewhat of them in themselves, and in the expression of their minds, even when they feele it not, be able to utter something like theirs, which hath an Authority above their owne. (*Timber or Discoveries* [1641]: 46)

Jonson proceeds to describe the roles of Chaucer, Gower, Sydney, Spenser, and Donne in shaping the mind of the "young gentleman." In *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sydney* (1652), Fulke Greville wrote

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that Sydney could "serve as a model for 'those . . . that are weather-beaten in the sea of this world' because he both shares and transcends their dilemma" (72). And as indicated by the above passage from *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, Milton quite consciously represented himself as a poet and therefore as a "patterne."

While the idea of the author as model and of his Life as an articulation of his exemplarity runs through the life writing studied by Pask, the specific values reflected and perpetuated in these biographies continually shift with the times. Pask documents an ongoing struggle to bring what was thought to be known about the biographer's subject into conformity with the ideological concerns dominant at the time of the biography's inscription. Chaucer had to be recast from a medieval "rethor" into "an original and realistic poet" (38), author of "a coherent body of 'works'" (17). In order for Sidney's Life to have had any value, his poetry had to be dismissed as merely a product of his youth: "Patron, warrior, and counsellor, not a poet—this is the ideological desire informing the construction of a 'Renaissance' man" (73). Spenser was recuperable into the canon of authors worthy of biographies only by virtue of his relationship with Sidney, who was cast first as his patron and later as his mentor. The contradiction between Donne's "profane" and "sacred" writing was very disturbing to his biographers; coherence had to be created through a narrativization representing the author as a holy man who had experienced religious conversion.

The particular problem presented by Milton seems to me to begin to explain a silence in Pask's book. Eighteenth-century biographers, Pask writes, were deeply troubled by Milton's "use of his daughters to read, without understanding, the ancient and European languages to him in his blindness" (152). In *The Life of Mr. John Milton* (presumed to have been written by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, in 1694), this is rationalized:

> It had been happy indeed if the Daughters of such a Person had been made in some measure Inheritrixes of their Father's Learning: but since Fate otherwise decreed, the greatest Honour that can be ascribed to this now living [Deborah] (and so would have been to the others had they lived) is to be Daughter to a man of his extraordinary Character. (153)

Deeply troubling to me as a reader of Pask's book is the absolute lack of a place for life-narratives of women writers during the centuries documented. Perhaps this statement by Milton's nephew in conjunction with John Dryden's definition of a poetic lineage connecting Chaucer to Spenser to Milton—"we [poets] have our lineal descents and claims as well as other families" (Pref., *Fables Ancient and Modern* [1700])—helps to explain the particular nature of the exclusion of women writers. Male authors were models for "young gentlemen"

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and for subsequent generations of male writers; the various values they exemplified were always upheld as appropriate for men within social structures defined by men. The genealogical model evoked by Dryden attempts to naturalize this male inheritance, and yet biological descent is seen only to legitimize female subservience in the case of Milton's daughters. Although writers could be recuperated and their works canonized through biographies that smoothed ideological contradictions, it seems that the one insurmountable obstacle (or perhaps the one obstacle that no biographer tried to surmount) was gender.

*The Emergence of the English Author* begins with a postmodern recognition of the author as a construct, examines the implications of this concept through a detailed cultural-historical study of several canonized English authors, and through this process, raises provocative questions. It will be of interest to scholars of English literary history, early modern cultural studies, and critical theory.

*Pauline Head*

Georg M. Gugelberger, ed. *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*. Durham: Duke UP, 1996. 328 pp. $17.95; ISBN 0-8223-1851-2.

The self-proclaimed purpose of *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*, edited by Georg Gugelberger, is to reassess not only Latin American testimonial literature itself but also the reception of such works by U.S. Latin Americanism. The essays collected here accomplish this purpose with intelligence and insight, and taken as a group provide a virtual snapshot of the current status of Latin Americanist testimonial discourse. Included in the volume are both the most well-known and key critical works from the first phase of writing about testimonio (essays by John Beverley, George Yúdice, Margaret Randall, Barbara Harlow, and Marc Zimmerman for example) and in Part II, a second phase of writing that reflects metacritically on these initial articles. The result is a stimulating collection of essays quite literally in dialogue, leading Gugelberger to comment in his introduction that "while not necessarily making the subaltern visible, testimonio has helped to make ourselves visible to ourselves" (3). Whether or not this should be the focus of testimonio criticism, or whether the "subaltern" can ever be truly "visible" through a writing that necessarily passes through the hands of an elite, are matters of rigorous debate in this volume.

So what is testimonio? One oft-quoted definition of the genre is offered by John Beverley and Marc Zimmerman, for whom a testimonio is

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> a novel or novella-length narrative told in the first person by a narrator who is also the actual protagonist or witness of the events she or he recounts. The unit of narration is usually a life or a significant life episode (e.g., the experience of being a prisoner). . . . The production of a testimonio generally involves the recording and/or transcription and editing of an oral account by an interlocutor who is a journalist, writer, or social activist. (86)

In another essay, John Beverley traces the history of the testimonial, finding that its roots go back to the chronicles of colonial times and that it draws on other narratives such as the work of social scientists and revolutionaries of this century. As various authors included in this volume point out, testimonio is both similar to and different from other genres, most notably autobiography, documentary fiction, non-fictional narrative, and the novel (particularly the *bildungsroman*). It is different from autobiography for, according to Elzbieta Sklodowska, "unlike most classic autobiographies . . . it does not focus on the inner self, but on communal experience" (85). Beverley distinguishes the testimonio from the novel in that the former "promises by definition to be primarily concerned with sincerity rather than literariness" (26). Yet by 1994, Sklodowska was exploring the blind spots inherent in perceiving the testimonio "as a neo-realist super-genre, a model of an 'authentic narrative' for witnessing the unspeakable and narrating the unspoken experience of the Latin American subaltern" (97–8). Indeed, the essays in this volume give the reader an overview of the debate between a view of testimonio as an "authentic" expression of a subaltern "truth" and a more critical, theoretically sophisticated stance which problematizes and deconstructs such purported transparency.

Indeed, it is perhaps in (re)reading all the essays in the volume together that one gets a sense that while neither of these stances is sufficient, each brings something important to our understanding of not only the testimonio itself, but also of the institutional challenges presented by its reception in the U.S. academy. While virtually all the essays included in this volume contribute to our understanding in this sense, the pieces by Doris Sommer, George Yúdice, John Beverley, Antonio Moreiras, and Gareth Williams are especially illuminating.

Sommer's essay, "No Secrets," is a reworking of her original 1992 article that, to my mind, was one of the most eye-opening and intelligent treatments of testimonio up to that point. Her reading of Rigoberta Menchú's strategic silences, or perhaps more exactly her refusal to "read," reinterpret, and thus reassimilate these "secrets," is one of the seminal works of testimonio criticism and goes far in bringing to the fore the ideological and political stakes involved in reading the testimonio. Not surprisingly, it is one of the essays that other critics in the volume take up time and again.

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Other essays also recur in the work of later critics, obviously having served as stimulating points of departure. Beverley's first piece, "The Margin at Center: On Testimonio" (1989), provides definitions and attempts to distinguish testimonial writing as radically different from other types of narrative. For Beverley, at that optimistic juncture, testimonial practice had become an example of an "emerging culture of an international proletarian/popular-democratic subject in its period of ascendancy" (39). Yúdice's essay explores the relations between postmodernism and testimonial writing, which he sees not as "representation" in the traditional sense, but as "a practice, a part of the struggle for hegemony," a "practical aesthetics of community-building, of solidarity" (57).

The essays by Sommer, Yúdice, and Beverley are taken up by Alberto Moreiras in "The Aura of Testimonio" (1995), one of the most stimulating essays from Part II. Moreiras radically and yet respectfully questions these essays' conclusions, remaining skeptical about the possibilities of avoiding recolonializing the testimonio. As he puts it, "testimonio criticism reauthorizes itself within the epistemological power/knowledge grid at the expense of that which it originally sought to authorize" (204). Gareth Williams also addresses the recolonializing canonization of testimonio within U.S. Latin Americanism:

> indeed, the movement of apprehension and domestication implicit in the repressive establishment of 'shared values' and concerns . . . between a culture of domination and its subjugated objects tends to repress historical social inequities and neocolonial cultural paradigms, systematically expelling them from discourse in such a way as to render the subordination of colonization doubly so in U.S. liberal discourses of 'sympathy' and 'respect.' (245)

Yet, even though the issues of disciplinary transformation, or lack thereof, are compelling to me as a scholar and are treated exhaustively in this volume, I would have welcomed more engagement with the pedagogical issues raised by the teaching of such texts. Some of the authors certainly do address pedagogical issues. Gareth Williams' essay touches upon the use of *I, Rigoberta Menchú* in the classroom, showing how students' responses to the text reveal the way "the Latin American subaltern becomes everything the United States lacks and craves in order for it to think itself" (244). In his second essay in the volume, "The Real Thing" (1995), John Beverley also briefly discusses pedagogical aims in teaching testimonio (270–71). And yet, in my view, more work needs to be done, for while some critics might see a sort of epistemological impasse as they trace the institutional ramifications of testimonio criticism, as professors we are often still engaged in teaching these texts, and how or why we will or will not teach testimonio demands further analysis and discussion.

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One slightly confusing aspect of the volume is the criterion used to divide the essays in part I from those in part II. According to Gugelberger's introductory essay, there are three stages of testimonial discourse. After a primarily Latin American beginning following the Cuban revolution, "the second stage was the critical response to the testimonio by 'progressive' intellectuals in the United States, a majority of whom were women, just as a majority of the producers of testimonio were women" (5). This stage was followed by a third stage with the "response of critics in the United States, many of whom were of Latin American origin, who struggled with the issues of 'lo real' and started to refute the presumed 'left' poetics of 'solidarity,' going 'beyond' the unconditional affirmation of the genre" (5). About the two "waves" of reception of testimonio, Gugelberger observes that the volume presents the "lively debate between those who saw in testimonio a salvation, almost the proof that the subaltern can speak, and those who saw in the first wave of reception a flawed affirmation giving way to an implicit restitution of precisely that discipline that the originators of the discourse considered as being challenged by the testimonio" (6). In turn, Gugelberger divides the volume into part I and part II, apparently corresponding to these two "waves." And yet, Doris Sommer's revision of her essay "No Secrets" (1995) and Elzbieta Sklodowska's essay from 1994 are both placed in part I, in spite of their critical stance toward the previous reception of testimonial texts. The criterion for the division between parts I and II does not seem to be either previous publication (Fredric Jameson's 1992/93 essay appears in part II, although it was published before) or chronological order. As a result, this division ends up seeming arbitrary. While I found essays from both parts I and II to be of the highest caliber, I think Sklodowska's and especially Sommer's essays are misleadingly placed as part of a first stage or first wave of testimonio writing when their work is considerably more theoretically sophisticated and critical of a naive reception of testimonio than such a designation would appear to grant.

Overall, this volume will be of great interest not only to Latin Americanist scholars, but also to those in other disciplines (such as English, sociology, anthropology) who are seeking stimulating and intellectually rigorous essays in English on testimonial literature. On a practical/pedagogical level, the volume constitutes both an excellent introduction to work on the testimonio and a complex interrogation of this critical practice. Furthermore, while each essay's notes appear at the end of the article, the bibliography is compiled for the entire volume, making it exceptionally accessible for quick consultation. As a result, the book would make an excellent companion volume for courses that include testimonial texts. Although I had read many of the essays from part I before, the opportunity to read them again here along with the new essays from part II provided new insight on the development of disciplinary thinking about the testimonio and its

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possible challenges to institutional and academic practices. If it is true, as John Beverley observes, that "the moment of testimonio is over" (280), the moment for a volume such as *The Real Thing* has arrived; and, indeed, in this collection readers will find thought-provoking and insightful assessments of the cultural/critical/political phenomenon called testimonio.

*Mary Beth Tierney-Tello*

Miles H. Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Re-examined.* Norman and London: U of Oklahoma P, 1997. 640 pp. $39.95; ISBN 0-8061-2934-4.

In the beginning of *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Re-examined,* Miles H. Davidson explains that his original intention was to write a critique of recent versions of the Columbus myth. Davidson notes that, although it is normally the duty of the subjective biographer, not the reviewer, to return to the original texts, he found that several biographies relied more heavily on certain documents than others. In order to accomplish his task of viewing the Columbus myth, then, Davidson needed to become thoroughly familiar not only with the modern versions of Columbus's life, but also with the many primary sources from which these myths or biographies were created.

As a result, Davidson's project is twofold: to review the original documentation, and to comment upon the various biographies that have been created. His critique focuses upon biographies published in the United States, since "this group appears to form a genre in itself" (xii). Davidson finds praise for different biographies, depending upon the area of expertise of the given author. Thus he notes that John Noble's research into geography, William and Carla Rahn Phillips's research into history, Kirkpatrick Sale's research into the "ethnological-cum-ecological," Fernandez-Armesto's research into the "historical-geographical," and Samuel Eliot Morrison's nautical research are all worthy of merit and indicative of "solid research" (481).

But it is Davidson's own attempt to fathom the mind of Columbus, his deeds, and his personality, that is most fascinating. Davidson approaches the task of biography as an investigator, with no bias towards a particular discipline. It is perhaps this dimension of his work that is most interesting—the sifting through various reports, and the awareness that Davidson brings of the circumstances (the social and political pressures or biases) under which various reports were written. Both of these increase the sense of the difficulty of arriving at an unambiguous view of Columbus's accomplishments and failings; at the same time, however, they are indicative of the

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difficulties of writing biography and of fitting human individuality into a neat box.

One particular case is the biography of Columbus written by Bartolome de las Casas. Las Casas was chiefly interested in the conquest of the Americas, of the administration of the colonies, and of the treatment of the indigenous populations. Las Casas wrote down the rumors that he had heard, but usually clarified them later on in the text. If a researcher or scholar, however, failed to read the entire passage or chapter, then the assumption that what was written was true, or was even believed by las Casas, would be incorrect and would lead the reader of the biography to believe that the rumor was true.

During his own lifetime, Columbus left several written documents as well as oral reports about himself. Not surprisingly, these documents are sometimes ambiguous or misleading. Public declarations or official correspondence can frequently differ from more private writings. Davidson makes extensive use of Columbus's recently discovered *Libro copiador*, for example, a text which has not always been available and was not always used in the various biographies, to supplement readings of Columbus's diary.

One of the most frequently asked questions is: "How much did Columbus know before making his expedition?" Various accounts of "el piloto perdido," the lost pilot, circulated during, and after, Columbus's voyage of discovery. In some of these versions, Columbus himself was either one of the crew members or the actual captain of the vessel. However, no real evidence exists to support any of these accounts. In fact, Davidson points out that the amount of maritime experience that Columbus possessed prior to the expedition was probably relatively slight: "[Columbus] said that he had sailed all of the known seas, but he never said in what capacity. In two of his known prediscovery voyages, he sailed as a merchant, not as a ship's officer" (479).

If Columbus had very little maritime knowledge, then how much prediscovery erudition did he have? For example, how much did Marco Polo's writings influence Columbus? It is common wisdom that Columbus knew of them, and somehow based his own quest upon them. According to Davidson, however, the only source for Columbus' knowledge of Marco Polo's text was the 1485 Pipino Latin edition; based on this text, it would appear that Columbus knew very little.

Once Columbus had accomplished landfall, however, it was easy to suggest to the world that he had possessed both nautical experience and scientific knowledge, as well as knowledge of "mythology, biblical passages, Greek and Roman classics, Arabian theorists, and fifteenth-century humanists—in short every conceivable source for his Great Enterprise"(476). In this way, the myth of Columbus the scholar/explorer was formed. Columbus himself contributed to this myth.

Davidson is also able to argue successfully that Columbus may not have been such a capable navigator and that during the expedition

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he received significant assistance from the captains of the other two vessels, and notably, Alonso Pinzon. Given the fact that the three captains would have to have communicated among themselves during the voyage, it seems doubtful that the much-cited case of the Columbus keeping two logs—one accurate, the other purposely inaccurate to fool the crew(s)—would have enabled Columbus to fool the other two seasoned captains. This also calls into question, perhaps, our own image of discovery and our own (limited) knowledge of maritime matters. It is more tempting to see Columbus the visionary leading his unsophisticated sailors into the Great Unknown than to see the reality of three ships, each having an able captain who could navigate in the event of any storms, and who would consult with the others on a regular basis.

With respect to the question of outwitting the sailors by keeping two logs, Davidson notes that, in the fifteenth century, the length of a league depended upon its country of origin, that there was no fixed distance internationally agreed upon. This latter instance is a reminder of the utility of international standards of measure as well as an important insight into some of the fundamental differences between the different European powers during the Renaissance.

There is another dimension to the question of the role played by the captains and crews participating in the expeditions. At various points Columbus states that several men disobeyed his orders; later, however, these same men play a significant role in the administration of the colonies. The question can never be fully answered, but Davidson suggests either that the incidents Columbus reported were not of such great importance after all, or that the Monarchs saw fit to have someone oversee Columbus's actions in the far-distant colonies.

If this were a concern of the Monarchs, then it ties in with another important question addressed by Davidson; specifically, the relative grandiosity of Columbus' prediscovery demands upon the Catholic Monarchs. The Spanish precedent in the "Reconquest" of the Iberian Peninsula was to name favored officials as "adelantados," but this was only after an area had been colonized. Davidson suggests rather persuasively that Columbus was following the Portuguese model, established by the awarding of hereditary governorships to the discoverers of the Madeira Islands. This Portuguese precedent also explains why Columbus first went to Lisbon to finance his expedition. He had very little maritime background, and, further, while it is impossible to ascertain beyond a shadow of a doubt his family background, it would appear that they were simply merchants from Genoa.

A corollary to the question of Columbus's demands is the question of why Columbus's own Genoa did not participate in the Renaissance. Italy was, in many ways, much more individualist than Spain. Because of the Humanist tradition, social mobility had been very much accepted in Italy, so that Columbus's ambitions were not out of line with its social possibilities. That he would attempt to persuade various

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monarchs not simply of his idea, but also that he should pilot the expedition and receive a hereditary admiralship and become governor of the new lands, indicates his audacity and perseverance. A further example of Columbus's perseverance is the length of time he spent in Spain prior to embarking. He spent six years there, and this despite the fact that he was personally received by the Monarchs, who had paid his travel expenses from Portugal.

These are just a few examples from Davidson's investigations. I found myself at times anxiously reading, hoping to find an idealized, heroic European. Instead, what I found was a detailed understanding of cultural differences in the many political centers that Columbus visited in his financial quest, and an individual who was able to persuade a king and queen and several financiers to back his expedition. After the fact, of course, the myth grew, the explanations of how he could have executed such a tremendous voyage of discovery and altered the course of the world made every explanation more and more plausible, and Columbus came to represent all that is good, and bad, of the European conquest of the Americas.

*Thomas Manzo*

Carol Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996. 240 pp. $23.00; ISBN 0-8090-4561-3.

This ambitious trade book is lucid and well researched, but because of the author's aversion to argumentation, it is also extremely frustrating. Berkin cuts across regions, classes, races, and religions to draw an even-handed portrait of the diversity of colonial women's lives, but to accomplish this even-handedness, she sacrifices too much. With the explicit goal of letting the data stand on its own, she backs down from the challenge of interpreting it. The result is an otherwise impressive study that consistently undermines itself by burying its theses between oblique lines.

Berkin considers this criticism in her introduction, where she concedes that her early readers made similar comments on drafts of the book. They thought her writing was too tentative in both form and content, that her voice lacked authority, and that her arguments often stopped short of synthesizing cogent analyses. Rather than revise her writing, she defends it, claiming that a more assertive authorial presence would be ill-suited to the needs of her subject. The quality of the data available on colonial women is uneven, she contends, and consequently some women's lives are much more retrospectively knowable than others; moreover, scholarship on this period advances rapidly, so the data which is always partial is also frequently obsolete. Given these limitations, she argues that she would be making false claims if she presented her own analysis as a comprehensive or definitive one.

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Both of these problems are undoubtedly real ones, and ones that aren't peculiar to the subject of colonial women. Most historians would agree that privileged populations have traditionally documented their lives more thoroughly than their less privileged counterparts have, and that sheer volume makes their biographical data more conducive to even the most multiculturally-minded scholarship. And since every field of inquiry is always advancing, even the surest answers are always somewhat inconclusive. Every historian faces these dilemmas and good historians find a way to work within them, but Berkin dodges the ball. She defends her evasions with more evasions, arguing that

> no collective portrait of colonial women can emerge as long as our knowledge of European women in the colonial period remains so much deeper, broader, and more particular than our knowledge of Indian or African-American women. . . . For these reasons, I have retained the tentative voice with which I began this project. And for these reasons, I have not tried to force pattern or order on a field when it does not exist. (ix)

Berkin's refusal to assert her own analyses is an overly zealous attempt to avoid the tendency of earlier historians to write strong theses that imposed an absolute order on the incoherence of the real world. She argues that those authors homogenized the diversity of their subjects in the service of linear narratives, patriarchy, monoculturalism, and a score of other outdated evils. This critique is a useful one, and most contemporary historians benefit from a healthy fear of bullying history to suit the needs of their narrative, but Berkin errs at the other extreme. If her predecessors forced their subjects into submission for fear of chaos, Berkin sacrifices her authority to her subjects' for fear of order.

In spite of this, Berkin's survey is a solid introduction to women's history. The strengths of her work lie in the breadth of her research and the very readable presentation of it. Each chapter is framed by the biography of a woman who was either representative or exemplary of the region, ethnicity, or religion that is the subject of that chapter. The chapter on New England women is organized around the biography of Hannah Duston, a frontier farm wife who was taken captive by Indians and liberated herself by slaughtering her captors. Duston's life was certainly an exemplary one, but Berkin argues that her biography "moves straight to the heart of seventeenth-century New England women's history," because her "courage, and the pragmatism that led her to scalp her enemies, fits a long-standing, popular image of New Englanders—male and female—as practical, resourceful pioneers" (22-3). While this extraordinary biography is somewhat unconvincing as a portrait of typical New England stock, it will undoubtedly persuade resistant readers to follow Berkin

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through the less spectacular historical data that is her greatest strength. Drawing often fascinating results from legal and medical records, Berkin reconstructs the material conditions of women's lives; in the New England chapter, she describes the ways in which inheritance laws codified the dependency of widows and extended the responsibilities of motherhood not only to fathers but to the community at large. While this collective women's history is only tenuously connected to Hannah Duston's individual one, Berkin's alternation between the two makes her work accessible both to mainstream audiences and to feminist scholars across the disciplines.

More scholarly readers may be alienated, however, both by the sometimes gratuitous use of biographical hooks and by the timidity of Berkin's authorship. Some readers may also rightly object that by muting her own voice and trying somehow to write history without it, Berkin disregards the lessons of the theoretical traditions that explicitly inform her work. To look at history through the lenses of feminism and multiculturalism is to contest the idea that any history can be impartial. Yet Berkin paradoxically defends her prerogative to pursue a new version of the old objectivity, masking the partiality of her own position by pretending that she isn't taking one. As a result, she falls short of writing a compelling history and instead writes a competent one.

*Gloria Fisk*

Don Michael Randel, ed., *The Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1996. 1,013 pp. $39.95 hardcover; ISBN 0-674-37299-9.

The *New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (1986), edited by Don Randel, has been an invaluable reference work in many personal and public libraries for the last decade. Its six thousand concise, clearly worded articles on musical terms and subjects (many signed by the seventy scholars who contributed to the volume) have informed amateurs, students, and connoisseurs on subjects as complex as "musica ficta" or "sonata form," or as diverse as the "rubāb" and "bitonality." And so, publication of Randel's companion volume *The Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music* created pleasurable anticipation among the many who had found the earlier dictionary so indispensable. The new volume promises needed information on the lives and careers of "5,500 figures in the world of music—the major, the minor, the famous, the nearly forgotten, from Bach and Beethoven to Irving Berlin, Benny Goodman, and Bruce Springsteen," but focuses primarily on composers in the Western concert or art music tradition, with shorter pieces on performers (not to mention a few librettists and scholars) and numerous short biographies of jazz and popular musicians. There

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are some notable omissions, like Whitney Houston and Antonio Carlos Jobim; still, 1,013 pages cannot include everyone. Specific criteria for inclusion or omission are not revealed; however, a welcome American emphasis, apparent in all categories, does emerge. A team of eighteen writers produced the biographies, but the articles are unsigned.

Biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias customarily devote a greater amount of space to figures deemed central to the historical tradition. Using this measuring stick, Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Handel, Haydn, Liszt, Mozart, Verdi, and Wagner take center stage—not surprising choices in view of the concert repertory and scholarly literature. In some of these essays (Mozart, for instance) biographical narrative is relatively short because of an extensive worklist and bibliography. Berlioz, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Schubert also rate substantial articles; among these, the Schoenberg article stands out for its particularly cogent discussion of his style and influence. In fact, many of the articles strongest in describing salient points of style and musical achievements are the moderate-length texts for masters of the twentieth century, like Charles Ives, Claude Debussy, Elliott Carter, and John Cage. All the major entries thoroughly survey the composer's life and career, but some shy away from a discussion of the musical style or historical influence. The preface does not explain why the two approaches appear, sometimes within articles of the same length or historical period; but since a general reader might well be someone unfamiliar with the styles and historical significance of any but the most central figures of the Western canon, the decision to allow strictly biographical entries reduces the usefulness of certain articles and of the dictionary as a whole.

A comparison of two moderate-length entries on facing pages illustrates this point: the Charles Gounod article points out his greatest successes but otherwise recounts a straightforward story of his life; Percy Grainger's entry, on the other hand, briefly summarizes his life and then describes his system of "free music," the changing attitude toward his output, and characteristics of some of his more challenging works. The Gounod text describes the Mrs. Weldon affair/fiasco, but Grainger's article completely (and probably appropriately) ignores the sensational details of his personal life, devoting the space saved to a discussion of the music. Furthermore, though it may be appropriate to spend an entire paragraph in the bland Fauré article describing his notorious penchant for womanizing (since the Emma Bardac affair inspired one of the finest French song cycles), it seems odd to neglect entirely Poulenc's traumatic sexual relationships, since they too had a bearing on his musical output.

Randel has put together a dictionary designed to serve the interests of the late 1990s, and suitably enough, has included a representative sampling of women composers. Beyond expected names—Hildegard of Bingen, Clara Schumann, Fanny Mendelssohn

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Hensel, Amy Beach, and important twentieth-century composers like Ellen Zwilich and Pauline Oliveros—are some who are still in the process of establishing themselves. And yet, why should Elizabeth Anspach, an eighteenth-century composer and playwright whose only surviving composition is a setting of a madrigal from Shakespeare, rate space in a single-volume general dictionary over some deserving twentieth-century woman composer or a longer entry for the fine French Baroque composer Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre?

Aside from Bach and Handel, major figures of early music are assigned relatively shorter articles, reflecting interests of most listeners /concert-goers. Schütz (primarily biographical) and Monteverdi (biographical plus some musical context) fare best by word-count among pre-eighteenth century composers, but the text for Rameau, though well done, is surprisingly brief. François Couperin's article is so dry an account of his life that a reader without additional background might well wonder how he merited the sobriquet "le grand." Machaut's entry, too, could have articulated his importance to music and poetry of the fourteenth century.

Older acoustic blues and jazz musicians are particularly well represented (but a personal favorite, Charlie Byrd, is missing). Overall coverage of popular musicians is quite good, although representatives of recent styles like rap and New Age are left aside for this edition. Despite the limited space accorded most articles in this category, some include pithy reference to influence and importance. A well-written piece on Louis Armstrong, for example, describes the influence of his improvisational trumpet style and scat singing; Bing Crosby's effective use of the microphone is credited. But some of the other jazz and pop articles are restricted to a few factual statements; the brief description of Aretha Franklin, for example, lists several hit songs but fails to credit her importance in bringing the gospel style into popular music.

Writing in the *Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music* maintains a consistent, serious tone and is tight, clean, and modern. When stylistic description and assessment are included, comments are succinct and insightful. Bibliographical references, intelligently selected overall, include publications as recent as 1995. Meticulous care went into editing this volume, but, as in any undertaking that manages thousands of details, minor problems have crept in (though infrequently); most sources agree, for example, that Mozart's mother died in 1778 (not 1779), that Vernon Gotwals (not Gottwals) translated the Dies and Griesinger accounts of Haydn's life, and that Berlioz received 20,000 francs from Paganini (not 10,000). Well-chosen black-and-white illustrations adorn large and some medium-length articles; certain modern composers and performers merit a small photo too, even if the biographical entry is limited to only a few lines—John Adams, Marian Anderson, and Seiji Ozawa, for instance.

The principal one-volume competitor to Randel's dictionary, the 1100-page *Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (1994, or

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the complete *Baker's*, 8th ed., 1993), covers fewer jazz and popular figures and betrays the biases of the gifted writer and musical commentator Nicholas Slonimsky, who edited these texts at 99. Both dictionaries are designed for the same audience of "the musically inclined, the curious, the informed and the expert," but Randel's, by including more popular musicians, directly acknowledges that young, and even middle-aged, concert-goers may also have strong interests in show tunes, jazz, rock, and popular music. Still, Slonimsky's articles always contextualize the musician and assess his/her achievement; many introduce wit, wordplay, fascinating (but relevant) details and brilliant (if sometimes opinionated) insights. The articles for Liberace, Janis Joplin, and even Nicholas Slonimsky himself amply illustrate the difference in tone; Randel's are discreet and factual, while Slonimsky's spice the facts with details on piano-shaped swimming pools and Southern Comfort. Even if the latter err somewhat on the side of being self-indulgent, in the end these idiosyncratic, entertaining accounts come far closer to painting the flamboyance of the figures involved.

For "the musically inclined" and "the curious," Randel's dictionary will serve as a handy, reliable, reasonably priced source of biographical facts, with some fine entries that blend well-chosen comments on personality, career, style, and influence; but if general readers fall upon one of the strictly biographical articles that presents data on the life and career without assessment or contextualization, they will probably need to seek enlightenment in Slonimsky's volume or a specialty dictionary.

*Lesley A. Wright*

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# Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing Editors Brian Cassity Michael Fassiotto, Gloria Fisk, Corey Hollis, Gabriel Merle, Noel Kent, Forrest R. Pitts, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include the *American Scientist, Bulletin Critique du Livre Français, L'Esprit Createur, Études Anglaises, French Studies, The Historian, Journal of Asian Studies, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), Le Monde des Livres*, the *New York Review of Books (NYRB)*, the *New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), The New Yorker, Science, Sight and Sound, Times Literary Supplement (TLS)*, the *Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP)*, and the *Women's Review of Books.*

**Adams, Gerry**

*Before the Dawn: An Autobiography.* Gerry Adams. New York: William Morrow. 332 pp. $25.00.

"By 1962, the IRA in Belfast, the main city of what republicans regarded as 'occupied' Northern Ireland, had just twenty-four members. Conspiratorial nationalism had been reduced, as the Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams points out in his autobiography, to a few families, one of them his own. Clearly, on its own, the republican tradition cannot account for the strength the IRA had acquired just ten years later."

Fintan O'Toole, *NYRB*, Feb. 19, 1998: 9.

**Adams, John Quincy**

*John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, A Private Life.* Paul C. Nagel. New York: Knopf, 1997. 432 pp. $30.00.

"Ironically, the great virtue of Nagel's engaging biography is also its great liability. His primary source is Adams' massive diary. . . . The price . . . is that [Nagel] tells [Adams'] story almost entirely from Adams' perspective. [But] Nagel has given us a John Quincy Adams with a heart as well as a head."

Andrew L. Clayton, *LATBR*, Oct. 5, 1997: 5.

"Too much of Nagel's book reads like a synopsis of irrelevant events and journeys that Adams describes to his diaries. The reader longs for more interpretation, less chronicling. Nagel has nevertheless written the best biography of Adams between two covers. Still, John Quincy Adams has now inspired more biographies than he perhaps warrants, and it's time for historians to give the subject a rest."

Benjamin Schwarz, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 9.

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**Apollinaire, Guillaume**

*Tendre comme le souvenir*. Guillaume Apollinaire. 1952. Rev. Ed. Pref. Madeleine Pagès. Paris: Gallimard, coll. "L'imaginaire" 361, 1997. 376 pp. F68.

To reprint, after forty-five years, the letters addressed between April 16, 1915, and September 16, 1917, by Apollinaire to Madeleine Pagès is an excellent idea. These long, or very long, letters (for which we are indebted to Madeleine Pagès) are precious because, through a sad, moving love story, they make up Apollinaire's true spiritual, poetical, and amorous itinerary.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 583 (Apr. 1997): 923.

**Austen, Jane**

*Jane Austen: A Life*. Claire Tomalin. New York: Knopf, 1997. 325 pp. $27.50.

"It is Tomalin's overt intention to present us with a Jane Austin living on the edge of a mobile world, a woman whose life was more exciting, disturbed and adventurous than previous biographers like Park Honan have allowed. . . . Jane's infancy is now more dreadful, her few months of schooling more Dickensian, her single infatuation more sexy, than ever before. Tomalin's thesis is that Jane was banished from home three times—to a wet nurse, to school, and to Bath—and that her defensiveness is the result of such a harsh regimen of dependence. Only in the virtual world could Austen assert control."

Kevin Barry, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 46.

AND *Jane Austen: A Life*. David Nokes. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 588 pp. $30.00.

"David Nokes has a habit of losing Jane. He likes to describe the exciting things other members of her family are doing. And she isn't born until page 51. Then suddenly there is an intimacy: he knows what is in Jane's mind when she is writing. . . . Nokes' biography is stuffed with detail that blunts the edges of his arguments. Tomalin is more discriminating. She is not merely an attentive reader, she is a good listener. She can live with Jane's silences. . . . Tomalin listens to her silences and respects them. . . . By reason of her silences, Jane Austen defies cheap psychology and trite formulations. The contradictions in her life and work are fertile, and when her biographers disagree—as they must do—the ordinary reader should applaud. . . . It is Claire Tomalin's biography, scholarly yet empathetic, that best captures this [Austen's] sense of struggle, of flux, of striving against limitation and its contrary: the struggle to subdue a nature to what society ordains it must be. She has listened hard enough to hear what may be Jane's first written words, inscribed in a tiny hand inside a story book: 'Mothers angry father's gone out.' She is one of the finest and most disinterested of biographers, because in her pages she has given Jane Austen her liberty and freed us, Jane's readers and hers, to

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enjoy the lie of the land and the cut of the uniform, and 'sopha conversations' and 'the glow worms in the lane.'"

Hilary Mantel, *NYRB*, Feb. 5, 1998: 8.

*AND Jane Austen: Obstinate Heart, A Biography*. Valerie Grosvenor Myer. New York: Arcade, 1997. 268 pp. $25.95.

"Claire Tomalin's biography is exemplary, a triumph of seasoned sympathy; Valerie Grosvenor Myer's is introductory; and David Nokes' is finely eccentric."

James Wood, *LATBR*, Nov. 23, 1997: 3.

**Bashkirtseff, Marie**

*I Am the Most Interesting Book of All: The Diary of Marie Bashkirtseff*. Vol. 1. Trans. Phyllis Howard Kernberger with Katherine Kernberger. San Francisco: Chronicle, 1997. 435 pp. $35.00.

"So is this book the most interesting book of all? I found the diary too often a mishmash of adolescent obsession with body and clothes ('I was unhappy with my dress, my face, with everything'), crushes on various men, self-absorbed ramblings and more than I ever wanted to know about the lives of the previous century's European rich and famous. Yet beyond the society n ews lies a deeper story of the struggles for self-expression and self-development of a young woman on the edge of emancipation, playing with different images of herself—the old ones of society belle and wife of a famous man, and the newer, pathbreaking ones of scientist, linguist, musician and artist—and with the complexity of fashioning a new identity inside or outside mainstream society."

Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, *Women's Review of Books* 15.2 (Nov. 1997): 20–21.

**Bernardin, Joseph Cardinal**

*My Brother Joseph: The Spirit of a Cardinal and the Story of a Friendship*. Eugene Kennedy. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 175 pp. $17.95.

"What Kennedy beautifully captures is the manly, bantering, understated but never misunderstood friendship that can develop between celibate, well-educated and self-possessed priests. This emotional territory once belonged to the novelist J. F. Powers. But Kennedy, a novelist himself, handles with equal sureness the subtle ways in which priests of different rank can build ties of love and mutual respect that survive the severest testing."

Kenneth L. Woodward, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 25.

**Blaskowitz, Johannes**

*The Enigma of General Blaskowitz*. Richard Giziowski. London: Leo Cooper, 1997. 532 pp. £25.

"The first full length biography" of the Wehrmacht general who protested the brutality of Nazi security forces in wartime Poland is

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"a valuable work . . . that fills in a number of gaps in the general's story and will have a central intrinsic interest for students of the period. . . . The book's central objective is to provide an ethical assessment of the protagonist."

Christopher Clark, *TLS*, Aug. 22, 1997: 36.

**Bonaparte, Napoleon.**

*Napoleon Bonaparte*. Alan Schom. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 888 pp. $40.00.

"Napoleon-lovers will be uncomfortable with this book; Napoleon-haters will embrace it."

Robert Gildea, *NYTBR*, Nov. 23, 1997: 34–5.

**Boutros-Ghali, Boutros**

*Le Chemin de Jérusalem*. Tome I: *Mémoires d'un Egyptien, 1977-1992*. Trans. from the 1997 English edition by Richard Crevier. Paris: Fayard, 1997. 476 pp. F148.

The book covers the years during which the author was Minister of State for foreign affairs in the Egyptian government. It reports reflections on a policy that changed the Near East, and also on the details of the life of a diplomat who, fundamentally a skeptic, was reticent from the start about Sadat's separate peace offensive, and during the negotiations, about the Egyptian leader's tactics, whether in Jerusalem or at Camp David.

Daniel Vernet, *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 31, 1997: 7.

**Buck, Pearl S.**

*Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography*. Peter Conn. New York: Cambridge UP, 1996. 468 pp. $29.95.

"Following the publication in 1931 of her novel about Chinese peasant life, *The Good Earth*, Pearl S. Buck blossomed into one of the best known, widely read, and most respected women of her generation. . . . Pearl Buck emerges from this account as a much better interpreter of Chinese life and politics than most of the scholarly world both in the past and at present has been willing to concede. . . . Conn adds considerable new material from Buck's correspondence he has discovered in libraries throughout the U.S. The result is a rich, balanced, and careful appraisal of Pearl Buck as a public figure."

David D. Buck, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56.3 (Aug. 1997): 758–60.

**Buffon, George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de**

*Buffon: A Life in Natural History*. Jacques Roger. Trans. from the 1989 French edition by Sarah Lucille Bonnefoi. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997. 492 pp. $49.95.

"No scholar ever did more to refine and raise our estimation of Buffon's significance than the late Sorbonne historian Jacques Roger.

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"This book, culmination of several decades of research and intended as a synthesis accessible to broadly informed readers as well as specialists, appeared in 1989 to general acclaim. . . . Buffon is more, here, than the versatile, fecund, and contentious mind that, it is true, was Roger's basic reason for writing his life; we find also a self-assured and ambitious personality and a skilled operator in a wondrously intricate social and intellectual environment."

Kenneth L. Taylor, *Science* 278, No. 5342 (Nov. 21, 1997): 1409–10.

**Bush, George**

*George Bush: The Rise of a Lone Star Yankee*. Herbert S. Parmet. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner, 1997. 576 pp. $32.50.

*George Herbert Walker Bush: A Photographic Profile*. David Valdez. College Station: Texas A & M UP, 1997. 168 pp. $39.95.

"Parmet, a professor of history at the City University of New York, has given us a sympathetic portrait of a moderate Republican in the doomed lineage of Wendell Wilkie and Nelson Rockefeller, who tried to refashion himself for the Sunbelt politics of Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. He even finds a hint of tragedy in this career—as Bush fails despite his rise to the Presidency, to preserve the core value of the tradition from which he came, which Parmet sums up as 'mitigating the excesses of capitalism' for those who gain or lose too much from the workings of the free market. . . . For coffee table fans, there is [*A Photographic Profile*]—compiled by the former President's personal photographer—a feel-good album ranging from boyhood photos to snapshots of the 'grandkids.'"

Andrew Delbanco, *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 1997: 9–11.

**Bush, Vannevar**

*Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of the American Century*. G. Pascal Zachary. New York: The Free Press, 1997. 518 pp. $32.50.

"As G. Pascal Zachary observes in 'Endless Frontier,' no wartime figure in the world marshaled such enormous engineering and scientific resources."

Thomas P. Hughes, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 25.

**Byrd, Harry**

*Byrd of Virginia*. Ronald L. Heinemann. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1996. 511 pp. $29.50.

"This meticulously researched study will undoubtedly stand for decades as the definitive work on Byrd and the political organization that he dominated from the 1920s to the 1960s."

James R. Sweeney, *The Historian* 60.1 (Fall 1997): 132–3.

**Cagney, James**

*Cagney*. John McCabe. New York: Knopf, 1997. 439 pp. $29.95.

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"... owing to the author's access to his subject, McCabe's biography exceeds half a dozen previous books on the actor at illuminating the private Cagney—the man who avoided the Hollywood social scene and left town altogether in 1961 to paint, write verse and tend a farm in New York. . . . Even his best friend, Pat O'Brien, called him 'the faraway fella.' 'Cagney' brings us as close as we may ever get."

David Hajdu, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 7.

**Camus, Albert**

*Albert Camus: A Life.* Olivier Todd. Trans. from the 1996 French edition by Benjamin Ivry. New York: Knopf. 434 pp. $30.00.

"*Albert Camus: A Life* is a magnum opus, a prodigiously researched and meticulously detailed reconstruction of the life of a writer who had many voices and wore many masks. . . . What constantly relieves, enriches and impassions this dense documentary is . . . that the book sometimes reads like *Camus* by Camus."

Elizabeth Hawes, *LATBR*, Dec. 21, 1997: 9.

"It has to be said that this English version of Olivier Todd's book is not altogether satisfactory. According to an introductory note, 'some material not of sufficient interest to the American general reader has been omitted to improve the narrative flow.' Actually, a volume some 800 pages long in French has been reduced to 400 pages in English, and it is difficult to tell on what principle the abridgement has been made, because the sections that have been removed often seem of no less importance or interest than those left in. . . . It is true that the French original presents a challenge. Todd writes in a racy, idiomatic, allusive style that would test the ingenuity of the best translator. What we have here is a simplified, rather stilted text, from which all personal flavor has been ironed out. This is hardly fair to either Todd or Camus."

John Weightman, *NYRB*, Jan. 15, 1998: 26.

"Olivier Todd, a journalist and novelist, does not delve into Camus's writing in this biography, but he emphasizes that Camus was always a political *moraliste* in the French tradition. He points out the directions his thinking took as it changed with the times."

Isabelle de Courtivron, *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 1997: 14-15.

**Cantor, Eddie**

*Banjo Eyes: Eddie Cantor and the Birth of Modern Stardom.* Herbert G. Goldman. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 416 pp. $35.00.

"Goldman, the biographer of [Fanny] Brice and Al Jolson, tries to convince the reader that Cantor, 'single-handedly and consciously, changed the very nature of stardom,' becoming the first star to put his private life—in this case his supposed jolly domestic high jinks with his wife Ida and their five daughters—on public display. The

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argument never succeeds. But Goldman does a skillful job of explaining the comic's importance in his heyday."

James Gavin, *NYTBR*, Nov. 23, 1997: 24.

**Cardozo, Benjamin**

*The World of Benjamin Cardozo: Personal Values and the Judicial Process.* Richard Polenberg. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. 288 pp. $29.95.

"The personality that emerges from Polenberg's book is unexpectedly appealing: witty, sweet tempered, gentle, deferential to colleagues, legislatures and especially scholars, and as self-doubting as a judicial saint can be. By creatively combining biographical and judicial excavation, Polenberg shows us that Cardozo was a hopeless moralist as well, one who was reluctant to second guess the morals of his age. Yet, Cardozo's moralistic ambivalence about facts wasn't merely a reflection of his personal values; it was, and is, a weakness endemic to the kind of pragmatism that he came to embody."

Jeffrey Rosen, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 12–13.

**Carson, Rachel**

*Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature.* Linda Lear. New York: Holt, 1997. 634 pp. $35.00.

"Strictly as narrative biography, Lear's book works perfectly well, but she could usefully have pushed the pause button once in a while. Relentlessly chronological and only occasionally analytical, she does not fully engage the intellectual debates that Carson inspired, thereby short-changing not only Carson's spirited critics but also Carson herself. On an even more rudimentary level, Lear assumes far too much knowledge on the part of her reader about Carson's books, and nowhere bothers to summarize them in a systematic way—surely not a lot to ask of a biography that plows ahead for over 600 pages."

Robert B. Semple, Jr., *NYTBR*, Oct. 5, 1997: 18.

"Lear expertly walks the path between exploration of Carson's personal life and motivations and mere snoopiness. . . . As a result of her work, Carson was directly responsible for some of the policy recommendations in the President's Science Advisory Committee report on pesticides. . . . This biography is one of the best I have read. The combination of meticulous scholarship and thoughtful, often poignant, writing kept me engrossed throughout the book."

Marlene Zuk, *Science* 278, No. 5345 (Dec. 12, 1997): 1897.

"We need, then, a definitive biography of Carson in order to understand how and why she drew back her bow and let fly. Linda Lear, a professor of environmental history at George Washington University, provides us with such a book—competent, careful, comprehensive. If it is not perfect, if it fails to quite explain how Carson made the leap to a kind of radicalism in 'Silent Spring,' this is because

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Lear is a modest and earthbound biographer. And that fits her subject completely."

Bill McKibben, *WP*, Sept. 29, 1997: 33.

**Casanova, Giacomo Girolamo**

*Casanova: The Man Who Really Loved Women*. Lydia Flem. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 256 pp. $24.00.

"All good biographies of long-dead men and women ought to leave us with a sense of frustration at not having met them face to face. Perpetually captivated by Casanova, as lover, adventurer or wanderer, Flem makes us determined to seek out his company in another world."

Jonathan Keates, *NYTBR*, Nov. 23, 1997: 12–13.

AND *History of My Life*. Giacomo Casanova, Chevalier de Seingalt. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP. 6 double volumes, $15.95 each.

"*History of My Life* chronicles an action-packed lifetime of sublime sexual conquests, lightly glued together with contemporary anecdote, social vignettes and local color. . . . The pace never flags. But are we really to take Casanova's memoirs seriously as history? There are some fascinating glimpses to be had of the details of everyday 18th century life. . . . Flem, a Belgian psychoanalyst, has a distinct advantage over historians, for whether Casanova's septuagenarian recollections are fact or fantasy does not matter to an analyst. . . . This utterly humorless study takes Casanova's account of events absolutely literally."

Lisa Jardine, *LATBR*, Nov. 9, 1997: 6.

**Child, Julia**

*Appetite for Life: The Biography of Julia Child*. Noël Riley Fitch. New York: Doubleday, 1996. 569 pp. $25.95.

"*Appetite for Life* reads . . . like a collection of newspaper and magazine clippings and typed-up interview notes. . . . Fitch fills chapter after chapter with unnecessary details, but she omits details that the book's primary audience, food and wine lovers worldwide, would devour. . . . Fitch herself ultimately seems almost indifferent to the sensual pleasure of food that so impassioned Child."

David Shaw, *LATBR*, Nov. 9, 1997: 10.

"Having amassed a mountain of raw material, [Fitch] has turned it over to the hapless reader, unrefined, unsifted, and apparently undisturbed by an editor's hand. The indigestible result—ungainly, repetitive and unnecessarily gushing—reads like the world's most heavily annotated resumé."

William Grimes, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 13.

"As a biographer, Fitch is both scrupulous and reliable. Unfortunately, though, she had to confront the pitfall of an initial biography: the

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compulsion to set the record straight. In this case, too much detail overwhelms the life, particularly the inner life. . . . Toward the end of this deferential, if unreflective biography, Fitch acknowledges that even Child's closest professional friends felt they did not know her; nor, alas, do we."

Brenda Wineapple, *Women's Review of Books* 15.3 (Dec. 1997): 10–11.

**Clark, Dick**

*American Bandstand: Dick Clark and the Making of a Rock 'n Roll Empire.* John A. Jackson. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 336 pp. $27.50.

"In the end, however, 'American Bandstand' does a good job on an elusive subject. A hustler and a world-class salesman, Clark, by design, made himself a cipher—bland, cheery, inoffensive and unrevealing. And if Jackson never comes out and says it, that kind of deception made Dick Clark an apt embodiment of his era."

Fred Goodman, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 33.

**Coleman, Roger Keith**

*'May God Have Mercy': A True Story of Crime and Punishment.* John C. Tucker. New York: Norton, 1997. 358 pp. $27.50.

"Tucker's own larger, anti-death penalty view does . . . indirectly surface from time to time, with a potentially unfortunate effect: his stance may prove off-putting to the very people who could most benefit from his book. In addition, the book's journalistic strengths may undercut its power to persuade: because of the real-life ambiguity of the facts and the scrupulous fairness of Tucker's presentation, those who wish to find Coleman guilty and swiftly rebury their heads in the sand will probably be able to do so."

Roger Parloff, *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 1997: 33.

**Colette, Gabrielle Sidonie**

*Écumes.* Colette. Presented by Marie-Françoise Berthu-Courtivron. St. Sauveur en Puisaye: Rennes UP/Société des Amis de Colette, coll. "Cahiers Colette," 1996. 200 pp. F95.

Hitherto unpublished material (articles, radio interviews, thirty-two letters to Natalie Clifford Barney, friendly notes by authors and artists) and an updated bibliography should please many readers, while helping attract people who are puzzled by this outstanding but also out of the ordinary person.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 582 (Mar. 1997): 622.

**Cook, Peter**

*Peter Cook: A Biography.* Henry Thompson. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997. 516 pp. £17.99.

"Henry Thompson's book about Peter Cook is as heart-breaking as it is entertaining. . . . Thompson has written the definitive biography. . . .

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Together the many voices make a portrait of a man who was unusually kind, sometimes cruel, usually generous, sometimes selfish, possessed of political integrity and misogynist leanings."

Jessica Berens, *TLS*, Sept. 19, 1997: 36.

**Cox, Archibald**

*Archibald Cox: Conscience of a Nation.* Ken Gormley. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997. 585 pp. $30.00.

"But he has done far more than retell that dramatic story [of Watergate and the Saturday Night Massacre], and that is both the contribution and the fundamental problem of the book. He tells us who Archibald Cox was when he served as prosecutor—a traditional, rather private man of New England, a scholar who sometimes ventured into public affairs and excelled as Solicitor General in the Kennedy Administration. . . . [I]t is page 227 before Watergate is introduced."

Adam Clymer, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 41.

**Daniel, Ruby**

*Ruby of Cochin: An Indian Jewish Woman Remembers.* Ruby Daniel and Barbara C. Johnson. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995. 211 pp. $29.95.

"*Ruby of Cochin* presents a recollection of the life experiences of Ruby Daniel, a Jewish woman born and raised in the southern Indian state of Kerala. . . . This book is particularly engaging because, as an autobiographical narrative, Ruby's depictions of her world and the stories about her family and people she grew up with are extremely well told, very accessible, and have an almost childlike intimacy and frankness. . . . As Ruby herself said, it 'is a Cochin cake full of secret goodies,' and it is a great contribution to the literature on the diverse lives of Jewish women and the religious communities of Kerala."

M. J. Gentes, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56.3 (Aug. 1997): 811–12.

**Dashkova, Ekaterina, Princess**

*The Memoirs of Princess Dashkova: Russia in the Time of Catherine the Great.* Trans. and ed. Kyril Fitzlyon. Durham: Duke UP, 1995. 334 pp. $18.95.

"Bringing together the best of recent scholarship about understandings of gender and femininity in the Russian and cross-cultural context, [the introduction by Jehane Gheith] is a significant addition to the general literature about women and their autobiography; it greatly enhaces this edition of Dashkova's memoirs."

Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, *Women's Review of Books* 15.2 (Nov. 1997): 20–21.

**De Gaulle, Charles**

*C'etait de Gaulle.* Tome 2. Alain Peyrefitte. Paris: De Fallois/Fayard, 1997. 654 pp. F150.

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Among the General's many sharp or prophetic formulas was this from 1965, on the Vietnam War—If the Americans don't decide to withdraw spontaneously, the war will last ten years. It will end in shame, and be an indelible stain on America's brow—and this also from 1965, on the suggestion that he should dissolve the Assembly—That's the last thing I'd do. First, nobody would understand. Second, it's not certain we would win the election. And if we lost it, what man should I be if I clung to power when the people disavow me?

Gérard Courtois, *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 31, 1997: 7.

**Dickens, Charles**

*Charles Dickens: A Literary Life*. Grahame Smith. London: Macmillan, 1993. 190 pp. £9.99.

Replacing Dickens in his historical context, putting the emphasis on his readings (not so few as was too long believed), showing the capital role of his journalistic experience, and the relationship between essay, report, stage, and serial, all this in a few pages, is a feat that entailed the disposal of the minutiae and useless gossip of the huge traditional biography. More questionable is the constant reference to Ackroyd's book, not the surest source of information.

Anny Sadrin, *Études Anglaises* 50.3 (July-Sept. 1997): 367–8.

**Dorgères, Henry**

*French Peasant Fascism: Henry Dorgères's Greenshirts and the Crises of French Agriculture, 1929–1939*. Robert O. Paxton. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 244 pp. $19.95.

"In 'French Peasant Fascism,' Robert O. Paxton remedies this [lack of attention] with his account of Henry Dorgères, who, through agitation, publications, and public meetings, gave peasants an opportunity to express their discontent. French official archives are notoriously difficult to negotiate, but Paxton, well known for his studies of Vichy France, has found helpful archivists here and there, located usable documents and even responsive survivors, and put them to admirable use."

Eugen Weber, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 16.

**Earhart, Amelia**

*East to the Dawn: The Life of Amelia Earhart*. Susan Butler. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997. 488 pp. $27.50.

"Butler presents us with a fully realized portrait of a truly remarkable woman. . . . [But] Butler's painstaking work cries out for . . . a working, caring editor to massage the text, remove redundancies, and provide a fresh eye. Too frequently the research drives the story and not the other way around."

Cari Beauchamp, *LATBR*, Nov. 30, 1997: 9.

"Butler—whose mother was a pilot, who grew up revering the name Earhart and who in the course of the 10 years she devoted to the book

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started wearing brown clothes 'because Amelia did'—depicts Earhart as a woman of courage, judgment and integrity who, by proving herself 'easily the greatest female pilot of her time,' encouraged other women to take risks and break free. . . . Such veneration is easy to understand, but it diminishes Earhart's humanity, making her far less interesting than she was."

Emily Wortis Leider, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 21.

**Earp, Wyatt**

*Wyatt Earp: The Life Behind the Legend*. Casey Tefertiller. New York: Wiley, 1997. 403 pp. $30.00.

"Tefertiller has written the first book that documents why Wyatt Earp has been constantly resurrected and reinterpreted in the popular media by succeeding generations."

Allen Barra, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 72.

**Einstein, Albert**

*Albert Einstein: A Biography*. Albrecht Fölsing. Trans. from the 1993 German edition by Ewald Osers. New York: Viking, 1997. 882 pp. $34.95.

*Einstein: A Life*. Denis Brian. New York: Wiley, 1996. 509 pp. $19.95.

" . . . both authors make extensive use of the materials now available in the Einstein Archive, though Fölsing does so to better advantage, and each author contributes some new information based on original research and the identification of new sources. . . . In the end, neither can be judged a significant contribution to the literature on Einstein or can be recommended unreservedly. . . . Ewald Osers has produced an admirably fluid and colloquial translation of most of the [Fölsing] text, excepting, surprisingly, the scientific material, where one finds an embarrassing number of errors. . . . When one turns to the biography by Denis Brian, one can only ask whether Wiley, a reputable science publisher, had any reason for publishing this book other than a desire to jump on the Einstein biography bandwagon."

Don Howard, *Science* 278, No. 5341 (Nov. 14, 1997): 1241–2.

**Elizabeth II**

*The Royals*. Kitty Kelley. New York: Warner, 1997. 547 pp. $27.00.

"As with Bill Clinton facing the dilemma that race relations pose in America, Tony Blair's strategy for the monarchy is to mend it, not end it. Kitty Kelley may have done him and Britain's antiquated and quasi-feudal system a favor by explaining in such approachably democratic terms why the monarchy needs to change but also why it may still be politically useful to people so deeply imprinted by its presence."

Andrew Sullivan, *NYTBR*, Oct. 5, 1997: 7–9.

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*AND The Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth II.* Ben Pimlott. New York: Wiley, 1997. 651 pp. $30.00.

"One of the many merits of Ben Pimlott's superbly judicious biography of Elizabeth II is that it understands . . . [the] connection between monarchy and masses, and carefully evokes its political importance. This book is mercifully free from crude republicanism, but it also has a wry awareness of the paradox of a populist monarchy being at the center of a constitutional monarchy. . . .

The only merit of Kitty Kelley's tawdry recitation of royal dirt is that she is alert to this fact [that the monarchy like Britain as a whole suffers from class]. The Windsors are creatures of their class; they speak funny, have an unnatural interest in horses and mix with people who are even stranger than they are. But Kelley, also the biographer of Frank Sinatra and Nancy Reagan (among others) is here hopelessly out of her depth on the subject. She doesn't get the nuances."

Martin Walker, *WP*, Oct. 6, 1997: 33.

**Ellison, Lawrence J.**

*The Difference Between God and Larry Ellison: Inside Oracle Corporation.* Mike Wilson. New York: William Morrow, 1997. 385 pp. $25.00.

"One of [Steve] Jobs's closest friends is the new Apple board member Lawrence J. Ellison, a brash, self-absorbed, self-made multibillionaire. The tale of Oracle, the company Ellison co-founded in 1977, is a less familiar chapter in the Silicon Valley story. Mike Wilson, a reporter for the St. Petersburg Times, has rectified that. In 'The Difference Between God and Larry Ellison,' he deftly interlaces Ellison's personal story with the story of Oracle's ascent to a $30 billion giant."

Katie Hafner, *NYTBR*, Nov. 9, 1997: 17.

**Fargue, Léon-Paul**

*Léon-Paul Fargue: Poète et piéton de Paris.* Jean-Paul Goujon. Paris: Gallimard, coll. NRF biographies, 1997. 314 pp. F145.

Fargue worked hard to conceal his life. He meticulously developed a "failure complex" or "fiasco culture," which pursued him beyond death: he has not had a high posthumous glory, he remains on the fringes. This may be due to the fact that not only was the subject of his poetry by essence hidden, namely "that which in us knows more than we do," but it was also masked by a taste for enormous, Rabelaisian (and Joycean) jokes. A remarkable book, an amazing erudition.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 583 (Apr. 1997): 925.

**Fassbinder, Rainer Werner**

*Fassbinder's Germany: History, Identity, Subject.* Thomas Elsaesser. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996. 396 pp. $24.95.

". . . with all the rich material at hand, Elsaesser often promises more than he delivers, failing to shed much light on the shadowy lives of

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Fassbinder's characters or reflect any sense of passions that drove the man."

Tom Hilchey, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 41.

**Foster, Jodie**

*Foster Child: An Intimate Biography of Jodie Foster*. Buddy Foster, with Leon Wagener. New York: Dutton, 1997. $24.95.

Better than a lot of star biographies, this one, however, leaves the reader with the sense that "the author—a child star with a brief but respectable career of his own—has never quite forgiven his sister for edging him out of the Coppertone commercial and feels he should be writing an account of his own life (which, quite frequently, he is)."

Nick Roddick, *Sight and Sound* Nov. 1997: 32.

**Foucauld, Charles de**

*Foucauld au désert*. Maurice Serpette. Pref. Théodore Monod; Postface Jean-François Six. Paris: Desclée de Brower, 1997. 268 pp. F150.

Serpette is not Foucauld's first biographer, far from it; nor is he the first to mention Foucauld's scientific work in Tamanrasset. But he is the first to give this work its full due (especially the working out of several dictionaries of Tuareg-French), and to integrate it in a general view of Foucauld's life in the Sahara. Therein lies the originality of the book.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 582 (Mar. 1997): 624–5.

**Franco, Francisco**

*Franco*. Andrée Bachoud. Paris: Fayard, 1997. 528 pp. F160.

After Preston (*Franco*, 1993) and Bennassar (*Franco*, 1995), Prof. Bachoud (Univ. Paris VII) presents her vision of the success of a lackluster personality. It seems Bachoud believes Franco was a mediocre man, not a man pretending to be mediocre, but it only seems (that is the price to pay for overqualifying one's judgments). On the other hand, the atrocities and more generally the negative aspects of the regime are somewhat overlooked.

Joseph Pérez, *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 31, 1997: 10.

**Franklin, Benjamin**

*Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies*. Robert Middlekauff. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996. 255 pp. $22.00.

"This study is written in an entertaining fashion, contains some masterful characterizations, is illustrated with portraits, and also contains scholarly apparatus. However, the author's omission of a major study detracts from the work's scholarly utility."

Benjamin H. Newcomb, *The Historian* 60.1 (Fall 1997): 134–5.

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Fuller, Loie

*Loie Fuller: Goddess of Light.* Marcia Ewing Current and Richard Nelson Current. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1997. 389 pp. $29.95.

"What is apparent in the Currents' biography are their straightforward intentions and commitment to the documents, which shows in their prose and assiduous footnotes. They have accomplished essential historical work by tracing the events of Fuller's life, straightening out what happened when and where, and illuminating the path of her career. But what is lacking in the documents—and in their book—are the emotional insights and personal passions that form the heartbeat of a life, the contextual swirl of the theatre and dance activities that formed the genesis, then environment, of Fuller's artistic innovations."

Sally Sommer, *Women's Review of Books* 15.2 (Nov. 1997): 18–9.

Garbo, Greta

*Greta Garbo: A Life Apart.* Karen Swenson. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner, 1997. 639 pp. $32.50.

"Garbo, who left the world of film in 1941 at the age of 36 after the weak 'Two-Faced Woman,' knew when to quit. Too bad her biographer didn't."

Andrea Higbie, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 62.

Geronimo

*Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place.* Angie Debo. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1997. 500 pp. $19.95.

"Angie Debo takes us through Geronimo's life with the same discriminating judgement about sources that had distinguished her earlier work on the Chocktaws and the Creeks. She has become a better narrative historian than she was when she was working on the Five Tribes, but the real singularity of the *Geronimo* is that she manages—while remaining faithful to the history—to tell much of this celebrated story from the Apache, rather than the white, point of view. Almost all of the movies and most of the books about Geronimo are really about what the white soldiers who were chasing him felt and did. They were about whites trying to subdue an unsubdued and entirely unrepentant native leader. Angie Debo's *Geronimo* is about the native leader himself, a man who eluded capture as long as he did because of his mastery of one of the most unforgiving landscapes in America; also, insofar as the historian can discern it, it is about what he felt as he saw his people's way of life ending; and the exceptionally determined fight he put up to delay this ending as long as possible. Angie Debo was not Apache, but she had learned, in her long life, how to listen to Indians. She did her best to grasp the mindset of the desert Apache, and the result is a book that takes us as close as we will ever get to the period and the man."

Larry McMurtry, *NYRB*, Oct. 23, 1997: 14.

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**Gordon Woodhouse, Violet**

*Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse.* Jessica Douglas-Home. New York: Harville/Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 342 pp. $28.00.

"We suffer still, I think, from the reigning idea that family happiness implies a certain lack of imagination. To this notion the life of Violet Gordon Woodhouse, told for the first time at length in 'Violet,' a biography by her grandniece Jessica Douglas-Home, offers a useful, if deeply quirky, corrective. Violet, who was officially known as Mrs. Gordon Woodhouse, lived with four 'husbands' (only one of whom was her legal spouse, though the others unquestionably regarded themselves as married to Violet) in a household that was, oddly enough, at heart a happy one."

Angeline Goreau, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 5.

**Gould, Glenn**

*Glenn Gould: The Ecstasy and Tragedy of Genius.* Peter F. Ostwald. New York: Norton, 1997. 368 pp. $29.95.

"Ostwald's account of Gould's life introduces many new elements to the picture. It incorporates firsthand reminiscences from family, friends and colleagues, as well as documentary information not previously unearthed. It also offers a number of telling insights into Gould's psychological makeup that help us understand the artist as well as the man."

Ted Libbey, *WP*, Sept. 29, 1997: 34.

**Grenfell, Joyce and Virginia Graham**

*Joyce and Ginnie: The Letters of Joyce Grenfell and Virginia Graham.* Ed. Janie Hampton. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1997. £20.

This correspondence, spanning fifty years, "is irresistible as a commentary on upper-class social life (the Royals were fans of Grenfell's), but sheds only incidental light on filmmaking and reviewing."

Ian Christie, *Sight and Sound* Nov. 1997: 32–3.

**Guevara, Che**

*Campañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara.* Jorge G. Castañeda. New York: Knopf, 1997. 456 pp. $30.00.

Castañeda "is alive to the appeal of Guevara's extraordinary qualities. . . . At the same time, he brilliantly documents his own chilly verdict on the harm done by a heroic will—and on the stupidity that corrupts it—when it substitutes itself for the reality it operates in. . . . [H]e is immune to the journalist's and researcher's temptation to use material because he has discovered it. . . . Castañeda's analysis is lucid and absorbing."

Richard Eder, *LATBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 2.

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*AND Guevara, Also Known As Che.* Paco Ignacio Taibo 2d. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 671 pp. $35.00.

"Of the two biographies, Castañeda's book, 'Campañero: The Life of Che Guevara,' translated by Marina Castañeda, is the more scholarly, analyzing Guevara and his legacy with a clarity and insight that have earned the author his place as one of Mexico's most distinguished political scientists. Yet, the guerrilla leader is also well rendered in Martin Michael Robert's translation of Taibo's far different narrative, 'Guevara, Also Known as Che,' which draws on Taibo's skills as a best-selling detective novelist to weave an informal and entertaining account of Guevara's eventful life."

Mark A. Uhlig, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 16–17.

"The new books, each by a great Mexican intellectual, reinforce Jon Lee Anderson's well-researched biography 'Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life,' published earlier this year. Together they constitute a literary feast about revolution in the 1960's. Unfortunately, none of Che's biographers has gained access to key sources: Ramiro Valdez, former interior minister and Che's closest friend; Fidel and his brother Raul Castro, minister of defense. They knew Che intimately from 1955 on, as guerrilla comrade, cabinet minister and, finally through radio communiqués to Bolivian mountains, as case officers to an operative in the field. The definitive work awaits their disclosures."

Saul Landua, *WP*, Nov. 3, 1997: 33–4.

**Hellman, Lillian.** See **Levin, Meyer.**

**Herriot, James**

*James Herriot: The Life of a Country Vet.* Graham Lord. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1997. 384 pp. $23.00.

"James Herriot emerges in this well-researched book as James Alfred (Alf) Wight, a child of the Glasgow slum who discovered that he liked animals and the countryside, then arranged his life so that he could have both."

Milton Garrison, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 16.

**Hitler, Adolf**

*The Hitler of History.* John Lukacs. New York: Knopf, 1997. 279 pp. $26.00.

"... as a well-known author of numerous works on modern history who has himself been pondering for a long time the problems that Hitler's life poses to us to this day, Lukacs does not want to leave it to others to analyze and psychoanalyze Hitler. He weaves his own views into his 'history of history,' interlacing them with sometimes heavy pedagogical explications on the nature and pitfalls of historical writing."

V. R. Berghan, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 26.

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**Hogarth, William**

*Hogarth: A Life and a World.* Jenny Uglow. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 794 pp. $45.00.

"[Hogarth] despised connoisseurs who only had eyes for pictures smoked by time, and he felt that too much energy was spent in heaping praise on the dead. Still, he might not have objected to Jenny Uglow's gentle, humane, and intelligent biography—an admirable attempt to see the artist in something like his entirety."

Andrew Graham-Dixon, *The New Yorker*, Dec. 15, 1997: 142–51.

"This extravagantly detailed biography by Jenny Uglow is less a book of art history than a history of Hogarth's milieu."

Michael Kimmelman, *NYTBR*, Nov. 30, 1997: 7.

AND *Hogarth and His Times.* David Bindman. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 208 pp. $29.95.

"Although there is much that is right about Bindman's argument that Hogarth blindly accepted the status quo . . . the argument is incomplete. . . . Uglow's Hogarth is the very opposite of Bindman's. He is subversive even when painting 'conversation pieces' for his patrons. . . . Despite occasional errors . . . Uglow's study, which lies somewhere between scholarly and popular biography, presents Hogarth as a living personality . . . with a combination of excellent psychological insight, a thorough presentation of the world in which Hogarth moved, and some brilliant readings of Hogarth's prints and paintings."

Maximillian E. Novak, *LATBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 29.

**Hook, Sidney**

*Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist.* Christopher Phelps. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1997. 257 pp. $35.00.

"The purpose that mostly animates 'Young Sidney Hook' is to show that the career of the older Sidney—the anti-Communist bruiser for the Congress of Cultural Freedom—was thoroughly deplorable."

Alan Ryan, *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 1997: 27.

**Hugo, Victor**

*Victor Hugo.* Graham Robb. London: Picador, 1997. 682 pp. £20.

"Ebullient, exuberant . . . as eloquent as his subject and sometimes as grandiloquent, Robb combines the volume of Hugo with a rapid aphoristic style that makes for easy, sometimes breathless, reading."

Eugen Weber, *TLS*, Oct. 31, 1997: 27–8.

**Huxley, Thomas Henry**

*Huxley: From Devil's Disciple to Evolution's High Priest.* Adrian Desmond. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997. 820 pp. $37.50.

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"This extraordinary biography of perhaps the single most contentious man in history argues that Huxley's impromptu rampages and shrewd pitched battles resulted in victories so complete that when the dust settled, they formed our common sense."

James R. Kinkaid, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 14–15.

"In this authoritative biography, Adrian Desmond provides a balanced and comprehensive account of Huxley's achievement, along with an illuminating explanation of his Victorian eminence and the subsequent decline of his reputation."

Harriet Ritvo, *Science* 278, No. 5339 (Oct. 31, 1997): 814–15.

John Paul II

*Man of the Century: The Life and Times of John Paul II*. Jonathan Kwitny. New York: Holt, 1997. 745 pp. $30.00.

"Kwitny demonstrates that John Paul's ideas on sexuality were deeply shaped by the advice of his Polish friend Doctor Wanda Poltawska, who believes (among other things) that 'the use of contraception leads to neurosis.' When Dr. Poltawska contracted cancer, John Paul asked Padre Pio, the Italian stigmatic, to pray for her and she was miraculously cured. . . . Kwitny also gives a full account of the Pope's Marian piety. John Paul's Episcopal motto is *Totus Tuus* (All Yours), where the *Tu* in *Tuus* is Mary, not Jesus. He has made a point of visiting every Marian shrine. His personal devotion to Our Lady of Fatima, who saved his life from an assassin, is understandable. Kwitny might have asked what connection the ideal of Mary's virginity, absorbed in his youth at the shrine of Częstochowa, has with John Paul's adamant refusal to admit the possibility of a married clergy or women priests, or with his refusal to release those who leave the priesthood from the vow of celibacy."

Garry Wills, *NYRB*, Feb. 19, 1998: 20.

"[Kwitny] shows courage in taking on an agenda extensive enough to scare off bona fide polymaths: science and technology, politics, economics, sex, existentialism, Thomism, liberation theology, economic injustice, the rise of nationalism, postcolonialism, church history, and at the center of it all, the collapse of Communism. He confronts it, however, with a kind of colossal, acromegalic megajournalism that can make more seem less. There are so many sources, so many citations—and very little help offered to separate the wheat from the chaff."

Michael T. Kaufman, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 11.

"'Man of the Century' is often rich in anecdotal detail, but its frequent inaccuracy and occasional meanness make it untrustworthy. Caveat emptor."

Andrew Greeley, *WP*, Oct. 13, 1997: 33.

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**Johnson, Lyndon**

*Mutual Contempt: Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy and the Feud that Shaped a Decade*. Jeff Shesol. New York: Norton, 1997. 591 pp. $32.50.

"The central argument of this thorough, provocative book is that the rivalry between Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy had effects on American life that ran deeper than what it did to the two men. Their story, Jeff Shesol writes, 'unfolds like a Greek tragedy played out on the nation's center stage,' and was, 'the defining relationship of their political lives.' More than that, it altered almost everything it touched."

Jonathan Yardley, *WP*, Oct. 27, 1997: 34.

*Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964*. Edited and with commentary by Michael Bechloss. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 591 pp. $30.00.

"There are no stunning revelations and no recorded moments of epochal importance. But 'Taking Charge' is a riveting book nevertheless. This is partly because it has been superbly edited and annotated by the historian Michael R. Bechloss, who has made everything accessible to ordinary readers. But it is also because the book gives us an incomparable picture of the character and style of one of the most remarkable personalities ever to inhabit the presidency."

Alan Brinkley, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 13.

**Jung, Carl Gustav**

*Carl Gustav Jung: A Biography*. Frank McLynn. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 624 pp. $29.95.

*The Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung*. Richard Noll. New York: Random House, 1997. 336 pp. $25.95.

"Frank McLynn has written an admirably honest book that is both lively and objective and deserves a wide readership. Although he considers Jung a genius and admires his 'vast erudition' . . . he also indicts Jung as unkind, cowardly, and opportunistic, and provides evidence to support his accusations. . . . Noll brings no new documents to bear on the vexing and essential question of whether Jung was anti-Semitic. . . . Nor does Noll ever seriously raise the issue of Jung's racism or his misogyny."

Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, *LATBR*, Oct. 12, 1997: 12–13.

**Keats, John**

*Keats*. Andrew Motion. London: Faber, 1997. 612 pp. £25.

"Andrew Motion's new biography sets out to show Keats striving to combine a political purpose with a poetic ambition, a social search with an aesthetic ideal. . . . The tasks Motion sets himself are huge. . . . Though one can gauge the scale of its attempt, one ends up, paradoxically, wishing it had attempted more."

Oliver Reynolds, *TLS*, Oct. 24, 1997: 3–4.

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Kennedy, John

*The Dark Side of Camelot*. Seymour Hersh. Boston: Little, Brown, 1997. 498 pp. $26.95.

"Hersh will have none of it. Whatever Kennedy did was wrong or had a sneaky motive."

Thomas Power, *NYTBR*, Nov. 30, 1997: 13–15.

*The Kennedy Tapes: Inside The White House During The Cuban Missile Crisis*. Edited by Ernest R. May and Phillip D. Zelikow. Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard UP, 1997. 728 pp. $35.00.

"As with any good book about a great event, this one has a little of everything—suspense, humor, pathos, even darkness-before-the-dawn melodrama. But what one is most likely to take away from it is the image of a Lincolnesque Kennedy, lonely, melancholy, grimly persevering. . . . [G]iven how events did turn out, the aptly titled 'Kennedy Tapes' stands as a lasting testament to one man's judgment and character."

Barry Gewen, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 12–13.

"For those who want their history straight, who enjoy reading the words of government officials from the president on down as they attempted to deal with a serious international crisis—not filtered through print reporters, television anchormen or cloistered historians—this is a book to treasure."

Walter Pincus, *WP*, Oct. 20, 1997: 27.

Kennedy, Robert. See **Johnson, Lyndon**.

Kinsey, Alfred C.

*Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life*. James H. Jones. New York: Norton, 1997. 937 pp. $39.95.

"Jones's biography, which was researched across a quarter of a century, improves as it goes along. His final assessment of his subject is positive. ...I wish that Jones had reconsidered his earlier attacks on Kinsey's scientific integrity in light of this more mature balanced view."

Richard Rhodes, *NYTBR*, Nov. 3, 1997: 10–11.

Jones' "long book attempts to provide an account of Kinsey's life and professional achievement. He claims to have spent more than twenty-five years researching and writing it. . . . As a biographical study, Jones' book seems to me to be a mean-spirited failure. As a treatment of the more important issues raised by Kinsey's work, it also has serious drawbacks. . . . Although it is difficult to give the reader a sense of Jones' superior tone of distaste and unsupported innuendo, his careless use of sources should be noted."

Kenneth Lewes, *Science* 278, No. 5346 (Dec. 19, 1997): 2068–9.

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**Korolev, Sergey Pavlovich**

*Korolev: How One Man Masterminded the Soviet Drive to Beat America to the Moon.* James Hartford. New York: Wiley, 1997. 392 pp. $30.00.

"Young Korolev was a scientist, a dreamer . . . but in the 1930s he was arrested (on specious charges of spying), tortured and exiled to a gulag in the far north. That he survived . . . is nothing short of a miracle. . . . This extraordinary Russian 'engineer of action' was one of a very small handful of individuals who were instrumental in shaping the twentieth-century's leap into space. . . . His life was a never-ending battle to defend his vision against a mountain of technological, political and social difficulties. The Communist leaders insisted that a manned spaceship was too dangerous, fearing the loss of a Soviet cosmonaut in space. Korolev managed to overcome all objections."

Aleksander Gurshtein, *American Scientist* 86.1 (Jan.-Feb. 1998): 84–5.

**Kubrick, Stanley**

*Stanley Kubrick: A Biography.* John Baxter. London: HarperCollins, 1997. 384 pp. £20.

"The cool, dispassionate Baxter puts another biographical feather in his cap, supplementing his fine biogs of Buñuel, von Sternberg and Spielberg. . . . This will offer an authoritative substitute for all those loony websites about the director."

Peter Matthews, *Sight and Sound* Nov. 1997: 33.

**Lee, Lia**

*The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures.* Anne Fadiman. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 339 pp. $24.00.

"Human nature, along with a bit of ethnological knowledge . . . allows the reader to appreciate stories like the one told in this sad excellent book."

Melvin Konner, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 28–29.

**Lessing, Doris**

*Walking in the Shade.* Vol. 2 of *My Autobiography: 1949 to 1962.* Doris Lessing. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 406 pp. $27.50.

"The greatest surprise . . . may be how Lessing's view of herself will, in all likelihood, contradict that of her readers'. . . . It's a bit of a shock to hear Lessing, who so courageously turned her back on the conventions and privileges of her class, her country, her family and her race, repeatedly assail herself for what she regards as her sheep-like passivity, her refusal of personal agency, her craven obedience."

Susie Linfield, *LATBR*, Oct. 12, 1997: 3.

"[U]nlike her authorial persona, the 'real' Lessing—if that is who we meet in her autobiography—seems determined to be facile and superficial when she is not expounding opinions that are cranky,

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narrow-minded and reactionary. . . . I belong to a generation of woman scholars—feminist scholars—who devoted our professional lives to studying and writing about Doris Lessing because she wrote intelligently about what it was like to be a woman. How can I preserve 'my' Doris Lessing, the author of books that inspired me and many other women to regard ourselves as thinking, feeling, political, sensual subjects, not just objects of men's desires and fantasies, from being modified—tainted—by the ungenerous (worse, unintelligent) griping of the querulous woman who is writing this autobiography?"

Ellen Cronan Rose, *Women's Review of Books* 15.2 (Nov. 1997) 5–6.

**Levin, Meyer**

*The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellman, and the Staging of the* Diary. Ralph Melnick. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997. 268 pp. $27.50.

"[This book] revisits the question of whether a theatrical and political cabal supplanted Levin's vision of the diary. Ralph Melnick loses no time in stating that he is a Levin partisan. He insists as well that he has proved conclusively—through a careful examination of newly released paper—that Levin was a pawn in an elaborate scheme, masterminded by Hellman, to control Anne Frank's legacy."

Robert Peters, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 44.

**Mahomed, Dean**

*The First Indian Author in English: Dean Mahomed (1759-1851) in India, Ireland, and England*. Michael H. Fisher. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1996. 368 pp. $27.00.

"Dean Mahomed was born in Patna in 1759; his family were respectable gentry who had fallen on hard times. At the age of ten, Dean Mahomed attached himself as a personal servant to an Anglo-Irish ensign, Godfrey Baker. It was through Baker's patronage that Mahomed went from servant to commissioned rank as a subedar. . . . in 1794 [he] published *Travels of Dean Mahomed*, a narrative of his years with the Bengal army. . . . As Fisher suggests, Mahomed's omissions, inventions, and reinventions can partly be understood as tactical choices that were designed to allow him to move about in societies where racial, gender, class, and religious boundaries were being renegotiated. . . . I would recommend his book without hesitation to anyone interested in cross-cultural contacts or in the application of colonial rule in eighteenth century India."

Douglas M. Peers, *Journal of Asian Studies* 56.3 (Aug. 1997): 814–15.

**McHarg, Ian L.**

*A Quest for Life: An Autobiography*. Ian L. McHarg. New York: Wiley, 1996. $34.95.

"Author of the classic book *Design with Nature* (1969), McHarg is widely recognized as the father of ecological planning and has advised

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environmental planners and governmental officials for four decades. . . . McHarg describes in detail his 'layer-cake' method that has led ultimately to the development of environmental impact statements, as well as geographic information systems. . . . The book offers fascinating insight into the mind and life of a living legend, and I highly recommend it."

David R. Butler, *American Scientist* 86.1 (Jan.-Feb. 1998): 97–8.

**McLuhan, Marshall**

*Marshall McLuhan, Escape into Understanding: A Biography*. W. Terrence Gordon. New York: Basic, 1997. 465 pp. $35.00.

" . . . W. Terrence Gordon's authorized biography . . . is not only a detailed life but an attempt to do justice to McLuhan's ideas. Gordon, who teaches a variety of subjects (linguistics, translating and the role of radio in World War II, as well as McLuhan) at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, is a disciple who is clearly out to jumpstart the Sage's now-cold reputation."

Mark Edmundson, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 38.

**Moore, Marianne**

*The Selected Letters of Marianne Moore*. Bonnie Costello, general editor. Celeste Goodridge and Critanne Miller, associate editors. New York: Knopf, 1997. 597 pp. $35.00.

"The editors of 'The Selected Letters of Marianne Moore' have done nobly in choosing this small but extraordinary sampling from the poet's 30,000 surviving letters. . . . I read them with gratitude and hope for more to come."

Grace Schulman, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 68.

**Morse, Jedediah**

*The Life of Jedediah Morse: A Station of Peculiar Exposure*. Richard J. Moss. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1995. 175 pp. $28.00.

"Readers who are suspicious of the republican-liberal interpretive dichotomy, or those who are doubtful about such psychological history, may be put off by the approach. But while sharing such anxieties, this reader thinks that the book was worth the effort, even while remaining incompletely persuaded by its arguments."

Thomas Templeton Taylor, *The Historian* 60.1 (Fall 1997): 135–6.

**Nixon, Richard**

*Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes*. Ed. Stanley I. Kutler. New York: The Free Press, 1997. 675 pp. $30.00.

"These new transcripts make abundantly clear that Watergate indeed sprang from the bitter soil of Nixon's vindictiveness, the long-standing grudges and festering slights and wounds going back decades."

Joseph Finder, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 13–14.

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**Nodier, Charles**

*Correspondance de jeunesse*. Tome 1: *1793-1809*. Tome 2: *1810-1813*. Ed. Jacques-Remi Dahan. Geneva: Droz, 1995.

"As Dahan argues in his well-judged introduction, the letters provide a revealing perspective on French life in the post-Revolutionary and Napoleonic period. At the same time a future biographer will be granted new insights into many aspects of the early Nodier."

Roger Pearson, *French Studies* 51.2 (Apr. 1997): 330–1.

**Olson, Sigurd**

*A Wilderness Within: The Life of Sigurd F. Olson*. David Backes. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1997. 387 pp. $24.95.

"David Backes's skillful biography, 'A Wilderness Within,' explores in depth both the public activities of Olson's productive conservation and preservation career and the torments that dogged him throughout his life."

Bill Sharp, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 41.

**Orleans, Philippe, Duc D'**

*Philippe, Duc d'Orleans: Regent of France*. Christine Pevitt. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1997. 366 pp. $30.00.

"Philippe was a complex character who has long needed a serious biography in English. He has found an outstanding, sensitive British author in Christine Pevitt, a former book editor who has marshaled her material well and presents a most agreeably readable slice of history."

Alistair Horne, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 21.

**Petty, George**

*Petty: The Classic Pin-up Art of George Petty*. Reid Stewart Austin. New York: Grammercy Park, 1997. 192 pp. $19.95.

"'Petty: The Classic Pin-up Art of George Petty' not only is the first biography of the artist, it is also a portfolio of much of his artistic output, a treasure-trove of his streamlined, long-legged, airbrushed beauties. Reid Stewart Austin previously wrote a two-fisted biography of Alberto Varga, a worthy follower of Petty as a pinup illustrator. But for this feast of a book, he had some special help: Petty's daughter, Marjorie, who had posed for her dad as he puffed away on his pipe, airbrush in hand; his wife, Jule, who often came up with ideas for the Petty Girl's antics and wrote some of the cartoon blurbs; and his son, George, who posed as a male British type when the statuesque stunners required an escort. The Petty Girl, we're delighted to discover, was a family affair."

George Lois, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 8.

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**Picasso, Pablo**

*A Day with Picasso: Twenty-four photographs by Jean Cocteau.* Billy Klüver. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997. 99 pp. $25.00.

"This very amusing and almost wildly ingenious little book is the true story in pictures of what happened to a group of friends in Paris during a four-hour period on Saturday, Aug. 12, 1916, when World War I was almost two years in progress. . . . The company included the painters Picasso, Modigliani and Moise Kissling. With them we see Max Jacob, a poet and lifelong friend of Picasso's; André Salmon, a poet and art critic; and Henri-Pierre Roché, a familiar figure in the art world, who was also the author, late in life, of the novel 'Jules et Jim,' which was made into a memorable movie by François Truffaut."

Rosemond Bernier, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 5.

**Pickford, Mary**

*Pickford: The Woman Who Made Hollywood.* Eileen Whitfield. Louisville: UP of Kentucky, 1997. 410 pp. $25.00.

"In 'Pickford: The Woman Who Made Hollywood,' Eileen Whitfield, who works at Toronto Life magazine, expertly details the life and career of a woman rechristened Mary Pickford by the impresario David Belasco, as she gained fame for her nearly 200 films."

Andrea Higbie, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 41.

**Pieresc-Aleandro**

*Correspondance.* Vol. 1: *1616-1618*. Vol. 2: *1619-1620*. Ed. Jean-François Lhote and Danielle Joyal. Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1995. F300 each.

These two volumes are a complement to *Lettres Cassiano dal Pozzo, 1626-1637*, and "touch upon a wide range of contemporary events, ideas and preoccupations, allusions to which are elucidated in the ample notes accompanying the text."

D. J. Culpin, *French Studies* 51.3 (July 1997): 313–14.

**Ponselle, Rosa**

*Rosa Ponselle: A Centenary Biography.* James A. Drake. Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1997. 494 pp. $39.95.

*Rosa Ponselle: American Diva.* Mary Jane Phillips-Matz. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1997. 357 pp. $29.95.

"Ponselle spent her last few years collaborating with Drake on 'Ponselle: A Singer's Life' (1982), a memoir notable mainly for its evasiveness. Drake's new book consists in large part of verbatim transcripts in interviews with the singer, her colleagues and her family, and it is a vast improvement. When it came to singers and singing, Ponselle was both astute and frank to the point of saltiness and readers who already know something about her life and work will find 'Rosa Ponselle: A Centenary Biography' extremely interesting. But it is not

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a biography in the usual sense of the word—it reads more like an oral history—and certain parts of Ponselle's life, particularly her younger years, are dealt with summarily. . . . Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, by contrast, lays out the facts in the customary womb-to-tomb manner, but errs on the side of hagiography. Scarcely any mention is made of Ponselle's high-note problem, and her penchant for transposing is not discussed at all, leading one to wonder whether Phillips-Matz is aware that Ponselle was dodging high C's throughout the latter part of her career. Worse yet, the shrewd, tough-talking woman who comes through so vividly in the pages of Drake's book is nowhere to be found in 'Rosa Ponselle: American Diva.'"

Terry Teachout, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 98.

Quinet, Edgar

*Lettres à sa mère*. Vol. 1: *1808-1820*. Edgar Quinet. Texts collected, arranged, and annotated by Simone Bernard-Griffiths and Gérard Peylet. Ed. Simone Bernard-Griffiths. Paris: Honoré Champion, coll. "Textes de littérature moderne et contemporaine" 4, 1995. 246 pp. F215.

The volume covers the years 1808-1820, closing when Quinet was 17. The letters reveal a youth deeply enamored of his mother. They were first published by his wife after his death, in a "socially correct" version, Mrs. Quinet wishing the portrait of her great man (Professor at Collège de France, influential MP, and renowned writer) to be in keeping with his social status. One must be thankful for an integral publication, a needed contribution to our knowledge of Quinet.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 582 (Mar. 1997) 926–7.

Ramona, Gary

*Spectral Evidence, The Ramona Case: Incest, Memory and Truth on Trial in Napa Valley*. Moira Johnston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. 440 pp. $25.00.

"... 'Spectral Evidence' stands as a reminder of how much in life resists understanding—and as a caution against reaching too quickly for explanations that make only intuitive sense."

Vivian Dent, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 40.

"*Spectral Evidence* is a fascinating, frustrating, challenging and deeply disturbing work. . . . Brilliantly interweaving the scientific, the social and the personal, Johnston offers invaluable information about current research, the inside workings of the mental health system, the Ramona case's legal repercussions and future trends in the debate."

Carol LeMasters, *Women's Review of Books* 15.3 (Dec. 1997): 16–17.

"Some portions of 'Spectral Evidence' are overly long, some repetitive, but this is a must for anyone interested in how our memories can betray us."

Ann Rule, *WP*, Sept. 22, 1997: 34.

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**Rand, Ayn**

*Journals of Ayn Rand*. Ed. David Harriman. New York: Dutton, 1997. 727 pp. $39.95.

"If nothing else, 'Journals of Ayn Rand' will be useful to any writer who wants to know what it takes to be one of the best-selling authors of the century. . . . The journal's central lesson is that one should never underestimate the importance of pomposity."

David Brooks, *NYTBR*, Oct. 5, 1997: 38.

**Rasputin, Grigory**

*Rasputin: The Saint Who Sinned*. Brian Moynahan. New York: Random House, 1997. 400 pp. $30.00.

"What we are offered in this book is sensationalism. Drawn from well-known sources (some of them dubious) and little or no original material, it reads like a compilation of every snide whisper and innuendo circulating in St. Petersburg before the Revolution—plus a few not thought of even in those inflamed days."

Suzanne Massie, *NYTBR*, Nov. 30, 1997: 19.

**Reagan, Ronald**

*The City on a Hill: Fulfilling Ronald Reagan's Vision for America*. Michael Reagan with Jim Denney. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997. 274 pp. $19.95.

*Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader*. Dinesh D'Souza. New York: The Free Press, 1997. 292 pp. $25.00.

"Paternal love and nostalgia notwithstanding, clearly Ronald Reagan the father bore some responsibility for the nature of his relationship with his son, just as he bore some of the responsibility for the ballooning deficits of his Administration. But the authors will have none of it. The Teflon father and President they draw is as lacking in flesh and blood as the edifice bearing his name."

Richard L. Berke, *NYTBR*, Nov. 23, 1997: 11.

**Robinson, Jackie**

*Jackie Robinson: A Biography*. Arnold Rampersad. New York: Knopf, 1997. 512 pp. $27.50.

"Rampersad . . . has assembled a jumble of journalistic, archival and oral data into an elegantly rendered, meticulously documented narrative, a level-headed and sensitive chronicle of Robinson's life from his birth in a sharecropper's cabin, the grandson of a slave, in 1919 to his death 53 years later."

Michael Anderson, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 16–17.

**Rockefeller, Laurance S.**

*Laurance S. Rockefeller: Catalyst for Conservation*. Robin W. Winks. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1997. 259 pp. $25.00.

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"Winks's sympathetic portrait raises few criticisms. Notably lacking is a more thorough discussion of Rockefeller's missteps in the 1960's, when he enraged property owners by calling for an Adirondack National Park, and when he supported a ruinous hydroelectric pump storage project in the Hudson Valley. Such lapses, though, are outweighed by the book's pertinent conclusions. Not the least of these is celebrating the impact of wealth, ideas and personality focused on socially useful goals."

Keith Schnieder, *NYTBR*, Nov. 23, 1997: 26.

**Romanov, Michael and Natasha**

*Michael and Natasha: The Life and Love of Michael II, the Last of the Romanov Tsars.* Rosemary Crawford and Donald Crawford. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner, 1997. 448 pp. $30.00.

"The chirpy unanalytical voice of Rosemary Crawford, a former society columnist, seems to prevail in the early chapters, while the stern tone of her husband, Donald Crawford, a lawyer and publisher, takes over later on."

Harlow Robinson, *NYTBR*, Nov. 9, 1997: 37.

**Roussel, Raymond**

*Raymond Roussel.* François Caradec. Paris: Fayard, 1997. 456 pp. F160.

Roussel was a very secret man, and a biographer has to be content with written documents, official or social, press clippings, inscriptions, notarial deeds, contracts, administration letters. Roussel was also secret about his own writing. This double obfuscation makes any biography an unattainable challenge. From lack of an achievable narrative, Caradec produces archives with respect and meticulousness.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 583 (Apr. 1997): 923–4.

**Saint-Pierre, Catherine de**

*Lettres de Catherine de Saint-Pierre a son frère Bernardin.* Lieve Spaas. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996. 222 pp.

"Readable, sensitive, and knowledgeable, Lieve Spaas's consideration of Catherine de Saint-Pierre's letters to Bernardin makes fascinating reading.... With sympathy and understanding, she places Catherine de Saint-Pierre in her society and day, and she allows Catherine to speak for her brother, for herself, and for her age."

Alan H. Pasco, *L'Esprit Createur* 37 (1997): 94–5.

**Salter, James**

*Burning the Days: Recollection.* James Salter. New York:Random House. 365 pp. $24.00.

"James Salter turned to writing after years in one of the most exciting and exclusive of all adventurous professions. He was an Air Force fighter pilot, not unlike one of the stars Tom Wolfe wrote about so

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vividly in *The Right Stuff*, a fighter jock right at the top of the pyramid. He had flown with men who later became famous as astronauts, Grissom and Aldrin and White; he had shot down enemy planes over Korea, and, although Salter himself is a modest man and never spells it out, he seems to have been the lead pilot in the Air Force's aerobatics team. At the age of thirty-two, when he was still at the peak of his career, a lieutenant colonel with years to go before he would be shunted off to a desk job in Washington, he resigned his commission and settled down to write for a living. . . . Salter has written several impressive books, and *Burning the Days*, the one in which he tries to make sense of his life, is his best, more evocative and reflective that anything else he has written. It is his moonshot, though whether or not it makes up for not walking on the moon only he can say."

A. Alvarez, *NYRB*, Jan. 15, 1998: 37.

**Singer, Isaac Bashevis**

*Master Of Dreams: A Memoir of Isaac Bashevis Singer*. Dvorah Telushkin. New York: Morrow, 1997. 352 pp. $25.00.

"Telushkin's lovely prose evokes the atmosphere of a vanishing way of life while revealing how enmeshed she became in this relationship [with Singer]. 'Isaac,' she writes, 'was always light to me.'"

Andrea Cooper, *NYTBR*, Nov. 9, 1997: 23.

**Speer, Albert**

*The Good Nazi: The Life and Lies of Albert Speer*. Dan van der Vat. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. 406 pp. $30.00.

"Dan van der Vat, a Dutch-born British journalist, makes an effective case in 'The Good Nazi,' a well-written and skeptical account, that while the slippery Speer knew for years about the atrocities, he was able to pretend that he only 'suspected . . . that something appalling was happening' to Europe's Jews."

David Murray, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 62.

**Steichen, Edward**

*Steichen: A Biography*. Penelope Niven. New York: Clarkson Potter, 1997. 754 pp. $45.00.

*Real Fantasies: Edward Steichen's Advertising Photography*. Patricia Johnston. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 384 pp. $55.00.

Niven's and Johnston's "books dovetail seamlessly, providing a completely rounded view of Steichen the artist and journeyman. Niven provides an exhaustive, oftentimes excessively meticulous, yet ultimately reverent year-by-year account of his life. . . . Johnston . . . takes a different angle of vision . . . [and] zeros in on the most fascinating segments of Steichen's long career."

Neil Baldwin, *LATBR*, Dec. 28, 1997: 5.

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**Steinem, Gloria**

*Gloria Steinem: Her Passions, Politics, and Mystique.* Sydney Ladensohn Stern. New York: Birch Lane/Carol, 1997. 288 pp. $24.95.

"Based on interviews with Gloria Steinem and her friends, family and colleagues, as well as Steinem's writings, Sydney Ladensohn Stern's biography is sympathetic but critical about the woman who was once perhaps the foremost figure of American feminism."

Raye Snover, *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 1997: 23.

**Taylor, Frederick Winslow**

*The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency.* Robert Kanigel. Sloan Technology Series. New York: Viking, 1997. 676 pp. $34.95.

"Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856–1915) is best known, as his tombstone says, as the Father of Scientific Management. In this superb book, Robert Kanigel makes the case that Taylor was much more. . . . The idea that almost any undertaking—not just factory work—could be analyzed, broken down, systematized, organized, made more efficient and more productive, fell on increasingly fertile ground. . . . Frederick W. Taylor and his movement are not very lovable, or comforting, subjects. At once an utterly sincere martinet and an unscrupulous huckster, Taylor offered the world Faustian bargains. Kanigel's argument that we accepted them eagerly is yet another demonstration that self-knowledge is always bad news."

Glenn Porter, *Science* 278, No. 5338 (Oct. 24, 1997): 594–5.

**Tree, Marietta**

*No Regrets: The Life of Marietta Tree.* Caroline Seebohm. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 448 pp. $27.50.

Seebohm "has created a vivid, if somewhat breathless, portrait. . . . But *No Regrets* falls short of capturing the complex and textured life of this remarkable woman."

Selwa Roosevelt, *LATBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 3.

"The contradictions in her character are staggering, and the author, to her credit, let them stand. . . . Both of [Tree's] daughters—Frances Fitzgerald, now a distinguished journalist, and Penelope Tree, who rose to fame as a fashion model in the late 60's—cooperated with Seebohm on this book, and it is largely thanks to their candor that this portrayal is so subtle and persuasive."

Holly Brubach, *NYTBR*, Nov. 9, 1997: 7.

"Full of anecdote, this splendid book chronicles the charmed life of a woman who saw great events up close and held many men in her thrall."

Charlotte Hays, *WP*, Oct. 20, 1997: 37–8.

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**Voltaire, François Arouet de**

*De quelques idées*. Voltaire. Extracts collected and presented by Raphaël Roche. Bordeaux: L'Excampette, coll. "Voltaire en sa correspondance" 3, 1996. 146 pp. F99.

Readers who think a letter is a whole and that it is artificial to extract from it one or several sentences (thus endowed with a certain gnomic quality) will be irritated by this method of approaching Voltaire's work. Others, feeling unable to immerse themselves into the great man's immense correspondence, will trust the editor. Indeed, Roche makes a fairly good job of this perilous venture.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 582 (Mar. 1997): 625.

**Waterton, Charles**

*Charles Waterton: A Biography*. Brian W. Edginton. Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1997. 254 pp. £25.

"Brian W. Edginton is unsparingly frank about the failings of his predecessors; but he is justified in regarding his own version as the first properly thorough account. . . . [H]is impressively wide ranging research has extended even to the hitherto neglected matter of Waterton's ancestry."

David Allen, *TLS*, Nov. 7, 1997: 33.

**Washington, George**

*George Washington: A Life*. Willard Sterne Randall. New York: John Macrae/Holt, 1997. 548 pp. $35.00.

"Surely this is a book brought to birth before its time."

Benson Bobrick, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 61.

**Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of**

*Wellington: A Personal History*. Christopher Hibbert. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997. 460 pp. $30.00.

"The narrative pace is at once spanking and smooth. There are no inaccuracies to offend the historian, no solecisms to irritate the fastidious and no longueurs to weary the general reader. All the old anecdotes are there (which is right, for they, like the old songs, are mostly the best ones) although they are indulgently recalled and then austerely rejected as being apocryphal."

Roy Jenkins, *NYTBR*, Nov. 3, 1997: 30–31.

"By his own admission, Christopher Hibbert 'skates rather quickly over [Wellington's] generalship and his political entanglements.' This is unfortunate, as in the process the author strips a rather important dimension from his otherwise fluent, entertaining and well-crafted biography, an omission that makes it difficult fully to appreciate Wellington's talents as a general, to judge his shortcomings as a politician, and to evaluate his place in British history."

Douglas Porch, *WP*, Oct. 13, 1997: 32–3.

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*West, Mae*
*Becoming Mae West*. Emily Wortis Leider. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997. 431 pp. $30.00.

"Becoming Mae West belongs, then, to the genre of popular though respectable biography, and Leider's clear prose and engaged, even admiring relation to Mae West are a welcome relief from the tortured theoryspeak which characterizes some, though certainly not all, recent academic work on West, camp and genderbending."

Amy Villarejo, *Women's Review of Books* 15.3 (Dec. 1997): 25–6.

*Yeats, W. B.*
*W. B. Yeats: A Life* Vol. 1: *The Apprentice Mage*. R. F. Foster. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 640 pp. $35.00.

"Foster tells the story of Yeats's life from 1865 to 1914. He has chosen to end the first volume in 1914 because, I assume, it was the year in which Yeats published a crucial book of poems, *Responsibilities*, and wrote *Reveries over Childhood and Youth (1916)*, his first attempt to transform his life into a work of art, making his nature intelligible. . . . When we try to get a sense of Yeats's life as a whole, we come—it seems to me—upon a comprehensive project. Not upon his occult practices, important as they were. I can't agree with Foster that the mage was Yeats's definitive role, even in the early years. I think his first consideration was his need to transform himself from the shy, disheveled man he knew he was into a poet of power and authority."

Denis Donoghue, *NYRB*, Feb. 19, 1998: 17.

## Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Interest

### Algerian/French Authors

*Une enfance algérienne*. Under the direction of Leïla Sebbar. Paris: Gallimard, coll. "Haute enfance," 1997. 232 pp. F98.

Sixteen authors, including Hélène Cixous, Roger Dadoun, Jean Daniel, Alloula, Kacimi, and Sebbar herself, some of Spanish or Italian or French descent, brought up in the Christian or Jewish religion, and now French or Algerian, relate their childhood and youth in pre-independence Algeria. A dense, contrasted volume, through which one can realize that if "Algeria is not France," as the saying used to go, "France has some roots in Algeria."

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 582 (Mar. 1997): 624.

### Apple

*Apple: The Inside Story Of Intrigue, Egomania, and Business Blunders*. Jim Carlton. New York: Times Business/Random House, 1997. 463 pp. $27.50.

"'Apple' tells the story of the outsized egos and amazing managerial blunders that contributed to the company's downward spiral in the

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1990's, bringing it to its current meager market share of less than 4 percent. Like many problem children, Apple brought its woes on itself. Carlton writes of bloated executive pay, backstabbing at the top, the ruthless treatment of Apple dealers, a stubborn insistence on high margins at the expense of market share and an overall arrogance that led to the company's single biggest mistake: the blind refusal in the 1980's to license its operating system to potential clone makers."

Katie Hafner, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 17.

**Architects**

*The Architects and the City: Holbird & Roche of Chicago, 1880-1918.* Robert Breugmann. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. 416 pp. $65.00.

"'The Architects and the City' is part of a trend among academic presses to portray architects as working stiffs rather than Romantic geniuses, but at times the book, written by Robert Breugmann, a professor of architectural history at the University of Chicago, reads like a satire of Ayn Rand's novel, 'The Fountainhead.'"

Eric P. Nash, *NYTBR*, Nov. 2, 1997: 26.

**Autobiography**

*L'Autobiographie.* Jacques Lecarme et Eliane Lecarme-Tabone. Paris: Armand Colin, coll. "U, Lettres," 1997. 313 pp. F150.

Is autobiography a "silly project" (Pascal)? Is it based on a double naiveté: the belief that one can be oneself, and the belief one can be true (Valery)? Is it literature ("literature begins only when a third person is born in us, depriving us of the power to say 'I'" [Deleuze])? Is it a laicization of the Augustinian self-examination? These and many other questions are raised by the authors, who plead (with moderation) for the definition of the genre, the respect of the pact with the reader . . . and its necessary transgressions.

Michel Contat, *Le Monde des Livres*, Oct. 24, 1997: 4.

**Black Women**

*To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War.* Tera W. Hunter. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. 295 pp. $29.95.

"Much of the recent scholarship on US domestic service argues that traditional 'women's work' could and did provide some servants' families with the stable income needed to help younger generations rise in the social ranks. *To 'Joy My Freedom* does not dispute this reclamatory vision, yet it offers a more complex account of the ways in which black domestics struggled to realize their ideas of freedom after the Civil War. Tera Hunter's study of nineteenth-century freedwomen was not an easy history to unearth. But her patient searches through old newspapers, police records, transcripts of interviews, reformers' papers, political cartoons and existing scholarship have uncovered

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strong evidence for post-bellum black women's political and recreational self-expression in the former slaveholding states."

Barbara Ryan, *Women's Review of Books* 15.2 (Nov. 1997): 24–5.

**Glen Ridge Rapists**

*Our Guys: The Glen Ridge Rape and the Secret Life of the Perfect Suburb.* Bernard Lefkowitz. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 443 pp. $29.95.

"I have never found a book faultless until now. All the elements of narrative, structure and analysis come together so seamlessly in *Our Guys* that, as much as I hate to use this cliché, I couldn't put it down. Lefkowitz has transformed one shocking event into a scorching exploration of everything that's wrong with conformist attitudes, gender segregation and the glorification of male athletes. As he so deftly demonstrates, these forces can and do perpetuate a vicious contempt for females—and not only those on the social fringe."

Leora Tanenbaum, *Women's Review of Books* 15.1 (Oct. 1997): 1–4.

**Labor Leaders**

*Big Trouble: A Murder in a Small Western Town Sets Off a Struggle for the Soul of America.* J. Anthony Lukas. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 875 pp. $32.50.

"J. Anthony Lukas has done much more than exhume one of the most dramatic trials of the century; he has excavated a stratum of American history, tracing the fault line of class that subsists in our own. One can question the relevance of some of his detours down historical byways in the course of his teeming narrative, in which he provides lively profiles of famous but peripheral figures like the baseball pitcher Walter Johnson and the actress Ethel Barrymore. Generally, his digressions and voluminous detail enrich the historical picture, but at the risk of slowing the narrative momentum."

Richard Lingeman, *NYTBR*, Oct. 26, 1997: 12–13.

"Lukas resolved to examine what he called 'that moment in our national experience when we came closest to [class] warfare': the years 1899-1907 in the Rocky Mountain states. Eventually he came to focus on the roots and consequences of the assassination of Frank Steunenberg, an ex-governor of Idaho. The result is this posthumously published book, a work profoundly absorbing but deeply disturbing as well."

Staughton Lynd, *WP*, Oct. 20, 1997: 38.

**Obituaries**

*Last Word. The New York Times Book of Obituaries and Farewells: A Celebration of Unusual Lives.* Ed. Marvin Siegel. New York: Morrow, 1997. 432 pp. $25.00.

"This collection, as Russell Baker points out in a foreword, is not concerned with towering personalities but with some 'who enriched the tale of life in the 20th century without shaking the earth.'"

*NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 23.

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**Nanking Survivors**

*The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II.* Iris Chang. New York: Basic, 1997. 290 pp. $25.00.

*Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs.* Shi Young and James Yin. Chicago: Triumph, 1997. 336 pp. $75.00.

"In her important new book, 'The Rape of Nanking,' Iris Chang, whose own grandparents were survivors, recounts the grisly massacre with understandable outrage. . . . [Shi and Young's] large-format book filled with photographs of beheadings, bayonetings, rapes and mass executions, many taken by Japanese soldiers and then surreptitiously copied and hidden by a Chinese employee of a local photo shop—was published last month. To thumb through this volume is an almost unbearable experience and helps one understand continuing Chinese sensitivity to even the semblance of foreign domination."

Orville Schell, *NYTBR*, Dec. 14, 1997: 16–17.

**Opera Singers**

*The American Opera Singer: The Lives and Adventures of America's Great Singers in Opera and Concert from 1825 to the Present.* Peter G. Davis. New York: Doubleday, 1997. 682 pp. $40.00.

"As for Davis's occasionally brutal candor—for which some readers will prefer a blunter word—I found it mostly refreshing and usually on the mark. More important, it is the product of obvious passion: I can't think of a music critic who cares more deeply about the state of opera in America. Few who read 'The American Opera Singer' will fail to disagree with certain of its acerbic author's spectacularly unequivocal opinions . . . but anyone who wants to know what is wrong with American singing will find the answers here."

Terry Teachout, *NYTBR*, Dec. 7, 1997: 28.

**Popes**

*Lives of the Popes: The Pontiffs from St. Peter to John Paul II.* Richard P. McBrien. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997. 520 pp. $29.50.

*Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes.* Eamon Duffy. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997. 326 pp. $30.00.

*Chronicles of the Popes: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Papacy from St. Peter to the Present.* P. G. Maxwell Stuart. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997. 240 pp. $29.95.

"In 'Chronicles of the Popes,' P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, a historian at the University of Aberdeen, provides a good selection of illustrations with a lightweight text. The Rev. Richard P. McBrien, a professor of theology at Notre Dame, has only a small gallery of pictures in his 'Lives of the Popes,' but he provides a sober and informed text with vastly more detail. In 'Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes,' Eamon Duffy, a medieval historian at Cambridge University, includes both good

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illustrations and a distinguished text; his book, designed as the basis for a television series in 1998, appears to be a particularly good value. All three books contain a catalogue of popes, with McBrien and Duffy offering plenty of historical facts and sobering, valuable judgments."

Henry Chadwick, *NYTBR*, Dec 7, 1997: 49–50.

**Women's Oral Histories**

*Generations: A Century of Women Speak about Their Lives*. Myriam Miedzian and Alisa Malinovich. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1997. 528 pp. $27.50.

"Compiled by Myriam Miedzian and Alisa Malinovich, a mother-daughter writing team, this first-rate compendium of oral histories collects the memories and observations of some 150 women across the nation, diverse in ethnicity, social and educational levels, age and sexual orientation. . . . If these narratives offer nothing startling new, their sheer number and variety still provide worthwhile reading."

Lynn Karpen, *NYTBR*, Nov. 16, 1997: 62.

**Women Writers**

*The Hidden Writer: Diaries and the Creative Life*. Alexandra Johnson. New York: Doubleday, 1997. 275 pp. $22.95.

"The women whose brief biographies make up the bulk of Alexandra Johnson's 'The Hidden Writer: Diaries and the Creative Life' come mostly from another time—a time when the repository of the female heart and mind was kept secret, often under lock and key. These are women whose diaries caught the essence of their lives and were, to varying degrees, absorbed into their vocation."

Nancy Caldwell Sorel, *NYTBR*, Oct. 19, 1997: 31.

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# Lifelines

## Upcoming Events, Calls for Papers, and News from the Field

**Call for Contributors.** *Canadian Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers.* The Dictionary of Literary Biography is looking for contributors to write biographical/critical entries for a volume intended to recognize the increasing prominence of Canadian science fiction and fantasy writers within those genres, as well as within discussions of Canadian literatures. For further information, including a list of needed entries, please contact the volume editor, Douglas Ivison, at the Departement d'etudes anglaises; Universite de Montreal; C.P. 6128, succ. Centre-ville; Montreal, Quebec H3C 3J7; Canada. Phone: (514) 278-1126. Fax: (514): 343-6443. Email: ivisond@magellan.umontreal.ca.

**Online Journal.** *Time-Sense: An Electronic Quarterly on the Art of Gertrude Stein* invites submissions, both critical and creative, in written, visual, and aural media, from all theoretical, critical, and creative approaches, including artistic submissions in all reproducible media. *Time-Sense* is dedicated to an ongoing examination of how we make sense of Stein in our time. Send written submissions to Sonja Streuber, Department of English, One Shields Avenue, University of California, Davis, CA 95616; address inquiries to shstreuber@ucdavis.edu. Send visual/audio submissions as .WAV, .AU, .MOV, or quicktime files to Stafford, 1261 Howard Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco CA 94103-2711; inquiries welcome at webmaster@tenderbuttons.com. **Deadlines:** For the March issue, February 1; for the June issue, May 1; for the September issue, August 1; and for the December issue, November 1.

**Call for Papers.** *"Nuestra América: Inscribing Latinos/as in the National Discourse."* The Fifth Conference of the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project. December 4–5, 1998. University of Houston. The Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project is a comprehensive national program to locate, identify, preserve, and make accessible the literary contributions of U.S. Hispanics from colonial times through 1960 in what today comprises the United States. Papers are invited on any of the following themes: analytical studies of recovered authors or texts; critical and theoretical approaches to recovered texts; preparation of critical editions; curiculum/pedagogy/canon; folklore/oral history; historiography; language and linguistics; preservation/access issues; and library and information. Submit a 150-word abstract and curriculum vitae to Lynn Cortina, Coordinator, Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project; University of Houston; E. Cullen Performance Hall, Room 254; 4800 Calhoun; Houston, TX 77204-2172. Phone: (713) 743-3128. Fax: (713) 743-3142. Email: artree@jetson.uh.edu. **Deadline:** August 15, 1998.

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**Call for Papers.** "*Margaret Cavendish and her Milieu.*" The Second International Margaret Cavendish Conference and General Meeting of the Margaret Cavendish Society. University of Paris 8. June 11–12, 1999. Papers can bear on various aspects of Cavendish's work and career, or focus more broadly on her connections with the Royal Society, on her husband William, on Royalists in exile, or on women writing and reading in the seventeenth century. Priority will be given to papers on Cavendish's cultural milieu. Please send two copies of a 300 word abstract to the Department des Etudes Litteraires Anglaises; UFR 4; 2, rue de la Liberte; 93520 Saint-Denis; France. Fax: 33 1 49 40 68 20. Contacts: Line Cottengnies, at cottegnies@aol.com or Fatima Zenati, at fzenati@univ-paris8.fr. **Deadline:** December 31, 1998.

**Call for Papers.** "*Women Writing 1550–1750.*" An International Conference on all aspects of women's writing from 1550 to 1750. La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. July 10 and 11, 1999. We welcome papers from any discipline, and hope to include specifically interdisciplinary colloquia. Please send a brief outline for either a 20 minute paper or a 5 minute colloquium contribution to Paul Salzman, School of English, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia 3083. Email: P.Salzman@ latrobe.edu.au. For further information, visit the conference website at http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/english/wwconf.html. **Deadline**: December 1, 1998.

**Call for Papers.** "*Approaching the Auto/biographical Turn.*" An International Conference on Life-Writing, cosponsored by the Department of English, Peking University, and the Society of World Biography, Chinese Comparative Literature Association. Peking. June 21–23, 1999. Conference aims are to investigate auto/biographical practices of past centuries and explore new directions for the next; to deepen the understanding of life-writing between East and West; to promote exchange between life-writers and scholars, critics, and readers; and to stimulate the interdisciplinary study of life-writing. The conferencewill have 3 sections: agency and autobiography; visions and versions of biography; and the ab/use of memoir, letters, diary, and dialogues. Please address inquiries to Zhao Baisheng, Department of English, Peking University, Beijing 100871, People's Republic of China. **Deadline:** October 15, 1998.

**Online Database.** *Victorian Database Online*, produced by Litir Database, contains about 65,000 records of books, articles, and dissertation abstracts published from 1970 to 1997 on every field of nineteenth-century British studies. Compatible with any computer platform, it requires only Netscape 3 or Internet Explorer 3, and allows hyperlinked author and keyword searches, automatic boolean searching and truncation, and multiple format saving. It is available free at http://www.ualberta.ca/~litir.

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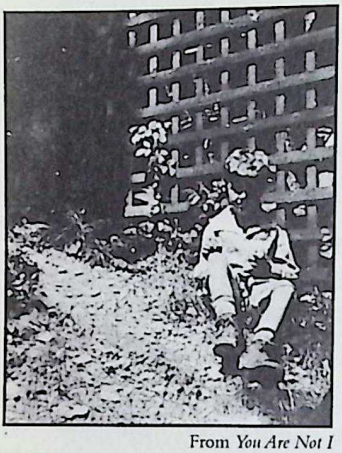

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# "Just like Rosa": History and Metaphor in the *Life* of a Seventeenth-Century Peruvian Saint

*Ronald J. Morgan*

> The Divine Power endowed America with the most admirable Rose known to have been planted in the lands of His Indies. He decided to transplant her for His own glory's sake to the paradise of His delights. This kingdom wept in the absence of the Rose, as does daytime in the absence of sunshine, and as did all Judea without Moses. But if in the latter case God put an end to the tears and sobs with new succor and gifts, certainly He did not, upon taking the Rose from this realm, leave it without new protection and patronage. For not even a year passed between the transfer of St. Rosa from Lima to heaven and the birth of the Venerable virgin Mariana de Jesús y Paredes, most beautiful of flowers and purest of lilies, who became a substitute for the Rose and a perfect representation of her virtues.[1]
>
> Jacinto Morán de Butrón, *La Azucena de Quito*

This article examines the relationship between history, metaphor, and religious biography through a close reading of the first published *Life* of Mariana de Jesús (1618–45), a Peruvian *beata* known posthumously as the "Lily of Quito" (beatified 1850, canonized 1950).[2] Jacinto Morán de Butrón, S.J. (1668–1749), a native of the Spanish imperial administrative region of Quito and a lifelong member of the corresponding Jesuit Province, composed this religious *vida* entitled *La Azucena de Quito* in 1696–97.[3] My analysis focuses upon Morán's use of the Rose and Lily metaphor to compare Mariana de Jesús of Quito to the already famous Santa Rosa de Lima (1586–1617). By emphasizing the similarity between their popular floral titles, their spiritualities, their reception of divine favor, and their

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miraculous actions in saving their native cities from disaster, Morán reevaluated the historically hegemonic relationship between Lima, the viceregal capital and archdiocesan see, and his own city and region. A clear link, therefore, joins Morán's historical consciousness, his own self-awareness as a Jesuit and *quiteño* [native of Quito], and his metaphorical interpretation of the life of his saint.

* * * * *

Despite the abundance of printed hagiographic texts from Spanish America's colonial era, until recently surprisingly little scholarly attention has been given to hagiography as a manifestation of regional or ethnic self-consciousness. Although Roman Catholic intellectuals diligently prepared modern editions of inaccessible colonial texts and drew upon such sources to write ecclesiastical histories for their respective regions, for decades professional historians and literary scholars tended to dismiss hagiography as tendentious history or inferior literature. Happily, this tide has turned. The revival of narrative studies, for instance, reflects scholars' awareness of "the strength and meaning of ritual, symbol and custom as ways of binding a community together" (Stone 87).[4] Jacques Lafaye's *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe* has directed historians' attention to the relationship between religious symbol and identity formation, and in the two decades since it appeared in English, Latin American historians and literary scholars have increasingly written about identity formation, the religious experiences and literary productions of women, and the symbolic importance of saints.[5]

I would like to explore the relationships among religious symbols, literature, and sociopolitical identity formation in colonial Spanish America by focusing on how the life of this quiteña holy woman is constructed. More explicitly, I am seeking to demonstrate the utility, especially for historians, of reading hagiographic texts as much for their idiosyncrasies as for their conventional features. This project began as a search for the prototypical qualities of some imagined Spanish American saint-type. My training in medieval European religious and social history had convinced me that such a project was viable. Several medieval historians had in recent decades used saints' *lives* and related sources to demonstrate the link

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between social context and saint-type. For example, Michael Goodich and Richard Kieckhefer have turned to *lives* to identify the particular characteristics of thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century notions of sanctity. Others, including André Vauchez, and Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, have taken macro approaches to hagiography and notions of sanctity to bring into high relief changes that occurred over several centuries. And finally, Early Modern European historians have sought to define what characterizes a Roman Catholic saint beatified after the Protestant Reformation.[6] Such scholarship has influenced Latin Americanists from various academic disciplines, turning their attention to the study of colonial Spanish American saints.[7] In my own case, I began studying New World saints to discover how they differed from their European ancestors and contemporaries.

Unfortunately, such scholarship tends to isolate saints within the canonization process and the demands of orthodoxy. By assuming that Early Modern hagiographers intended their works almost exclusively for ecclesiastical bureaucrats and theologians, we overlook the more immediate contexts of the saint's local devotees.

The question therefore becomes whether a *life* should be read primarily within the broader hagiographic genre, or within its particular regional or historical context. Historian Sarah Maza succinctly describes the distinct challenges facing literary and historical scholars attempting to use narratives from recognizable genres:

> Faced with the same story or "cultural narrative," literary scholars will delve into the text in search of many, possibly contradictory meanings; historians, trained to construct and connect, will seek other similar stories with which to form an interpretable pattern, most often attributing to the texts they gather some sort of unitary meaning. Literary scholars are used to dealing with the singular, historians with the plural and generic. This no doubt explains why historians drawn to literary sources have so often fastened on *genre* as an object of study. (1509)

In a study on the interaction between living saints and their devotees in the Middle Ages, Aviad Kleinberg makes a similar point:

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> Instead of examining the way in which each hagiographer adapted the conventions to his saint, most studies have stressed the elements common to all *Lives*. Historians have charted the typology of the different possible "plots" available to the saints and dismissed the peculiarities of each reenactment as trivial. As a result, saints' *Lives* appear to be much more regular in scholarly literature than they are in reality. (2)

Such a "mechanistic approach" can lead to ahistorical readings, which accounts for cultural historian Roger Chartier's own insistence upon "particularity over preconceived generalization" when considering "textual and typographical genres" (*Culture* 3). As Chartier notes, "many widely distributed printed pieces were used, at least at first, in the service of a party or a power, of a religious order or a particular shrine, of a community or an institution." Consequently, "underlying the letter of the tale, be it hagiographic or extraordinary," Chartier points to "a hidden or explicit polemical intent to justify, persuade, and rally support" (*Culture* 5).[8] Accepting this point must therefore lead scholars concerned with cultural history, and more specifically with saints as symbols, away from the macro, typological approach to hagiographic literature toward a closer engagement with the historical context out of which individual works emerge.

Of course, the seventeenth century saint's *life* was highly conventional in its form, style, and use of motifs, and any scholar who reads several of these works unavoidably experiences dejà vu. What needs to be recognized, however, is that religious or otherwise, biography often reveals as much about the authors and their communities as it does about the biographical subjects (Baron and Pletsch; Williams). Although attentive to characteristics of the genre, then, I will avoid the pursuit of "tradition, the norm, the representative example" (Maza 1513), preferring instead to note how a religious biographer, in this case Jacinto Morán de Butrón, an urban-based member of the socioeconomic elite, writes *La Azucena de Quito* to articulate the highly polemical views of his religious order, the broader community, and even his homeland.[9] The very title locates the subject within a number of specific geographic and historical contexts: "The Lily of Quito, who germinated in the florid field of the Church in the western Indies of the realms of Peru, and whom the Company of Jesus

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cultivated by its diligent teaching." In this way, Morán de Butrón inverts the remark of a later Jesuit historian, José Jouanen, that it would be impossible to write the history of the Jesuit Province of Quito without including the life of Mariana de Jesús (*Historia* 257). In Morán's hands, writing the life of Mariana de Jesús becomes a method of celebrating the merits of Quito.

Morán's prologue, which introduces the Rose/Lily comparison, explicitly announces his intention to deviate from hagiographic conventions. "I will not follow the sure and praiseworthy path that some have taken in writing the *lives* of men (*varones*) of noteworthy sanctity," Morán explains, "placing first the life, the deeds, and the death, and thereafter a separate book on the virtues." Instead, Morán announces that "For the clarity that I desire, I will divide this history into five books, [and] use the metaphor of the Lily, for just as the Most Holy Mary is the Mystical Rose, [so also] is Mariana the Lily." Thus, in each of the five books, Morán places the Lily in a different context:

> In the first book, on her childhood, the Lily is born in the hills of Quito. In the second, which treats her penitence, the Lily is among thorns. In the third, on the other virtues, the Lily is among flowers. In the fourth book, regarding the favors by which God rewarded her, [we see] heavenly dew upon the Lily. And in the fifth book, on her short life and her death, [we consider] how briefly the Lily enjoys its brilliance.[10]

But I would argue the situating is even more historically and regionally specific. For when Morán draws the analogy between "Mariana the Lily" and "the most Holy Mary" as "the Mystical Rose," the quiteño hagiographer implicitly alludes to Rosa de Lima, the mystic known popularly as Santa Rosa de Santa María. In fact, Morán's juxtaposition of these two Peruvian holy women is a central narrative strategy which carries his text from beginning to end.

* * * * *

Before exploring the significance of Morán's metaphor, however, we should recall the most salient features of each woman's life. Isabel de Flores was born to poor petty hidalgo parents in Lima in 1586.[11] After her family's Indian maid proclaimed in astonishment that the child looked like a rose, her family began to call her Rosa. Having taken a vow of

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perpetual chastity at age five in imitation of St. Catherine of Siena, she resisted her own mother's persistent and sometimes violent efforts to dissuade her from her pious intentions. Like her spiritual heroine St. Catherine, Rosa's resolve eventually paid off; her mother acquiesced, albeit begrudgingly. According to her Dominican hagiographers, Our Lady of the Rosary revealed in a vision to young Rosa that she should not enter a convent as was her intent, but should instead join the Third Order of St. Dominic.[12] Although she remained uncloistered and supported her aging parents by the labor of her hands, she also retreated daily to a tiny hermitage behind her family's home, where she sought mystical union with God while practicing the acts of extreme asceticism traditionally associated with Roman Catholic saints. Some five years prior to her death, Rosa de Santa María, as she was by then popularly known, found favor with an influential limeño couple, Gonzalo de la Maza and María de Uzátegui. Don Gonzalo and Doña María provided material support and a residence for the impoverished Rosa, who had by that time begun to attract a spiritual following. Following Rosa's death, they became two of the principal witnesses to their protégée's spiritual gifts.[13] According to witnesses, Rosa predicted the exact day of her death one full year before the event. Upon her death in 1617, the Catholic faithful of Lima thronged to view her body and proclaimed her a saint.

After initial setbacks resulting from her association with certain beatas who had been brought before the Inquisition in Lima, the cause of Santa Rosa's canonization met with spectacular success. Disregarding canonical restrictions forbidding rapid canonization established by Pope Urban VIII (1623–45), papal authorities declared Rosa a saint in 1671, and the principal patroness, first of Lima and the kingdoms of Peru, and soon thereafter of the Americas, Philippines, and Indies.[14] The fame of Santa Rosa de Lima spread throughout the Roman Catholic world, and as the only canonized American-born saint for almost two centuries, she was especially popular in the Spanish American colonies and in Italy.[15] Of course, St. Rosa was a special source of pride for her fellow limeños (natives of Lima).

Just one year after the death of Rosa de Santa María, Mariana Paredes y Flores was born in Quito to relatively prosperous hidalgo parents, Jerónimo Zenel Paredes y Flores and Mariana

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Jaramillo de Granobles (Morán 132–41). Numerous signs of divine approval accompanied her birth and persisted throughout her early childhood. Following the early deaths of her parents, Mariana entered the home of her older sister, Jerónima de Paredes, and her husband, Cosme de Caso, who raised the extraordinary girl as their own daughter. Mariana exercised a powerful spiritual influence over their daughters, Juana and Sebastiana, both of whom later gained reputations for sanctity due in part to their close association with Mariana de Jesús (Morán 65–131, 142).[16]

Although she had allegedly taken a vow of perpetual chastity at age seven, and despite the urging of Don Cosme de Caso, Mariana refused to enter a convent. Instead, at the age of twelve she withdrew into seclusion in a room provided for that purpose by her adoptive parents. As in the case of Rosa de Lima, her hagiographers present this move as divinely ordained, arguing that several signs from God blocked the intentions of Mariana and her step-parents to arrange for her entrance into the quiteño Dominican convent of Santa Catalina de Siena, and when this attempt failed, into the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara (Morán 132–41). There may be more to the story, however, since at some point her step-parents lost their fortune and were unable to provide Juana and Sebastiana with dowries. Since it is possible that misfortune occurred *prior* to Mariana's attempt to enter a convent, it might be that the required financial backing was unavailable. Given the relaxed state of religious observance in many seventeenth-century convents, however, it is also possible that Mariana's decision not to take the veil was a conscious religious choice.[17]

Regardless of motivation, like Rosa de Lima, Mariana de Jesús lived the life of a beata, or uncloistered holy woman, devoted to religious observance, prayer, and acts of charity. In her private chamber, she devoted herself to spiritual recollection and rigorous asceticism, the latter marked by extreme fasting and self-flagellation. On her orders, the family's Indian maid, Catalina, would severely whip Mariana's naked shoulders and back. Lest she be discovered, Mariana was always vigilant to have the resulting blood stains wiped from the walls (Morán 188–91). During her frequent illnesses, Mariana de Jesús insisted on being bled in imitation of Jesus Christ's shedding of his own blood, a fact closely linked to her posthumous reputation for

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sanctity. As a reminder of the insignificance of earthly things, and as a stimulus to greater acts of penitence, Mariana placed images of human skeletons and skulls in her personal quarters (Morán 173–80).

Mariana's spiritual life centered around the local Jesuit church. There she partook of the sacraments, sought the wisdom and spiritual guidance of her confessors, and participated in such Jesuit-promoted religious sodalities as the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity and the Congregation of the Slaves of the Virgin of Loreto. Mariana came to hold the Sacred Heart of Jesus in great devotion, and she was a founding member of the Association of the Holy Christ of Consolation, later known as the Congregation of the Good Death.[18] Mariana appears to have conformed to the clerical, and especially Jesuit, ideal for beatas. Indeed, Jesuit historians have credited her with rekindling local devotion to Our Lady of Loreto through her own devotion to the Marian advocation.[19]

According to those Jesuits who would later cultivate her reputation as a quiteña saint, Mariana performed her most important public act of religious devotion in the spring of 1645. The Lenten season of that year was a dramatic one, for once again the volcanic peak Pichincha was ominously active. When word reached Quito that an earthquake had wrought death and destruction in the city of Riobamba, *quiteños* also began to fear their city would be next. Then an epidemic of measles and diphtheria struck both the Spanish and Indian populations to such an extent that "in the streets one could see nothing but cadavers" (Morán 501).[20] Finally, an Indian contributed to the public hysteria when he responded to a sermon by rushing out into the night air and warning at the top of his lungs that disaster would strike the city at midnight (Morán 191).

Such crises were actually rather commonplace for the inhabitants of this region. According to city council records, it was customary during such times for religious images to be carried through the streets of Quito so that local residents might invoke their spiritual protection (Herrera and Enriquez). Churches filled as guilt-ridden souls prepared to meet God by making confession and taking the Eucharist. Zealous clergymen would preach passionate sermons urging the faithful to repent of their moral transgressions, practice acts of penitence, and invoke the protection of the saints.

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Within this atmosphere of emotional angst and religious frenzy, the Jesuit preacher and Mariana's confessor Alonso de Rojas, while saying mass before an anxious crowd, cried out to God and pleaded that his own life be accepted as expiation in return for the spiritual and temporal salvation of the people. At this moment, however, Mariana de Jesús knelt down near the church's main altar and uttered a prayer of her own:

> My confessor is so necessary for the conversion of souls. . . . My own life is superfluous. At this very moment I offer my life to you, my God, dear Husband of my soul, in order that in Quito your anger may cease, your rigors may soften, and you may free my beloved countrymen and brethren from the scourging that you are inflicting with the pestilence and from the ruin that is feared on account of the tremors.[21]

The young virgin's selfless sacrifice placated the divine ire; the earth's tremors ceased immediately, and by Easter Sunday the pestilence was but a memory. As she returned home from mass that same day, however, young Mariana was struck by a fatal fever and died within two months.

Rojas delivered a panegyric in her honor at her huge public funeral in May 1645. Published the following year in Lima, his sermon is significant not only because of its immediacy, but also for its obvious influence on Morán de Butrón's *Life*.[22] Rojas praised Mariana's lifelong mortification of her senses and appetites through her daily schedule of rigorous devotional activity and ascetic denial of her cravings for food, drink, and sleep. He describes how her longing for a martyr's death led Mariana to fill her personal chambers with realistic reminders of life's brevity, including a human skull in an advanced stage of decay (Jouanen, *El modelo* 315). This practice, which the Jesuit called Mariana's "antidote" against the poison of sin, freed her from feminine vanity and strengthened her resolve to keep her childhood vow of perpetual virginity. On one occasion, for instance, she rebuked a would-be seducer by saying, "I am learning to die" (Jouanen, *El modelo* 317). Rojas then drew the appropriate moral: "Learn, girls of Quito, from your fellow countrywoman, [to prefer] holiness over beauty, virtues over ostentation."[23]

Rojas's portrayal of Mariana's self-sacrifice contains two further elements which merit our attention. First, he makes

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Mariana's body, rather than her words, the locus of spiritual authority and exemplarity, thus carefully distinguishing her expiatory role from his own liturgical function as priest. Since the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical restrictions on female religious activity had increased to the point that devout nuns and beatas could neither preach nor carry out missionary functions among non-Christian peoples. Denied the opportunity to serve God and the Church in these ways, pious women expressed their faith by means of that which they could (to some degree) control —their bodies. By denying the sensual gratification of a healthy diet, adequate sleep, or sexual relations, these women turned their bodies into religious texts. Indeed, male clerics who promoted the spiritual reputations of such female ascetics often expressed their exemplarity in terms of a sort of wordless sermon. In his thirteenth-century account of the life of Elizabeth of Spalbeek, for example, Philip of Clairvaux warned that her corporeal experiences had left even the most rustic of Christians without excuse:

> [N]o human . . . can prevaricate, however illiterate and simple he or she may be, and say: "I cannot understand such profound mysteries, because I am not lettered," or "because this is a closed book for me." For now this illiterate man or woman can read, not in parchments or documents, but in the members and the body of this girl, as a vivid and unmistakable Veronica, a living image and an animated history of redemption, as if he or she were literate. (Simons 11)[24]

Although the charismatic or non-institutional authority exercised by the female penitent was distinct from the more objective, sacrament-based authority of male clerics, the two were not at all irreconcilable. Indeed, by associating themselves with the sanctity of the female holy woman, ordained priests could enhance their own religious status (Bilinkoff; Coakley, "Friars" and "Gender"). Walter Simons has observed that Philip "frequently reverts to the analogy between her bodily enactment of the Passion story and a priest's exposition of the Gospel" to defend Elizabeth's religious practices from potential censorship by ecclesiastical authorities. In a similar way, Rojas describes Mariana's last days of physical suffering and death as a spiritual work by which she complemented and lent support to his own sacramental ministry.

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The second, and for my current purposes more significant, element is Rojas's focus on Mariana's death as a public act with long-term implications specifically for the people of Quito. By linking her sanctity to a moment of public crisis, Rojas stresses the relationship of mutual dependence and obligation between saint and *patria*: "this Republic," he remarks, "should not only be glad that this servant of God blessed it with her assistance and safeguards it with her prayers, but also very thankful, for as a result of the sacrifice of her life to God, He relieved our city of the punishment which our sins deserve."[25] Rojas concludes his sermon by praying to Mariana herself that she will sustain this spiritual bond between holy person and homeland:

> You are the sacred sacrifice offered for the salvation of your Patria; the legitimate Temple of holiness, the beautiful tabernacle of purity. Enjoy to the full the perquisites of your blessed station and the congratulations which your glory merits; turn your gaze towards your pious family and relatives, who with such longing desire you, with such love salute you, and with such expenditures honor you; pray to God for your city and your countrymen, who trust in your intercession.[26]

Following her funeral, Mariana de Jesús was buried in that same Jesuit church where she had prayed for her death.[27] Popular acclamation of her sanctity led to the opening of a series of official investigations into her virtues and miracles; the most important of these inquests was carried out between 1670 and 1678.[28]

And yet, despite such promising beginnings, the Jesuits of the Province of Quito did not complete a bona fide *life* of Mariana de Jesús in the half century after her death.[29] Ironically enough, their religious rivals, the Franciscans, had staked their own claim to Mariana's reputation for sanctity. In 1651 Fr. Diego Córdova Salinas, O.F.M., included brief biographies of Mariana de Jesús and her nieces in his history of the Franciscan Province of Peru. He cited Alonso Rojas's *Sermón* as one of his principal sources, but he also reported having seen a letter from a Franciscan preacher named Juan Cazco, who claimed to have found a written record of Mariana's request for the Third Order habit of a Franciscan tertiary, thus uprooting the Lily of Quito not only from the Jesuit soil in which she developed, but also from her quiteño patria.[30] Córdova Salinas's Mariana de Jesús

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is a spiritual fruit of the Franciscan Province of San Francisco, with its administrative center at Lima—clearly a source of embarrassment and indignation for members of Quito's municipal council and its Jesuit Province, which helps to explain the urgency with which Morán de Butrón took up the pen in 1696.[31]

* * * * *

Jacinto Morán de Butrón y Guzmán was the quintessential quiteño.[32] Born in 1668 in Guayaquil, the principal port city for the administrative region of Quito, he was the eldest son of Don Jacinto Morán de Butrón y Rendón and Doña María Ramírez de Guzmán y Mestanza, both *criollos* (American-born Spaniards). At sixteen he traveled to Quito to begin a novitiate in the Jesuit house, though he only made the Jesuit profession of four vows some twenty years later in the city of Riobamba. In the following two decades, he held a number of posts in the Jesuit Provinces of Quito and Nueva Granada, including preacher, lecturer in the University of San Gregorio (Quito), vice-rector of the colegio of Popayán, and rector of the colegio of Panama. He spent his last twenty-three years in Guayaquil, where he died in 1749.

In 1695, while studying at the Jesuit colegio in Ibarra, Morán experienced a "vocational crisis" which may have resulted from his family's financial difficulties. Wishing to reinforce young Jacinto's spiritual commitment, Father Ignacio Altamirano, one of his Jesuit superiors, ordered him to read Father Alonso de Rojas' *Sermón*. Inspired, Morán then carefully examined the voluminous *Proceso* of 1670–78. It was therefore a logical step for Altamirano to request that Morán should compose the long overdue biography of Mariana de Jesús.[33]

Drawing on the *Proceso* for details of his subject's life, and on the *Sermón* for his thematic foundations, in keeping with the multifaceted purposes of the saints' *life*, Morán attempted to achieve several overlapping goals in *La Azucena de Quito*. First, he sought to convince ecclesiastical authorities that Mariana de Jesús deserved official Church recognition as a saint. To achieve this aim he offered a number of proofs, including the existence of a long-standing and widespread popular devotion to her. At the same time, though, Morán hoped to convince devout Peruvians from various regions not only to venerate the Lily of Quito, but to serve as patrons of her cause.

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Finally, Morán wished to establish her as a sign of the mature status of his own patria, the region of Quito.

Morán sets about these tasks by discussing her spiritual identity and stature in relation to those of Santa Rosa de Lima. After endowing "America with the most admirable Rose known to have been planted in the lands of His Indies," God decided to take her back into "the paradise of His delights." But the Indies "wept in the absence of the Rose," and God responded by putting "an end to the tears and sobs with new succor and gifts." Less than a year after Santa Rosa's death came a new source of "protection and patronage," and that was "the Venerable virgin Mariana de Jesús y Paredes, most beautiful of flowers and purest of lilies, who became a substitute for the Rose and a perfect representation of her virtues." Morán then elaborates upon the importance of this pairing. "I discovered great similarities between the two, seeing the graces and perfections of Rosa represented in the living form," Morán explains:

> And truthfully, were the Venerable virgin Mariana de Jesús to have no other praiseworthy credentials than to have followed in the footsteps of the illustrious virgin Santa Rosa de Santa María, her sanctity would require no other applause, nor the narrative any further adornment.[34]

Morán notes at least four parallels between Mariana de Jesús and Santa Rosa de Lima—their popular titles, spiritualities, reception of divine favors, and special relationship with home or patria. He makes a great deal out of the similarities between their popular titles, "la Rosa de Lima" and "la Azucena de Quito." In both cases, the young women's given names were exchanged for those of a flower, and on each occasion an Indian maid played a key role. I have already described how an Indian maid's astonishment led the family of Isabel de Flores to start calling her Rosa. Mariana de Jesús received her popular epithet posthumously. During her final illness, Mariana's physicians bled her daily, and each day her Indian maid Catalina took the collected blood to a pit in the garden. Following Mariana's death, Catalina and other witnesses claimed that lilies had miraculously bloomed from this very spot, and soon devotees were calling her "the Lily de Quito."[35] Mariana's popular name proved especially useful to Morán, because it implied a providential connection between her and Rosa de Lima:

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> For if God resolved in Lima, when a most beautiful child had been born and the name Isabel given to her at her baptism... that they should change her name from Isabel to Rosa ... it seems he also arranged that in Quito, even though this Venerable virgin had been called Mariana during her lifetime, that after her death she should be even more applauded and celebrated; he ordained that a lily should be formed from her blood as a sign to us, that we should change her name and call her our Lily; having given a Rose to Lima, he gave to Quito a Lily.[36]

In keeping with this observation, the quiteño author quotes numerous classical and biblical sources to show how lilies are associated with roses at every turn (22, 42–43, 62–63).

Morán de Butrón next shows how the Lily resembles the Rose in the women's spiritual lives. Pliny observes that "lilies are planted, cultivated, and grow like roses"; upon reading the *Proceso* of 1670–78, Morán discovers that the perfections of Rosa had been displayed "al vivo" in the life of Mariana, whom he more than once observes has "followed in [Rosa's] steps" (42, 60, 61, 209).

Nor was this an accident. While Mariana was yet a very small child, Cosme de Caso returned home from Lima with news about the recently deceased limeña. After Mariana's adoptive father told her about Rosa's heroic virtues, "Mariana's love for her was so great that she built an altar of devotion in her own heart." Like Rosa, Mariana took a vow of perpetual chastity several years prior to reaching adolescence. Also like Rosa, Mariana imitated St. Catherine of Siena. The quiteña also resembled her limeña predecessor in her special devotion to the Eucharist and in her piety, marked by "drops of blood, tears, acts of penitence, abstinence and austerities" (Morán 42, 172). As for the Eucharist, though Morán did "not know whether, during her days in the Jesuit Church, our Lily did less than that which the finest Rose had done in Lima in the convent of the Rosary," he felt "certain that both of them, kneeling attentively, desired to drink all of the blood of the innocent Lamb" (Morán 336). In this way, Mariana's spirituality appears as an outgrowth of her devotion to Rosa de Lima. If Rosa was the teacher, Mariana was the disciple; if Rosa was the original, Mariana was a perfect copy (Morán 42, 60, 106).[37]

An all-encompassing divine providence was the ultimate source of the two saints' similarities. As we've already seen,

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Morán attributes the timing of Mariana's birth in Quito to God's desire to grant the people of Peru a substitute for their beloved Rosa.[38] In the same way that God had blocked Rosa's entry into the cloister, so too had He intervened miraculously to prevent Mariana from entering the Convent of Santa Catalina de Sena (Morán 135). Only divine guidance could explain Mariana's accurate prophesy that the house of Cosme and Ana de Caso would one day shelter a community of discalced Carmelite nuns; years before, Rosa had similarly foreseen that the home of her patrons would become a convent (Morán 456). And as he had for their beloved Catherine of Siena, God not only showered Mariana and Rosa with special spiritual favors, but during the last years of their lives miraculously nourished their bodies on no food other than the consecrated host of the Eucharist (Morán 405–06, 249).

Of all these parallels between the Lily of Quito and the Rose of Lima, however, Morán stresses each beata's effective intercession on behalf of their respective patrias. According to hagiographic and oral traditions, when Rosa was about twenty years old her prayers and rigorous acts of penitence had saved the city of Lima from God's impending judgment. On that occasion, Fray Francisco Solano, a future saint renowned for the persuasive power of his sermons, warned that Lima would be destroyed if its residents refused to repent of their religious and moral apathy. Moved by love for God and her patria, Rosa began to flagellate herself so violently that "those of her household thought she was beating herself to pieces" (Loayza 13). In the event, Father Solano's prophecies of doom failed to materialize. With time, devotees of St. Rosa attributed the salvation of Lima to her intervention (Vargas Ugarte 103–04). With this pious tradition in mind, Morán de Butrón observes that "just as Lima owes its freedom from devastation to Santa Rosa," the Lily of Quito had become "liberator of her [own] patria, redeemer of her brethren" by giving her life in expiation for their sins. In short, "Quito owes its continued existence to Mariana."[39]

* * * * *

Recognizing that Morán de Butrón juxtaposes Mariana de Jesús with Rosa de Lima does not, however, explain why the quiteño hagiographer employs this strategy. It might reasonably be

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argued that this practice is nothing new. After all, Roman Catholic writers of saints' *lives* had for centuries described their would-be saints as individuals whose spirituality conformed to that of earlier saints. It might be argued, then, that Morán is making a very standard argument for sanctity-by-association by forging links between his own popularly acclaimed saint and the officially recognized Santa Rosa de Lima. Both external and internal evidence, however, suggests that the author's historical consciousness and his own self-awareness as a Jesuit and a *quiteño* powerfully influence his use of the metaphor of the Rose and the Lily.

Externally, we must consider the hierarchical relationship between Lima, the viceregal capital, and Quito. Spanish colonial administration consisted of parallel hierarchies characterized by overlapping jurisdictions and prerogatives, as well as ambiguities in the chains of command. The resulting tensions and rivalries, both within and between hierarchies, served the interests of the Spanish crown by undermining the ability of its civil and ecclesiastical officials to accumulate power. In at least three such hierarchies, Lima enjoyed a position of honor and status superior to that of a regional capital like Quito (Lavallé 133).

In terms of civil administration, the Spanish viceroys, whose capitals were Mexico City and Lima, represented royal authority in the New World. In Peru, following the defeat of the Inca ruler Atahualpa in 1533, Francisco Pizarro bypassed the traditional centers of Inca power—Cuzco, Jauja, and Quito—instead establishing the new Spanish capital in Lima on a site near the Peruvian coast. But Quito's importance was clear from the beginning, prompting Pizarro to create a governorship there in 1534,[40] and the Spanish Crown a few decades later, in 1563, chose Quito as one of the first of the secondary administrative districts known as *audiencias* (Vargas 52). These districts handled most legal, military, and administrative matters within their borders, and not surprisingly, often came into conflict with the higher-ranked viceroys over matters of jurisdiction and authority, of privilege, rank, and protocol. During the seventeenth-century, as royal power weakened in Madrid and political authority devolved to influential local families, the regional audiencias like Quito exercised increasingly greater autonomy at the expense not only of Spain, but of the viceregal capital as well

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(Burkholder and Chandler 1–80; Andrien; Phelan xv). There were, in short, tensions between Lima and the provinces.

Ecclesiastical organization also placed Quito in a secondary position to Lima. Under the terms of the *patronato real*, King Charles V had created episcopal sees in the viceregal capitals.[41] Quiteño ecclesiastical aspirations had mixed success; the crown established the new diocese of Quito in 1546, but in the same year named Lima the first Peruvian archdiocese, thus granting it greater episcopal income, a larger Cathedral chapter, and higher status. Lima sought and held a hegemonic position in the areas of culture and learning, housing a printing press and establishing the prestigious Universidad de San Marcos less than a generation after the conquest, while Quito only managed to establish its own colegio and university in the 1680s, and still had no printing press when Morán completed *La Azucena de Quito* in 1697 (Addy 305–06).[42]

Finally, the various religious orders, and most notably the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Mercedarians, and from the 1570s, the Jesuits, reinforced Lima's primacy over the secondary urban centers. Headquartered in either Madrid or Rome, these groups divided their New World operations into administrative units called *provincias*. Within viceregal Peru, each order followed the civil and episcopal lead by founding its first institutions, including the first South American Province, in Lima. The founding of the Franciscan Province of Los Doce Apóstoles de Lima preceded that of others like San Antonio (Charcas), San Francisco (Quito), and Santa Fe (Bogotá). The Dominicans also began their work in Lima before moving to outlying areas, including Quito, and the Jesuits began in Lima (1568) before moving on to Tucumán (1585), Quito (1586), and Santiago (1593) (Cushner 317). In terms of administrative, economic, and religious prestige, then, there was Lima, and there were the provinces.

The elevation of Santa Rosa de Lima to a unique liturgical position in the Spanish empire in 1672 thus translated into emblematic terms the spiritual and temporal primacy of Lima over the secondary provinces and capitals of greater viceregal Peru, the Indies, and all of Spain's overseas empire. In virtually all regions of Spain's American empire, Roman Catholic devotees constantly encountered her—in the incessant proliferation of printed texts (*vidas*, sermons, poems) on her

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life, in the prominence of altars to her in their cathedrals and churches, and in the existence of so many female convents bearing her name.[43] Even a cursory reading of the *lives* of other Spanish American holy persons reveals that their devotees found encouragement in the canonical success of the limeña saint. Eulogizers of Felipe de Jesús (Mexico City) and María de Jesús (Puebla), for instance, declared that New Spain deserved a saint since Peru had Santa Rosa de Lima (Adame; Jesús María). This comparison does not, however, consistently inform their hagiographic narratives. Only Jacinto Morán de Butrón, a quiteño whose patria stood in the immediate shadow of Lima, makes the glory of Rosa de Lima a sustained argument for the merits of his own biographical subject.

A closer look at the text of *La Azucena de Quito* itself reveals that Morán's metaphor of the Lily and the Rose is used to proclaim the merits of the city of Quito in relation to the viceregal capital (Morán 65). As early as the second chapter, Morán is advertising Quito's material, spiritual, and cultural accomplishments. Wealthy in minerals and "fruits," his native region is the garden (*vergel*) of the Indies. Denying that its location south of the equator is a disadvantage,[44] Morán proudly describes the origins and rapid growth of his city, which progressed so quickly that only ten years after its founding it had established a cathedral, divided itself from the archdiocese of Lima, and supported a bishop with large revenues (Morán 65–67). Quito's architecture is "sturdy and first-class," and quiteño religious devotion to numerous pious cults and their careful maintenance of holy sites and sanctuaries had kept them from suffering the "unfortunate destruction of the sort which is lamented in many regions of the Indies."[45] Quito's "pulpits and learned chairs (*cátedras*) need not envy the brilliance of others," the quiteño biographer declares, almost certainly with the capital in mind. Finally, in one of his clearest articulations of quiteño envy vis-à-vis Lima, Morán attempts to account for the general paucity of books on the religious history of Quito. He unmistakably has in mind Lima, a city proclaimed by its proud historians of the seventeenth century as a producer of saints, in his counter-assertion that "the *lives* of those who earned reputations for heroic virtues and public acclaim as saints [in Quito] would not fit into a large volume." The lack of such printed volumes can be attributed, notes Morán, to "this

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region's lack of a printing press by means of which it might shed public light on its own honors."[46] Quito's problem, in other words, is not a lack of virtuous figures or great achievements, but the lack of advertising.

The Rose/Lily comparison also pervades the collection of paratextual documents written to accompany Morán's hagiographic text in published form. Literary scholars and cultural historians have increasingly called attention to the importance of the paratext—that is, "the book-related material physically surrounding the literary text" (Brown 61; Genette). Cynthia Brown, for instance, argues that "title pages and colophons, author images in miniatures and woodcuts, privilege advertisements and prefatory material, authorial signatures and devices," all enhance the authority of the author vis-à-vis the central text (61). Roger Chartier carries this argument beyond the author-patron-printer triad to include the intended reading audience, claiming that the paratext favors "the strategies by which authors and publishers tried to impose an orthodoxy or a prescribed reading on the text" ("Texts" 157).

In a brief prologue written in 1697 to accompany the hagiographic text in its eventual printed form, Morán felt compelled to explain why it had taken so many years for the devotees of Mariana de Jesús finally to complete her biography, for the delay reflected very badly not only on the devotion of her self-declared followers, but on the quiteña saint herself. After lamenting that three potential authors of a *life* of Mariana de Jesús had failed thanks to their heavy duties as churchmen or their untimely death, Morán nevertheless praises the efforts of Quito's city council and the Jesuit Province to promote the cause of Mariana de Jesús, and to collect and preserve the documentary evidence for her life (34–38).

The metaphor of Rose and Lily also appears in later paratextual documents, including a *Parecer* (Opinion) and a collection of poems or *décimas*, both written by other members of the Jesuit Province of Quito in 1699. A standard feature of Spanish printed texts in the seventeenth century, the *Parecer* was a brief document in which a recognized scholar or ecclesiastical official endorsed a text for publication. In this case, the Jesuit fathers Diego Abad y Cepeda, Juan Calvo, and Isidro Gallegos affirmed the orthodoxy and the spiritual value of *La Azucena de Quito*. Following the cue of Father Morán, they

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observed that "Mariana de Jesús, entitled 'Lily of Quito,'" seemed to them "a very close likeness to the fragrant flower of the Kingdoms of Peru, Rosa de Santa María." They too noted that Divine Providence, having raised up Rosa to be "queen for the glory of the Indies," had then cultivated the Lily "as her sister in customs, for the honor and adornment of these provinces." And like Morán, they lamented that although "born practically in the same garden (*un mismo jardín*) and temporal era (*edad del tiempo*)," the Rose had already achieved fame throughout the Church, while "this humble and inhibited Lily" remained locked "in the prisons of the closed bud and of ignorance" (Morán 24–25). Similar floral imagery appears in Father Marcus Zaurek's "*Décimas* in honor of the principal objects contained in this book on the Venerable Virgin Mariana de Jesús."[47] In a brief poem in Latin entitled "To the Venerable Virgin Mariana de Jesús, otherwise known as de Flores, in death a Rose," the Jesuit poet reasserts one of the key themes from Morán's *life*: by dying for her patria, Quito, Mariana becomes its Rose.[48]

Ironically, since Morán's attempts to publish *La Azucena de Quito* were frustrated for over a quarter century, these paratextual apparati remained unknown until their rediscovery and publication in the mid-twentieth century. The persistence of Morán de Butrón and other promoters of Mariana's cause for canonization did, however, result in a complete text of *La Azucena de Quito* being published in Madrid in 1724. This book's paratext sheds further light on Morán's use of metaphor. "Seventy-six years have passed since the death of the Venerable virgin Mariana de Jesús," the quiteño hagiographer's Prologue begins, and he goes on to describe the attempts made to publish his *life* of the Lily of Quito after its completion in the 1690s (56–58).[49] Initial efforts to publish the work in Lima had met with limited success, "since costs there are very high," and the death in rapid succession of three patrons of Mariana's cause, when coupled with the relative poverty of the region around Quito, had hampered progress towards publication. This did not, however, indicate that interest in Mariana's cult had waned.[50] Despite the setbacks of 1699 to 1702, the Jesuit Province of Quito again commissioned him to prepare a new manuscript for publication in Madrid. To everyone's consternation, however, in 1706 God had allowed English pirates to capture the Spanish

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galleon in which the manuscript and necessary moneys were being conveyed to Spain. The Jesuit Province and the city council of Quito had therefore taken great pains to preserve the original documents for their esteemed saint's life. Only "the lack of a printing press in these parts," and the fact that even in Lima publishing facilities were both expensive and "inadequate" could have prevented the *Vida*'s appearance (Morán 57).

Perhaps Morán's most telling comparison of the two Peruvian saints is revealed in his *Dedicatoria* (letter of dedication) written in 1721 to Don Pedro de Zumárraga, Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Quito, whose patronage and support he sought for the cause of the Lily. A descendent of the famed first bishop of New Spain, Zumárraga was a devotee of Santa Rosa de Lima, and at his own personal expense had provided for her cult in Quito's cathedral. In this letter, Morán notes that the only significant difference between the Rose and the Lily was that the fame of the former had spread quickly throughout the world, while the latter remained in relative obscurity. After flattering Zumárraga for his famous lineage and faithful ecclesiastical service in the diocese of Quito, and noting the numerous parallels between the two Peruvian saints, Morán pleads with the high church official to do for the Lily what he had already done for the Rose (40–51). The pleading apparently worked: Zumárraga paid the publication costs for *La Azucena de Quito*, which finally appeared in print in 1724.

* * * * *

Scholars seeking to interpret the functions of religious or sacred biography frequently draw distinctions between history and myth; that is, between biographical attempts to recover the individual subject and hagiographic urges to refashion the subject into an emblem serving the society's spiritual, social, or political needs.[51] In general, the mythic tends to win out. "These men are metaphors," Clifford Geertz observes when comparing two great Islamic figures: "Whatever they originally were or did as actual persons has long since been dissolved into an image of what Indonesians or Moroccans regard to be true spirituality" (25–35). Given time's ability to transform historical religious figures into metaphors, it should not surprise us that Jacinto Morán de Butrón narrates Mariana's life in a way that serves to advance a regional, parochial sense of self-identity.

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My argument has been that given the circumstances, Morán's reflections on the life of his local saint, Mariana de Jesús, would lead him not only to compare her with the widely recognized Santa Rosa de Santa María, but also to meditate upon the unappreciated status, albeit unjustified, of his own patria in relation to Lima.

I do not wish to imply that Morán places Quito at odds with Lima; *La Azucena de Quito* is not an avant-garde manifesto for Ecuadorian independence. Rather, Morán argues for shared characteristics and comparable saintly and civic glory. Morán sees the sanctity of Rosa and Mariana as credits to the "New World," the "Western Indies," and "this hemisphere" (23, 209, 56). In his statement that quiteños considered their Lily to be "the glory of this Province and a new coat of arms (*blasón*) for the realms of Peru," he also implies a broader Peruvian loyalty (62).

In developing the metaphor of the rose and the lily, Morán seeks to have them, like the two holy women themselves, germinate, bud, and bloom in the fertile soil of mid-colonial Peru. The textual, paratextual, and extratextual evidence all suggest that Morán's choice of narrative framework and use of metaphor arose from his immediate historical context—as he interpreted it. In *La Azucena de Quito*, the biographer from the land of Mariana de Jesús articulates the more general perception of his fellow quiteños, namely, that while their patria's material, religious, and cultural achievements closely paralleled those of Lima, their merits deserved greater notice and reward.

## NOTES

1. "Enriqueció el poder divino a la América con la Rosa más admirable, que se conoce haber plantado en los países de sus Indias; determinó trasplantarla para aumento de su gloria al paraíso de sus recreos. Gemía claro está, esta monarquía con la ausencia de su Rosa, como sin el sol el día, y como sin Moisés toda Judea; pero sí allá restañó Díos esas lágrimas y sollozos con nuevos amparos y finezas, no con quitarle la rosa a este imperio le destituyó de nuevo resguardo y patrocinio, porque no se pasó año desde trasplantarse Santa Rosa desde Lima al cielo, cuando nació la Venerable virgen Mariana de Jesús y Parede, bellísima flor y purísima azucena, para que quedase por substituta de la Rosa, y retrato propio de sus virtudes" (Morán 60).

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2. During the colonial era, "Peru" referred to greater viceregal Peru. Prior to the creation of new viceregal capitals in Bogotá (1739) and Buenos Aires (1777), this administrative unit included all Spanish-held territory in South America, except for what is today Venezuela. I will use "Peru" in the same sense. In Spain and Spanish America during the seventeenth-century, *beata* referred to pious lay women who lived uncloistered lives. Such devout women occasionally lived communally and took informal vows. Others, however, including Rose of Lima and Mariana de Jesús of Quito, lived in the home of their parents, or perhaps other relatives or well-to-do pious benefactors. Such women often made important alliances with the local clergy, and via such relationships, as lay members would often assume the religious habit of their confessor's order.

3. After completing the manuscript, Morán and his fellow devotees of Mariana de Jesús were forced for financial reasons to publish the text in an abbreviated form (Lima, 1702). After a series of misadventures and setbacks, Morán managed to publish the full text (Madrid, 1724). Quotations in this article are cited from the most recent edition, Aurelio Espinosa Pólit's *Vida de Santa Mariana de Jesús*. I will, however, refer to the text as *La Azucena de Quito*, Morán's own chosen title.

4. For the "revival of narrative," see Stone 74–96. As William Cronon notes, "the principal difference between a chronicle and a narrative is that a good story makes us *care* about its subject in a way that a chronicle does not" (1374). Two influential works which exemplify this renewed interest in narrative are Natalie Zemon Davis's *Fiction in the Archive* and Lynn Hunt's *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*.

5. For another important contribution to the historiography of Spanish American identity formation, see Brading, who devotes a few pages to the canonizations of Peru's best-known saints, Santa Rosa de Lima and San Martín de Porres (337-40). For recent studies on saints and saints' *lives*, see Vallarta; García-Rivera; García, "Los Santos"; Lavrin, "La vida feminina" and "Unlike Sor Juana?"; and Iwasaki Cauti, "Mujeres," "Vidas de santos," and "Santos y alumbrados."

6. For a discussion of changes in the canonization process, see Burke; see also Nalle, "A Saint for All Seasons" and *God in La Mancha*.

7. See, for example, Macklin and Margolies, "Saints" and "Two Faces of Sainthood"; Cummins; and DeStefano.

8. Or see Kleinberg: "The eyewitness/biographer usually repeated many of the clichés of the hagiographical genre, but by proclaiming his loyalty to standard representations, he could interpret their meaning in such a way as to give them an entirely

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new content. . . . Similar miracles, similar phrases, similar gestures could mean different things in different contexts" (3).

9. Similar approaches can be found in Brennan and Boureau.

10. The complete Spanish text is as follows: "No sigo el rumbo seguro y laudable que han tomado algunos para escribir vidas de varones ilustres en santidad, poniendo primero la vida, los hechos y la muerte, y después en libro aparte las virtudes; porque semejante división no cabe en una virgen que solo vió del mundo los retiros de su casa, ni la edad y sexo se pueden acomodar a este orden de narración. Para la claridad que deseo, dividiré la historia en cinco libros, tomando la metáfora de la Azucena; pues, como es María Santísima por singulares apoyos la Rosa Mística, es Mariana por especial prerrogativa la Azucena. En el primer libro, de su niñez, se verá la Azucena que nació en los collados de Quito; en el segundo, de su penitencia, la Azucena entre espinas; en el tercero, de otras virtudes, la Azucena entre las flores; en el cuarto, de los favores con que Dios la regaló, el rocío del cielo en la Azucena; en el quinto, de su muerte y brevedad de su vida, el poco tiempo en que goza sus candores la Azucena" (Morán 37–38).

11. A brief synopsis of the life of Rosa de Lima is available in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*. For a twentieth-century narrative based on a wider range of sources, see Vargas Ugarte.

12. This arrangement was in fact a natural one, due to her association with the Dominican church and her devotion to saints Dominic and Catherine of Siena (see Hansen 34–37).

13. For more on the role which this couple played in the life and posthumous career of Rosa de Lima, see Iwasaki Cauti, "Mujeres" and "Santos y alumbrados." Millones records De la Maza's testimony from the 1617 inquest into the sanctity of Rosa de Santa María; the original testimony is from the "Procesos de beatificación y canonización de Santa Rosa de Lima," Tomo I, Folios 400-24, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima.

14. Within a period of less than five years, Rosa de Lima was beatified and canonized by popes Clement IX and Clement X (*Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 11: 400). For documents relating to the papal declaration of her as "principal Patrona de la ciudad de Lima y reinos del Perú," and later of all America, the Philippines, and the Indies, see Hansen 402–87, and Polvorosa López 603–39.

15. In 1862, Rome canonized San Felipe de Jesús, a Mexican-born Franciscan who was among the Spanish missionaries and Japanese converts who died martyrs' deaths near the site of modern Nagasaki in 1597. For a discussion of the hagiographic tradition of Felipe de Jesús (beatified 1627), see Morgan, Curiel 80, and García, "El Martir Colonial."

16. Both Juana and Sebastiana desired to imitate their aunt's vow of perpetual virginity, but in this regard Juana was disappointed,

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for Mariana herself prophesied that it was God's will that her niece marry. According to tradition predating Morán de Butrón's life, Juana's and Sebastiana's dedication to the twin virtues of sexual purity and obedience led to their premature deaths. Fearing death through childbirth, Juana pleaded in vain with her husband for permission to enter with their daughter Catalina the soon-to-be founded convent of the Discalced Carmelites. Fulfilling Mariana's prophecy, however, Juana did die in childbirth. Sebastiana, on the other hand, did imitate her aunt's vow of perpetual chastity, but her family refused to recognize it, arranging instead for an economically advantageous marriage. In response, Mariana and a Jesuit spiritual director urged Sebastiana to ask God to end her life, thereby saving her from violating her vow of perpetual virginity. Sebastiana then successfully "offered her life upon the altar of love in order to preserve her chastity and die as a holy victim, or end among the ashes like a divine phoenix" (Morán 163).

17. Roman Catholic hagiographers from this period consistently treat the decision by a holy woman to enter or refrain from entering the cloister as a decision of her's and God's. We must tread cautiously here, however, for the same sources hint that economic factors very often determined who joined the convent and who did not. For a discussion of the dowries required for entrance into a convent, see Lavrin, "Women and Convents" and "Female Religious." For a discussion of how hagiographers turned ordinary "circumstances" into providentially ordained events, see Vallarta 39–42. Morán himself observes that Cosme de Caso and the mother superior had arranged for Mariana to enter Santa Clara in the traditional ostentatious ceremony. Mariana resisted their plans, however, "praying to her Husband very ardently that He show her His will, for such was the only religious rule she desired to follow" (136). God heard her plea, revealing to her His own desire for her to remain "secluded in her own house, with a more rigorous enclosure than [exists] in the most sheltered convent."

Mariana's awareness of the nature of contemporary convent life very likely influenced her understanding of God's will in the matter. As John Leddy Phelan observes: "Although the convents were not havens for licentiousness, neither were they centers of rigorous asceticism. . . . Although some nuns did devote themselves to acts of penitence and social charity, many more ladies lived behind the cloisters with all the creature comforts, including being attended by their own staff of servants. . . . Saint Mariana de Jesús and her contemporary, Rosa of Lima, were both women of intense religious vocations who deliberately avoided the cloisters. The convents, with their genteel atmosphere and comforts, if not luxuries, were not suitable places for those two baroque saints to pursue their spiritual development" (193–94).

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18. See Apéndice IV, "Las Congregaciones y Cofradías establecidas en la iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús en Quito," in Jouanen, *El modelo* (305–06). For a discussion of the Marian devotions established by the Jesuits in New Spain, see Aizpuru.

19. In the years following Mariana's death, there was a significant increase in the number and size of pious donations toward the adornment of the chapel of Our Lady of Loreto in the Jesuit church. One Doña Catalina de Angulo, for example, donated pearls and gold worth 1,300 pesos (see Jouanen, *Historia* 264–65).

20. Phelan puts the death toll at two thousand Spaniards and ten thousand Indians (191).

21. The original Spanish passage reads: "Mi confesor (que era entonces el predicador) . . . es muy necesario para la conversión de las almas; su vida es importantísima para reducir al rebaño de mi Esposo sus ovejas; de su dirección necesita la República, de su enseñanza la juventud, de sus talentos tiene muchos gananciales mi madre la Compañía, y con su muerte faltará a la República un padre, a la juventud el maestro, a las almas un pastor y a la religión un sujeto. Mi vida está por demás en la ciudad; amo al prójimo como Cristo lo amó, quiero a mi patria como a mi madre, amo a mis paisanos, como a hermanos de Jesucristo. Pues si este Senor ofreció liberalmente su vida por dar a las almas vida y librarlos de la eterna muerte, yo por imitar a mi Esposo y amar a los prójimos como Cristo los amó, os ofresco, Dios mio, querido Esposo de mi alma, desde luego y al momento mi vida, porque cesen en Quito vuestros enojos, se templen vuestros rigores y libréis a mis paisanos y hermanos mios muy queridos, del azote que descargáis con la peste y la ruina que se teme por los temblores" (Morán 502–03).

22. For a copy of the sermon, see Rojas; a reprint appears in Jouanen, *El modelo* 310–23. Espinosa Pólit called the *Sermón* "the most immediate document . . . that preserves the living palpitation of the popular enthusiasm encircling the glorious coffin" (Introduccíon 3). For a fuller treatment of the Rojas sermon and its influence upon the hagiographical traditions surrounding the life of Santa Mariana, see Larrea 67–70.

23. "[A]prended, niñas de Quito, de vuestra paisana, santidad por hermosura, virtudes por galas" (Jouanen, *El modelo* 318).

24. For Simons's source, see "Vita Elizabeth sanctimonialis."

25. "[A]sí esta República, no sólo debe estar gozosa, porque la ilustró esta sierva de Dios con su asistencia y hoy la patrocina con sus ruegos, sino también agradecida, porque, por medio del sacrificio que hizo a Dios Mariana de Jesús de su vida, libró Dios nuestra ciudad de los castigos que nuestras culpas merecen" (Jouanen, *El modelo* 317).

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26. "Vos sois Mártir entre los invencibles. . . . Vos sois el sacrificio sagrado ofrecido por la salud de vuestra Patria. . . . [V]olved los ojos a vuestra piadosa familia y parentela, que con tantas ansias os desea, con tanto amor os felicita, y con tantos gastos os honra; rogad a Dios por vuestra ciudad, y paisanos, que confían en vuestra intercesión" (Jouanen, *El modelo* 323).

27. Her first resting place was in the vault near the altar of San José. Thereafter, her remains were placed near the altar of Our Lady of Loreto, of whom Mariana had been an ardent devotee. Still later, some of Mariana's relatives had her remains transferred to a niche near the church's main altar (Jouanen, *Historia* 259–60).

28. Many close to the santa during her lifetime gave testimony which appears in the documents of the Diocesan Inquest. Among those were the Carmelite nuns Madre Andrea María de la Santísima Trinidad and Madre Catalina María de los Angeles (niece and great niece of Mariana de Jesús, respectively); Doña Escolástica Sarmiento (a childhood friend); María Paredes and Catalina Paredes (household servants), and other friends, relatives, clerics, and female religious, as well as a medical doctor who had attended to her. According to Larrea, Catalina Paredes, the household servant who had aided Mariana in her secretive penitential acts, gave her testimony in the Quechua language. For a discussion of the inquests and the resulting documents (hereafter *Proceso*), see Larrea 55–65.

29. For earlier Jesuit attempts to publish the *life*, see Larrea 55–62, 67–73.

30. Córdova Salinas 525–39. The text of the Cazco letter is found in Compte. For a twentieth-century Jesuit point-of-view, see Espinosa Pólit, who does not dispute Mariana's accepting of the habit, but challenges the Franciscan interpretation of the event, arguing that the Lily of Quito established a merely canonical relationship with that Order (*Santa Mariana* 184–211).

31. Morán explicitly denies the Franciscan claims by emphasizing the Lily of Quito's devotion to the Jesuits, noting that she frequently referred to the Order as "my mother" (502). By dropping her family surnames in order to be called Mariana de Jesús, Mariana demonstrated that she valued the spiritual upbringing she had received from the Jesuits more than that which her own parents had provided (106), a point reinforced by Morán's insertion of brief narrations of the lives of such well-known clerics as Juan Camacho and Hernando de la Cruz (108–16). After lauding his own Order "for being the only one which cultivated, watered, and harvested this Lily," Morán goes on to suggest that Mariana herself considered any connection to the Order of St. Francis as incidental, amounting to nothing more than a common-place interest in the indulgences to be gained by anyone who wears

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the Franciscan scapulary and sash. Quoting witnesses from the *Proceso* of 1670–78, Morán even claims that by requesting the habit, she was following the counsel of her Jesuit confessor, Camacho, and that she had not even gone to the Franciscan church to receive the sash and scapulary, sending a third party in her stead (327–40).

32. For background information on Morán de Butrón and the circumstances surrounding his writing of *La Azucena de Quito*, see Pérez Pimentel 2: 193–96; Jouanen, *Historia* 263–64; and Espinosa Pólit's Introduction (1–12). Morán wrote a number of other works which are less well known. His "Lógica, Física y Matemática" and a "Comentario sobre los ocho libros de la Física de Aristoteles" were never published, but evidently remain in the Archivo Nacional de Historia del Ecuador (Pérez Pimentel 2: 194). In 1930 Juan Francisco Marcos Aguirre of the Centro de Investigaciones Historicas de Guayaquil published Morán's *Compendio histórico de la provincia y puerto de Guayaquil*, along with a corresponding *Plano*, and declared their author "iniciador de los estudios de la Historia Patria" (Pérez Pimentel 2: 196–97).

33. Despite the failure of earlier Jesuit attempts to produce a *life* of Mariana de Jesús, several members of the Order, as well as relatives of the deceased saint, had generated and collected documents which would prove useful to Morán in the 1690s when he began work on *La Azucena de Quito*. In a declaration made before witnesses in 1746, Morán claimed to have had access to a number of eyewitness accounts of the beata's life, including some of Mariana's own writings, original letters from several of her spiritual directors, and a set of notebooks in which Father Pedro de Alcocer, S.J., had begun to write her *life*. Morán's declaration and his own discussion of his sources can be found in the *Vida*, 14–20, and also in Jouanen, *El modelo* 327–29. Larrea also gives a detailed catalogue of the earliest sources of the *life* of the Lily of Quito, along with an explanation of how certain writers, including Morán, used those sources.

34. The Spanish text reads as follows: "Llámola en el discurso de esta historia la Azucena de Quito, no tanto por ser común epíteto de las vírgenes, cuanto por haberse formado de su sangre una vara vistosísima de azucenas. Y así, aunque por este prodigio tuviera razón bastante para apellidarla Azucena del Perú, confirméme en el dictamen, cuando al leer los Procesos auténticos de su Vida, teniendo a la vista las virtudes de la Rosa, hallé ser muchas en entrambas la semejanza, retratadas las gracias de la Rosa y copiadas al vivo sus perfecciones. . . . Y a la verdad, cuando la Venerable virgen Mariana de Jesús no tuviera otros elogios, ni otra senda de su vida que haber seguido las huellas de la esclarecida virgen Santa Rosa de Santa María . . . no necesitara de otros aplausos su santidad, ni de otros adornos la narración" (Morán 60–63).

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35. As Morán de Butrón himself admits in order to establish more firmly the antiquity of the sobriquet, he borrows the title used by Father Pedro de Alcocer, who had begun a *life* of Mariana a generation earlier (16).

36. "Porque si Dios dispuso en Lima que, naciendo una en todo bella criatura y poniendole en el bautismo el nombre de Isabel . . . le mudasen el nombre de Isabel en el de Rosa . . . parece que también en Quito dispuso, que habiendose llamado en vida esta Venerable virgen Mariana, para que después de muerte fuese mas aplaudida y celebrada, se formase de su sangre una azucena que nos sirviese de cifra, con que mudandole de nombre la llamasenos nuestra Azucena, y dandole una Rosa a Lima, diese a Quito una Azucena" (Morán 221–22).

37. Morán cites a letter to Queen Mariana of Austria from the former Archbishop of Charcas which notes that while visiting Quito he had learned of the quiteña's reputation: "the tenor of her life," he observed, "was very much like that of the illustrious virgin Santa Rosa, Patroness of these Kingdoms" (61).

38. Zealous to identify the circumstances of Mariana's life as closely as possible with the life of Rosa, Morán errs in his assertion that "not seventy days passed between the transplanting of [Rosa] in heaven and the birth of she who was born for the glory of our land" (42). Espinosa Pólit explains the problems with Morán's chronology (*Santa Mariana* 60, n. 2). See also Vallarta 39–42.

39. "... como a Santa Rosa debió Lima su libertad de no asolarse . . . se puede juzgar, si no con toda, con alguna semejanza, que a Mariana quizás le debe Quito su permanencia" (Morán 504, 192).

40. Responding to the growing power of the northern encomendero class, in 1540 Pizarro appointed his younger brother Gonzalo governor (Andrien 517).

41. For the privileges and responsibilities that accrued to the Spanish crown under the *patronato real*, see Schwaller, and Shiels.

42. The Universidad de San Marcos, established in 1551, preceded the universities in Charcas (1614) and Cordova (1621). For the founding of the Dominican colegio of San Luis and Universidad de Santo Tomás, see Vargas 295–310.

43. Numerous *lives* of Santa Rosa were written in the decades following her death. The first was by her confessor, Pedro de Loayza—written in 1619, but not published until the twentieth century. A life of St. Rosa authored by a German Dominican named Leonardo Hansen appeared in Latin in 1664. Entitled *Vira mirabilis et mors pretiosa . . . Rosae de S. Maria Limensis*, Hansen's work exercised an enormous influence, for it served as the basis for most of the later vernacular lives of the limeña saint, including Jacinto Parra's Spanish translation, first published in 1670 as *Vida*

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*Admirable de Santa Rosa*. In this essay, all quotations and citations of the Hansen work are from a 1925 revised edition of Parra's 1670 edition. A two-part *life* of Rosa de Lima appeared in Juan Melendez's 1681 chronicle entitled *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias*, while Luis Antonio Oviedo y Herrera's epic poem *Vida* was published in Madrid in 1711 and again in Mexico City in 1729. That publishers in Mexico City printed a second edition suggests that there was a considerable market for such a work in Mexico as well as elsewhere. For more on the economics of printing in colonial Mexico, see Mena.

44. This statement is directed to Europeans rather than limeños; for European attitudes regarding the effects of climate upon human character, and criollo efforts to counter such notions, see Brading 422–46, and Lavallé 45–61..

45. Here Morán implies that when the Catholic faithful in a certain locality give attention to the cult of their saints, those saints intercede on their behalf to ward off spiritual and physical danger. As noted, Morán attributed the survival of Quito in the face of the earthquakes and pestilences of 1645 to the protection of St. Mariana. Thus, he here asserts that the people of Quito had guaranteed their continued good fortune by devoting themselves to numerous pious cults. This would have presumably included the cult of Our Lady of Loreto, one of Mariana's favorite devotions during her lifetime and one which the Jesuits promoted.

46. The complete text reads: "Atendió juntamente la omnipotencia divina al cultivo de sus naturales con el riego de su gracia, produciendo fecundas plantas de virtudes y fragantes [*sic*] flores de santidad, así en los retiros de la monástica disciplina como en el tráfago y bullicio de ciudad tan populosa; de modo que en grande volumen no cupieran las vidas de los que en ellas se granjearon créditos de virtudes muy heroicas y públicas aclamaciones de santos. Y el no haber dado a la estampa ejemplares tan divinos, no ha sido tanto descuido, como la falta que padece este país de una prensa en que pueda dar a la pública luz sus honores" (Morán 68).

47. "Décimas a los principales objetos que se contienen en este libro de la V. Virgen Mariana de Jesús" (Morán 27–33). Born in Moravia in 1661, Father Marcus Zaurek entered the Jesuit Order in 1678, and came to Quito in 1696, where he made the profession of four vows in 1700 and died in 1702. His verses appeared in the 1724 madrileño edition of *La Azucena de Quito*.

48. "Venerabilis virgo Mariana de Jesu, seu de Flores, in morte Rosa" (Morán 30–33).

49. This was of course Morán's second "Prologue to the Reader" (dated 1721). As noted, his first Prologue (1697) remained lost for two and a half centuries.

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50. "Although her cult did not wane, for it flourishes still in these realms, patronage of it was suspended, the manuscript book of her life was lost, and her cause in general suffered oblivion" ("Si no se marchitó su devoción, porque ésta aún dura floreciente en esos Reinos, se suspendió su patrocinio, se perdió el libro manuscrito de su vida, y se entregó toda la causa al olvido") (Morán 57).

51. See Reynolds and Capps, who discuss religious biography in relation to the history, anthropology, and psychology of religion.

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# Shifting Gears in Life History Research: The Case of an Assimilated American Jewish Woman in Palestine/Israel, 1989–1991

*Batya Weinbaum*

In evaluating the products of feminist life-history research, how do we decide what is true and valid? I found this question was uppermost in my mind when trying to recognize the dynamics between my own life and those of my subjects. Between 1989 and 1991, I interviewed thirty-five women of many diverse backgrounds and foregrounds in a cantankerous Palestine/Israel, mid-*Intifada* and pre-Peace Accord. In that place, at that time, internationalism emerged in the feminist movement as a protocol for protesting the occupation of Palestinian territories by the State of Israel. I found in oral histories conducted with movement participants that the language of women's experience often became a means to understand the dynamics between national groups. Further, some women chose to deploy for internationalist ends their particular status as segregated for protection, and as mothers.

The goal of my own research was not to understand the displacement dilemma itself, but rather how the fabric of Israeli society could sustain displacement of others. Partly due to the actions of some of the women I recorded, the former predicament was already receiving international attention. I intended to do my own small part in overcoming warlike black and white stereotypes by capturing the ideas, passions, and thinking of grassroots activist women holding a range of perspectives on Palestine/Israel at that particular moment. Within some forty hours of transcribed material, I searched for qualitative feminist insights within my subjects' lives. I had decided that while quantitative research might silence women's voices, a


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qualitative approach might grant access, on the women's own terms, to their perceptions, emotions, and actions. Most sociologists and historians in social movement theory tend to discredit the personal beliefs, ideas, and strategies of those involved in collective actions. In my small heterogeneous sample, I hoped to locate now hidden qualities of this complex situation by seeking an in-depth understanding of the subjects' lives. Despite its limitations, this research can reveal much about how women experience social processes. I wanted to give credit to these women's perceptions by first recording them, and only then analyzing their circumstances. I hoped that my open-ended methodology of exploration and discovery might not only contribute to alleviating the conflictual situation, but even to the cause of liberating women by strengthening our understandings of the interplay between grassroots mobilization of women, feminism, and internationalism.

Over the course of five trips I interviewed organizers, workers, mothers, students, and grandmothers from Jerusalem—East, West, and suburbs—Haifa, Maalot, Nazareth, Mizpah Ramon, Kibbutz Lotan, Kibbutz Gan Schmuel, Kibbutz Kinneret, Hadera, and from small Arabic villages within Israel's borders. In July 1989, I first revisited a *kibbutz* on which I had worked at the age of nineteen. I also contacted women's centers, located research sites, attended protests of Women in Black—a grassroots women's network emerging through weekly rituals against the occupation of lands seized during the war of 1967—and went to "pray-ins" in Jerusalem conducted by Women at the Wall, a group challenging restrictions on public prayer at the Western Wall of the old temple in West Jerusalem. The activism I saw during this initial trip made me decide to conduct a more extended project. My first return was from December 1989 to April 1990, at the height of the period of optimism when peace groups believed they could move Israel to talk with the PLO. My second return, from December 1990 to January 1991, was during the Gulf War build-up, when a pervasive state of giddy, self-protective denial made me distrustful of the larger premise of the historical situation. When I returned again from September to November 1991, after the setback of the Gulf War, I found people were less than eager to talk about the situation. I was disturbed by some of my Israeli informants' denial of pain and disap-pointment, and perhaps even more disturbed

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by the way they discussed the supposed morbid fear of the Arabs under the threat of being bombed as a way to foreground the bravado of the supposedly superior Israeli courage. On my last visit in August 1993, to collect signatures on releases, I was ready to let go of Israel as the organizational nexus of my life.

My original assumptions were hardly novel. Basically, I was modeling my efforts on projects feminists had been working on since the mid to late 1970s. In my view, uncovering women's history helped to fill the existing void of accurate reflections of women's lives. My project was therefore part of consciousness raising, and a way to inform organizing. Following the lead of feminists who had taken oral histories as a way of recovering the voices of suppressed groups, I set out in Israel/Palestine to collect group "talk," as we had done in living rooms, sublets, lofts, and studio apartments in New York City during the early stages of the rebirth of the U.S. feminist movement. Convinced that all of us theorize and derive second order constructs from first order constructs, I wanted to see if new theories could evolve, and if theories changed in the course of research, by having women, including myself, listen to each other and sort out the pieces. By collecting women's thoughts and voices in this way, I also hoped to resist the tendency then occurring in American feminism to retreat to academe—a movement which was creating a greater divergence between theory and practice, between theorists and activists. Such, at any rate, was the impetus for the conversations.

But I was also a child of the sixties, who grew up in a small midwestern town, shaken by civil rights debates. My parents were active as Jews and visible in NAACP and local black community board projects. As an adult I chose to move to the northeastern, generally liberal/progressive part of the United States. As a progressive Jew, I therefore wanted to know whether uniting across racial, national, class, and religious lines, a template of community acquired in my childhood at the tail end of the civil rights movement in the U.S., could have a positive political impact on the fight for Palestinian civil rights within Israel. And yet, as I moved towards realizing my goal of researching the interconnections among grassroots organizing of women, feminism, and internationalism, with each return to Palestine/Israel I became increasingly aware of how American my impulse or desire was.

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I understood that self-understanding was always shaped by culture. But where and how, as an American Jewish researcher raised assimilated and Reform away from Jewish urban centers in the U.S., did I fit into the culture I was studying? And how did it matter in shaping the course of my research, if it did? I increasingly realized that I was part of the process I studied. Whatever academic insights I contributed to the resulting intellectual product were therefore at least in part the consequence of my marginal status as an "outsider within." The result? I now realize that my superficial identification of interests across lifestyles and political beliefs left me vulnerable to the power of a well spun, though inaccurate, metaphor. Only a series of jolts of disidentification ultimately separated me from the process, forcing me to change my categories of analysis as my goal changed from pursuing feminist questions and answers to understanding the lure of nationalism in my subjects and consequently within myself.

Though many experiences contributed to this shift, for the purposes of this essay I will draw my materials from my research experience with a woman I will call Michelle Loriat. She was one of the subjects whom I could neither categorize as left nor right. At times she spoke in the spirit of revolt against an oppressive government; at other times, she spoke in what I considered to be a racist, offensive manner about Palestinians. It would have been easier to cut her from the book, and for a time I did. But something intrigued me about her, and lured me into working further with her material rather than simply discarding an interview subject who could not be clearly dispensed with as "fascist" nor clearly included as "left-wing." Her material increasingly came to resemble the curious symbols of a dream. The longer I worked with it, the more I discovered I had to learn—both about the dynamics of the situation and about myself as a researcher.

* * * * *

Michelle Loriat was forty-nine years old at the time of our first interview in the spring of 1990. A number of similarities between us added a participatory, bonding dimension to our interviews. Loriat was a single mother. I was interested in becoming a single mother at the time. She lived with her sons in a renovated apartment in the Jewish quarter of the Old City. Throughout my adult

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life, I had lived in such renovated quarters as loft buildings, old school houses, and old post offices. She had studied the history of literature and art at the Sorbonne. My own education, then centered in the discipline of English, gave us a shared frame of literary reference. She worked backstage, constructing sets, costumes, and masks, and helping with make-up. I had been involved in political theater. Once she claimed to have made the original phone call that got women dressed in black marching against the Lebanon War. I had participated in the Women's Pentagon Action in 1981, in which a column of women walked dressed in black to indicate mourning, and had also been a key women's organizer. She identified herself as having once been a socialist, and so did I. We both had concerns about the apparent anti-Semitism in left-wing politics. In our youth we had both worked on *kibbutzim*, to which at pivotal points in our lives and in Israeli history we had each returned. She drew on metaphors of women's experience in the family to understand broader dimensions of social reality, as did I. She had moved to Israel after recognizing the dead-end nature of assimilation, when certain news about Jews broke in the media. I also recalled a moment when watching the news bits about Israelis and Palestinians with my white, male, American, non-Jewish friends led me to question my own status as a Jew U.S. society.

During our interviews I explored the past of this person with whom I initially felt such an identification. In 1941, while pregnant with Michelle, her mother fled France on her way to English Gibraltar. Michelle was actually born in a military hospital in England. As an infant, Michelle experienced the London Blitz and bombardments. She returned to France in 1945, to the postwar atmosphere of a traumatized Paris. The attitudes she holds about the realities and problems of today reflect her early experience. Her self-constructed life history shares with the life histories of holocaust survivors as described by Henry Greenspan the need to "make a story" out of what was not a story. In her talks with me, she exhibited the same need to live on negation of what was such an utter and complete negation. Comprehensible, communicable form gets set against incomprehensible memories. Also like the life histories of holocaust survivors, Michelle's recounting contains as many accounts of guilt, rage, and despair about the here and now as accounts of the terror back then.

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Greenspan characterizes the life stories of survivors as "cries of individual hearts that only hint at a world in which all such cries are silenced" (145). In this case, Michelle exhibited, apparently from an early age, the ability to speak passionately and eloquently of a proposed future in which the possibility of all such catastrophes ceases. As a result I began to interpret the drama of Loriat's current life-as-text as in part arising from her own fight against complete usurpation by bombings and killings. In this way, statements about the present function as interpretations of the past as well. Michelle fortified herself in this struggle by projecting ideal utopian means. The texts, icons, and facts of her current reality became organized into highly idealistic categories. She interpreted the Bible as socialist. She thought of Israel as a utopia where a Jew could be a total Jew. She also understood the history of Jewish possession of Arab land as a righteous one, claiming that Jews had paid for all the land. Such sweeping totalities superseded mounds of facts that could not be incorporated into her categories. Or as Greenspan's work on patterns in the narratives of survivors suggests, the need for such ideal fits might stem from the initial need to silence all those cries still screaming inside.

Our first interview was the basis for an endearing if tumultuous intimacy. My interest in her life and in her views was matched by her personal generosity and support. My first questions were the easiest and most obvious ones. My initial research interests were in the fabric of a culture that could sustain displacement of others, and more specifically, in what could motivate people (in this case, women) to act publicly in ways that chose self-reclamation as a form of defiance against a now distrusted social authority.

How did she start the Women in Black protest march, I asked her. What did it come out of? What were the historical roots of the vigils that we were seeing at the time? "That was when the Lebanese War started," Michelle replied. "I was very upset. Many people were, because it was a terrible change in the self-image of the state of Israel." She explained that fighting only to defend themselves was a basic Israeli tenet. "To fight and kill people is okay, to fight and defend yourself, but not for dirty political tricks," she elaborated. "People felt we had no business in somebody else's country." Loriat mentioned a telephone call to a friend of hers who was the head of the feminist movement

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in Jerusalem. Did Loriat consider herself a feminist, I asked immediately. She answered that she had been influenced by Germaine Greer, and by Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*. But she did not wish to be labeled a feminist, by herself or by others: "I *never* put myself in any categories."

Here was a point where our identities could almost merge. Subliminally, categorization always raises for me the specter of the categories Nazis established to identify Jews and other people for slaughter. Like another grassroots vigil organizer I interviewed who refused to be for women only because she didn't like putting people in groups, I had always defied such categories, intellectual or any other kind, when applied to myself or to anyone else. Transcending to make a new synthesis always seemed better to me than being confined to any one intellectual camp. I even resisted checking "white" as a box on affirmative action forms and insisted on writing "other." Loriat seemed to follow the same pattern: "I have been to those feminist meetings, and I go to religious meetings, and I agree with some things, and not with others," Michelle revealed. "I agree with this, but I don't agree with that," she explained, concluding that "I don't want to be framed as a feminist, but I have always had strong feminist ideas."

Nevertheless, as Michelle continued to answer my questions, I found myself drawn to the same kind of social experimentation with daily life and organizational forms that I had found in the early women's movement of the 1970s in the United States. Those parts of her account which placed the origin of her activism in female identification, if not with feminism, were very compelling to me. "Here in Israel," she recalled, "I met a woman who told me she was the head of the group in Jerusalem." This feminist created a favorable impression: "I liked her. We exchanged ideas." But Loriat's residual defiance of categorization, originally associated with Nazi slaughter of rebels, gypsies, and Jews, led her to be skeptical of exclusively feminist causes. "So at that time," Loriat continued,

> I called her and I said, "Listen don't you think it is a value for a woman, any woman, not only a feminist, to demand peace and not to fight? What is this crazy aggressive thing to kill people who don't think like you?" I reminded her of the myth of the Sabinas when the first Romans kidnapped and married

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> the Sabina women from the town of Alban. Those women started loving their husbands just as they loved their fathers and sons and brothers. When the Sabina men started a war against the Romans, the Sabina women went to the battlefield and separated their husbands from their brothers and fathers.

Though hardly a conventional feminist narrative, Michelle nevertheless felt that such mediation or peace making was "the function I saw at that time for women and this war to somehow make peace."

A similar disjunction between emphatic assertion and a refusal to be identified with a specific group characterizes Michelle's involvement in the Women in Black. "I don't really know from which of us the idea came, but we theater women met together," she recalled:

> We all had this idea to dress up in black and to make up in white, clown-face make-up. I even took my puppet theater in a chariot. Instead of all my puppets, we put in a big orange with a very sad face, representing all the socialist-minded universal peace ideals of Israel. It had a very sad face. Then we brought something like five women dressed in black, pulling the chariot.

Loriat goes on to suggest that the meaning of such imagery is constant and universal: "To this day, women are standing in black without the white face make-up demanding peace." From the very first, though, she notes that even the attempt to categorize them politically led to friction and violence:

> There was a big manifestation near the *Hamishbir* in Central West Jerusalem. The leftist people more or less, and the rightist people who were shouting *BEGIN, MELECH YSRAEL.* The leftist people were shouting PEACE NOW, PEACE NOW. We got there without a word, very silent. Suddenly people of the right-wing thought that we were wishing death to Begin. And they really attacked us, and destroyed part of the chariot. We were paralyzed with fear.

The emphatic logic of the demonstration clearly has affinities with similar protest movements against rightist regimes—the Mothers of the Disappeared in Argentina, for example, who protested the disappearance of their sons and

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daughters in the wake of the military for a number of years. In fact, the women's group she referred to as still standing in protest against the occupation at the very moment in which our interview occurred was recognizably leftist. Yet in the same interview, Loriat expressed her ambivalence about being defined as a leftist. She had displayed the same logic when talking about certain ideas as appropriate for "any woman, not only a feminist." Though she voted in 1990 for *Shas*, the right-wing religious party that dissolved the coalition government in March of 1990, she turned to history to account for the inadequacy of the terms left and right—and not just for herself, but for Israel as a nation as well. The terms left and right "come from the end of the nineteenth century in Europe," she explained, "where the left is supposed to be popular and socialist, and the right is supposed to be rich." Things were different, however, in her current homeland:

> ...in Israel the rich, educated people are often leftist, and the simple folk, if you want to call them that, are rightists. Because in fact in Israel what it covers is the leftist people want peaceful and fair arrangements with the Arabs, they want peace talks; and the so-called rightist people want to fight for our rights.

As she goes on to describe her own position, Michelle reveals an internal tension which mirrors the political tensions of the day:

> Now it is very difficult for me to decide. I haven't decided yet if I am leftist or rightist and I have been here twenty-three years. In France I used to be socialist, but here things seem all upside down. I don't think there is anybody in this country who doesn't desire peace. The Arabs as well as the Jews. But it all depends on the price you are willing to pay for peace. I am not going to give up Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a three thousand year old mystical dream for the Jewish people. To come back to Israel is a very strong mystical thing.

As the last four sentences suggest, and I began to realize, so strong was the "mystical thing" of coming back to Israel that it ultimately led Michelle, and many others, to a reorientation of all categories into an Israeli ideological matrix. Take, for example, her response when I asked her if she still had theories

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about women being for peaceful negotiations, since she claimed to be one of the originators of the women's vigils. She answered using the language of the family—a common strategy I observed when asking female subjects about the political situation:

> To be for peace in politics is the same almost as being for peace in a marriage. We marry out of love. We want to keep our marriage whole. We want the kids to feel complete and quiet and whole and happy with mommy and daddy.

The analogy thus begins familiarly. When Michelle turns, however, to the possibility of conflict, her metaphor becomes a barely disguised commentary on current politics:

> Then let's say that the husband is starting to abuse us. To which extent are we going to get up and say we are not going to have that. I mean I think I am for peace, and that everybody here is for peace, but—I am willing to give back the Sinai. I am willing to have no fighting in Lebanon, but I am not willing to give back as far as Jerusalem. And for somebody who is very religious, to give up Hebron is almost like giving up on Jerusalem. The West Bank is exactly in the middle of Israel. It is not on the other side of Israel. Somebody who hasn't seen a map and hears the word "West Bank" thinks, on the other side of the Jordan. Now the people of the world are asking something they don't ask from Russians, they don't ask from French, or from any other people in the world—to give up territories that were not conquered but were recuperated in a defensive war.

This passage seeks to invoke the persuasive power of a coherent narrative, which Donald Spence describes as "the way in which an aptly chosen reconstruction can fill the gap between two apparently unrelated events and, in the process, make sense out of nonsense" (21). Michelle's metaphor began questionably, as any attempt to present the union of Arabs and Jews in Israel as a union of love in marriage will inevitably be strained. What strained matters further was her own domestic history. Through the course of participant observation in our short-lived and stormy relationship/friendship, I learned that Michelle was herself divorced, had a daughter who was living in a battered women's shelter, and saved poetry, which she showed me, by

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another woman with battering experience. Small wonder then, that on both a political and personal level she could shift the metaphor of marriage to apply it to a state of abuse. She strained the metaphor further through an unstated shift in her statement, from Israel occupying the role of the battered woman to occupying the role of the proper and legal holder of what was formerly shared property:

> All that land was bought back—Hebron, Judea, Samaria. Jews all over gave money to that organization and in the end they bought it back piece by piece.[1] I think there is exaggeration on both sides, but the lands in question belong mostly, if they belong to the Arabs at all, to the Arab landlords who live in Jordan. They themselves lost landlord income, and there are workers on the land, who don't want to leave. Like if you have a house and you sell it, but the workers who live there till the land and feel they own it.

Arab claims to land ownership are therefore undermined by the actions of other Arabs, not Israelis, though even this argument falls under the sweep of historical argument: "When France conquered Alsace-Lorraine nobody asked them to give this land back to the Germans, although it is in the extremities of France, not in the center. Do you see what I mean?" In short, Arabs and Israelis are like husband and wife, abuser and victim, landlord and tenant, and ultimately winner and loser.

Here, and in many other instances, being self-understood as a Jew in a specific sense eliminated entirely the need for consistency, or even coherence. Her account of her own experience as a member of a Sephardic Jewish family suggests how important her "essential" Jewishness is. Though she could trace her family back through Jewish history to Spain, while a student at the Sorbonne she had been an assimilated French Jew. Her move to self-consciousness did not result from reading, for example, the eye-opening books of such early women's movement activists as Kate Millett and Betty Friedan. Rather, her socialist inclinations were nurtured first, through the works of Trotsky; *The Last of the Just*, by the French writer Schwartz-Bart; and the movie *Night and Fog*, by Alain Resnais. Such works, however, could not encompass her steadily increasing interest in Judaism and the Jews, sparked by the Eichmann trial, when the newspapers were full of stories of the Holocaust. This

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interest eventually drew her to Israel in 1967 at the height of political conflict. At the time of our interview over twenty years later, the governing idea Michelle still held tightly to was that "to be a Jew in Israel is the only way to totally be a Jew." As if any other relation to one's ethnicity was lesser and invalid, here Loriat translates socialism's ideal of complete participation and embodiment into a personal relation to her Jewishness.

What soon became clear, then, was that while Michelle had superficially expressed enough parts of myself for me to initially identify with her as a "subjectifying self," her emerging self-definition increasingly challenged the social and political assumptions that framed my research. In short, she resisted the implications of my externally constructed definitions, insisting instead on speaking from her own self-evaluation. The problem arose in sharpest relief when she commented on the nature and motivations of Arabs. I could not understand how the same woman who inspired the use of the black dress in the streets as a tactic for achieving peace, and who enlisted her puppetry in anti-Lebanese War demonstrations, could so easily thereafter slip into making bigoted references to Arabs as "happy natives," and to Bedouins as people who would use their Israeli welfare checks to buy Cadillacs, which they then drew by camel in the desert when the vehicles ran out of gas.

Such dismissive comments found their way into almost every aspect of her perceptions of the situation. She mentioned at one point, for instance, that she was thinking of returning to the demonstrations because her son was about to go in the army, which as a mother she thought was hard for any woman, Arab or Jew. What concerned her specifically about her son, however, was that he would find the experience of serving in the territories demoralizing, that he would find it difficult to retain his humanity in the face of civilians throwing rocks. Yet these concerns existed side by side with her conviction that her son, and all Jews, had an undeniable right to be in the territories. There had always been Jews in Sefat, Akko, and Jerusalem, she claimed, but their forced departures in the seventh and seventeenth centuries resulted from their lack of ownership of the land. Today was different, because according to the "socialist" principle that he who works the land owns it, the territories now indisputably belonged to the Jews, because "we were the ones that made this land flourish." Two contradictions

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were immediately apparent. First, at no point did she apply the same logic to the Palestinians who had worked the land over the centuries and up to the present. Second, though personally concerned about sending her son to serve in the territories, she believed strongly that by refusing to guarantee the safe and total Jewish possession of the territories, the Labor party was selling out Zionism by giving up on the Zionist ideal.

Such contradictions, embedded in narrative, reach their most familiar expression in Loriat's account of the Six-Day War. At that time, she recalled, she was still in France. She had volunteered to come to Israel because she felt that Israel was her country, and that her people were there. The aftermath of the Six-Day War had clearly marked her understanding of not only what it meant to be a Jew, but what the consequences of the war had been for all inhabitants. To put it simply, the Six-Day War was the best thing that could have happened, for all concerned:

> In '69 my husband and I arrived in an Arab area in Israel. We also registered to get a house in the Old City. It was all ruins, but we felt its potential. We were living in an Arab area. We made friends all over the place. We loved them and they loved us. In '67 there was a feeling of euphoria—the Jews conquered the Old City. The minute the battle was over, soldiers, instead of killing everybody and being violent, invited all the men on the mount of the Temple and distributed chocolates. They asked for the town to be reunited, for everybody to go back to their shops and begin a normal life. The Arabs were so grateful to us—this feeling of euphoria, this making of friends. All the hippies of the world came on a big wave to Jerusalem. It was such a Messianic feeling. We all had this feeling that peace was at hand. That was when I made all the Arab friends I have. I have many true Arab friends. I remember when the war with Egypt started in 1973. Some of my Arab friends came here to my house in the Jewish Quarter in the Old City, and they said, "Listen, if your husband is mobilized, you and your children come with us. We are going to protect you." So this is a real feeling, not something that is only verbal.

Though added only for the sake of narrative polish, the phrase "some of my best friends," recalls that familiar attitude which many American whites use to belie their racism by presenting self-congratulatory experience to prove that the speaker does

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not fit the societal racist mold. As for Loriat's narrative of complete love and euphoria among Jews, Arabs, and others in the war of '67, it struck me as being almost as surreal as the old claim that slavery was good for the appreciative slaves.

Remarks like these undermined my commitment to search for meaning and to listen dialectically with evenly hovering attention. I silently wondered if Michelle hadn't projected her own nationalistic euphoria onto the situation. At the moment, though, I chose to proceed with the interview. I still looked for underlying threads, trying to listen with an ear tuned to sequence, coherence, and possible transformation. I asked her next, "Why did the *Intifada* happen then, if the occupation was so great for everybody?" Her patronizing response immediately shifted the focus to the events of the Holocaust and to a rationalization for Jews maintaining an army at all costs:

> . . . The *Intifada*. In 1967 when my husband and I got here, he was a carpenter, an architect. It was mind-blowing. All the children were barefoot. It was incredible to see. As I was saying, we were euphoric because we had Jerusalem, they because we didn't kill them. For a European Jew, having an army is the only possible answer to the monstrosity of what happened in Europe. An Arab friend said recently, "They are crazy about this *Intifada*. All it comes from is a desire to possess. But where did we find the money to work, if the Jews weren't here?" I hear this litany many times from Arab friends. So why did the *Intifada* happen? We are just Arabs and Jews. If left alone we can find peace terms. The problem is we are toys of Russia and the United States.

I became increasingly perplexed by my difficulty in maintaining a nonjudgmental stance. She quickly became aware of my problem. She attempted to educate me by lending me Zionist cartoons and books, some of which I felt were in bad taste. Soon I gave up posing questions about how much priority informants placed on gender issues, or how important exposure to feminism had been in their lives. Instead, I simply listened to a contradictory form of self-defense which it seemed to me might be categorized as racism. Even though my subjects made it clear that such an attitude grew out of the dead-end nature of assimilation which had brought people to Israel in the first place, I still balked at their embrace of opinions that sounded like the way some whites spoke about African Americans in the United States.

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Like other Jewish researchers in the field, I was reluctant to speak out about what I saw and heard. My jolting disidentification superseded my initial identification with my subjects. I was still reluctant to objectify this process as data. Since imposing my own views would have violated the atmosphere, I began to hold back my own opinions. Ironically enough, this seemed to sully the purity of the open, back and forth, feminist process. As a result, what I was noticing, interpreting, and recording changed. Instead of documenting a diversity of opinion, from making grassroots women's activism visible, or probing the relationship of organizers to feminism, I kept alert for information on the growth of a sense of Jewish nationalism. My interest did not wane as the strident sense of nationalism with which nascent parts of me wanted to identify became repugnant to me—and it often did, when I confronted derision of Arabs and defense or denial of the cruel and inhuman impact of Israeli governmental policies. What I was becoming intellectually compelled to understand was the opinion of "the other," rather than the opinion of those with whom I agreed. I became concerned with how their own particular narrative truths impacted others, and myself, as listeners who might be converted to the women's point of view in the cause. I therefore found myself confronting that manipulation of symbols any visitor to Israel confronts, whether undertaking the emotionally charged journey as a religious or secular pilgrimage.

I attribute the effectiveness of this manipulation to the power of narrative. Much later I began to realize, with the help of Spence's distinction between narrative truth and historical truth, that a well-constructed story can possess a kind of narrative truth that is real and immediate on its own, and can carry in itself an important significance (21). As Spence explains, in his discussion of psychoanalysis,

> If the patient is assumed, by virtue of his free-associating stance, to have privileged access to the past, and if the story we hear is assumed to be the same as the story he is telling, then it is tempting to conclude that we are hearing a piece of his history, an account of "the way things were." Narrative truth is confused with historical truth, and the very coherence of an account may lead us to believe that we are making contact with an actual happening. (27)

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As I slowly learned from Michelle Loriat, this confusion can occur in the space of an interview in ethnographic fieldwork. The telling of the story by the interviewee/subject is perhaps a conversation undertaken with a purpose by that person, a performative event presenting a wish to be understood and appreciated. The person might also be drawn away from the truth of what "really" happens towards the "sayable." The narrative is forging and being forged by the strength of the subject's biases. As I began to distance myself from the site, the interviewees, and their stories, I began to understand myth as a dramatic narrative of critical events, historical or pseudo-historical, which functions to assist the individual, or society as reflected in individuals, to order present experience. Such a framework made sense of many of the interviews, such as those with Michelle Loriat, which I had discarded as otherwise being too complex and contradictory.

Michelle's continuity, comprehensiveness, and coherence went beyond the simple necessity of effectively using the facts. So full were her narratives that she actually convinced others that there was no further, or certainly no contradictory, information. The marriage metaphor, for instance, while stemming from her experience as a woman, came to fuel such questionable assertions as claiming that all the land had been bought by Jews, or was otherwise owned by absentee landlords in Jordan. Accounts of Palestinian women, who in interviews discuss the traumatic loss of their land, unfortunately belied these assertions. Similarly, the woman who easily drew on socialist language and concepts when discussing God and the Bible in previous portions of the narrative exhibited a surprising lack of class consciousness or class identification when considering the dispossessed, even when those in question had been dispossessed by economic forces.

If then I had been drawn in, it would have been more by the force of her metaphor, and by the pattern in her narrative of generalizing from her own experience as a woman, than by any observed attention to historical fact. And of course, all such appeals to history and fact seem dubious and relative when in Palestine/Israel. So many different people, with different mental cultures, relate the same history so very differently that any on-the-spot attempt to resolve discrepancies can only lead to further collisions of contradictory models of reality. Sensing the

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underlying narrative pattern therefore allowed me to begin making sense of the apparently contradictory opinions my subject seemed to hold.

Having now become aware of my disidentification, after abandoning my illusion of merging or total identification due to my own background, trying to understand the tangled sources of these opinions became the focus for my continued research.

## NOTES

1. Peters documents this buying back of land, though her documentation has been severely questioned by historians of Zionism, Edward Said, and many Middle Eastern journals. In particular, she discusses the Palestine Foundation Fund, which was the financial arm of the World Zionist Organization that raised money supposedly to give to Arab landlords for much of the contested areas. In her own defense, Peters argues that this organization, though founded by the Labor party and Chaim Weitzman, is little known. Stern also refers to the purchase of land from Arabs by the Jewish National Fund for the establish-ment of *kibbutzim.* In comparison, it should be remembered that even Manhattan was bought from the natives for a small sum, and that even though larger sums are now exchanged with natives on reservations in the U.S. for use of their lands for such things as nuclear power dumps, decisions made in isolation, by individual landowners, mean that many participants in such arrangements are unaware of the long-term consequences of their acts.

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# Sketches from Life

## Stephens, Fishers, and the Court of the "Sultan of Zanzibar": New Evidence from Virginia Stephen Woolf's Childhood

*Panthea Reid*

While a student at the University of Cambridge, beginning in 1902, Adrian Stephen became a friend of Horace de Vere Cole, a wealthy and often outrageous jokester, assumed to be the mastermind behind two famous pranks. The first ruse in 1905 exposed the provincialism of Cambridge's municipal officials, as they were duped into giving a tour of Cambridge to a supposed entourage of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The second prank in 1910 exposed the vulnerability and naiveté of the British Navy, as the officers of the *H.M.S. Dreadnought* were duped into giving a tour of their flag ship to the supposed court of the Emperor of Abyssinia. The Zanzibarian and Abyssinian entourages both included Horace Cole and Adrian Stephen. The second also included Duncan Grant and Virginia Stephen.

Both escapades were improbably and outrageously successful. The second has fascinated readers for nearly ninety years, and feminists in particular have read the frequently reproduced photograph of Virginia Stephen—later Woolf—in black face and a beard as a harbinger of later assaults on the patriarchy.[1] But Virginia's iconoclasm long antedated the 1910 hoax, as did her brother Adrian's. Unpublished family documents in fact suggest that, emboldened by Virginia's example and Stephen family habits of rivalry and mockery, Adrian, rather than Horace Cole, conceived of the 1905 hoax.

The exposition for this drama dates from the childhood of the Stephen siblings: Vanessa (b. 1879), Thoby (b. 1880), Virginia (b. 1882), and Adrian (b. 1883). From the age of nine, Virginia,


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with the two older Stephens, produced a family newspaper called the *Hyde Park Gate News*. There passages apparently authored by Virginia made frequent fun of Adrian's babyishness; for example, "though Master Adrian is nine in years he is five in intellect." Adrian was resentful and also jealous over the acclaim the paper brought Virginia from their father Leslie Stephen, the first editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and from other eminent men of letters. In 1892, Adrian threatened to begin his own rival paper, but Virginia so effectively ridiculed his literary pretensions that he gave up in disgrace.[2]

As Leslie Stephen favored his precocious literary daughter, Julia Prinsep Jackson Stephen held a "special sentiment" for little Adrian. He was her last child; he craved compensation for little Virginia's jokes about him; and he needed protection from Leslie Stephen's disappointment in his intellect and promise (see L. Stephen 2: 448, 423). Both Adrian and Virginia craved maternal nurturing because Julia spent an inordinate amount of time away from 22 Hyde Park Gate, London, caring for members of her own family, especially her father in his last illness and then her invalid mother, Maria Jackson, in Brighton.

Also residing in Brighton was Julia's older sister Mary.[3] With her husband Herbert Fisher, tutor to the Prince of Wales, Mary had eleven children. To the rambunctious young Stephens and their father, the innumerable Fisher cousins embodied stodginess, good manners, and competition for Julia Stephen's time. Little Virginia formed a lifelong prejudice against Brighton because Julia left home to stay there so often, and because, when the Stephen children visited, they were subjected to the company of their priggish Fisher cousins.

No doubt to his wife's irritation, Leslie Stephen endorsed his children's antipathy to Brighton and the Fishers. In 1885, Leslie dismissed the "pecuniary worries" Herbert Fisher was experiencing thanks to his large family, and his sedate, but not especially lucrative employment. Leslie remarked that if his brother-in-law "wants to make money why does he not write a schoolbook?" (2: 324). In 1891, Leslie wrote to Julia in Brighton, where she was staying with her mother: "After lunch I walked in the gardens with Ginia [Virginia] & Adrian. We met Hervey & Cordelia [Fisher] & on our way home met Herbert [H. A. L.] Fisher. The little ones carefully avoided their cousins"—apparently with their father's encouragement.[4]

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By early 1895, handwriting and subject matter establish that Virginia was the exclusive author of the *Hyde Park Gate News*. Adrian, then aged eleven to Virginia's thirteen, might not have appreciated Virginia's philosophical bent, but he seems to have envied her penchant for satire, as in the 18 March 1895 issue, where Virginia mercilessly ridiculed her Aunt Mary by reproducing sample platitudes from her insipid dinner-table conversation. The sharpest satire is aimed at Mary's literary pretensions. Virginia has Mary pronounce that Charlotte Brontë was a "very clever women," a novelist who also wrote "two very pretty poems, the Spanish Gipsy and Aurora Leigh"—poems actually written by George Eliot and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

That high-spirited 18 March issue makes no mention of the "fiend" of influenza that, according to the 4 March issue, had "visited" Julia Stephen. Nor did the next issues of 1 and 8 April, the last numbers of the *Hyde Park Gate News*. Just after the 8 April number, Julia took the Stephen children for a week's holiday with friends at a sepulchral old country house called "High Ashes." There her influenza returned and developed into what was probably rheumatic fever (L. Stephen 1: 284n). After the ailing Julia returned to 22 Hyde Park Gate, Mary Fisher wrote her daily letters of advice. Then in late April, a panicked Mary rushed up to London from Brighton to care for her sister. But Julia died on 5 May 1895, at the age of forty-nine.

As the youngest children, Virginia and Adrian were the most traumatized. For the only extended time in her literate life, Virginia could not write. Meanwhile, Leslie Stephen's lifelong habit of irreverence, which he had encouraged in his children, ricocheted. When he took to writing down his memories of and regrets over Julia, the spirited young Stephens dubbed this maudlin record "the Mausoleum Book." Now that they need not fear offending their mother, the children's irreverence could also be directed at their maternal grandmother. They sampled packets of Maria Jackson's innumerable (usually daily) self-absorbed, solecism-filled letters to Julia. As they read their father's lugubrious memoir for laughs, they read their grandmother's letters for howls. On a miserable 1897 holiday in Brighton, for example, Virginia and Vanessa Stephen avoided their cousins as long as they could, but when coerced into taking tea with the Fishers, they looked through family letters "in the

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hope of finding some from Granny," clearly to enliven the dull visit with a few laughs (Woolf, *Passionate Apprentice* 76).

The three eldest Stephen siblings possessed senses of vocation that enabled each to overcome the trauma of losing their mother. Vanessa was clearly headed toward being an artist, Thoby a statesman, and Virginia preeminently a writer. By 1897, after nearly a two-year hiatus, Virginia had begun to write again, with flare and often brilliance. Adrian had no such means to counter trauma.

In 1898, Leslie reported to Mary Fisher that against her advice, he had been trying to make Adrian do a few lessons: "They are very little & I want to encourage him. He can do things, I find, when he is not frightened or distracted. . . ." Though an impatient teacher of his children, and, since Julia's death, increasingly petulant and morose, Leslie claimed he was trying to overcome "all the terrors of a school-lesson" by affording Adrian praise and encouragement. In that same letter, he told Mary that he had had a visit from her son Will, then a twenty-three-year old midshipman "just fresh from Valescure" on the French Riviera, and clearly on his way to a prominent career (2: 485–86; Fisher was made a gunnery lieutenant two years later). Juxtaposed against the success of a supposedly laughable cousin, Adrian's academic difficulties must have seemed all the more embarrassing to him and to his father.

In 1902–03, when Leslie Stephen was dying of colon cancer, he wrote a series of lectures outlining the direction in which he thought literary studies should progress. Too ill to deliver the Oxford lectures in person, he had to fall back upon his nephew H. A. L. Fisher, by then an Oxford don, and later a Member of Parliament and recipient of the Order of Merit. Stephen detested Fisher's scholarly mannerisms and pompous writing style, which lacked "simple phrases" (2: 494). Leslie's complaints perpetuated the family habit of ridiculing Fishers and prefigured Virginia's later judgment: "essence of a prig—a don, I thought" (*Diary* 5: 281). After an obligatory visit to the widowed Mary Fisher and her family in 1903, Virginia concluded that the Fishers "would have made Eden uninhabitable," but in consequence they could be "a source of some amusement to us" (*Letters* 1: 92).

After Leslie died in 1904, the Stephen siblings made their now famous move from 22 Hyde Park Gate in fashionable South

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Kensington to 46 Gordon Square in bohemian Bloomsbury. Relatives like Mary Fisher and family friends like the novelist Henry James were shocked at the déclassé address, and at the Stephen sisters' not only living with their brothers, but soon entertaining their brothers' friends without chaperones (Q. Bell 1: 99). The Fishers voiced their disapproval; the Stephens retaliated. Then "some interesting passages [attempts at reconciliation] with the Fishers, of a highly diplomatic kind" ensued. Fed up with such diplomacy, though, in December Virginia penned a comic biography, unfortunately now lost, of her Aunt Mary (*Letters* 1: 149, 163).

Among the letters the Stephen sisters sorted through in this period were those Mary Fisher had written to Julia just before her death.[5] In one written on Tuesday, 23 April 1895, twelve days before Julia died, Mary invited both Julia and Virginia to visit Brighton. Then, in a succession of run-on sentences full of the sort of platitudes that invited Virginia's satire, Mary realized that only Virginia should come:

> My darling Babe, It would be the greatest delight & help to me to have Ginia & she won't feel so far off—S or G [Stella, and George or Gerald Duckworth[6]] could run down & see her Brighton is so near. . . . I so fear yr throat is bad—the weather here is lovely. . . . How I wish you were here to get strong—if you & Ginia came for a bit it might help you a little. . . . The rooms & beds are aired[.] You have only to write I would do all you wished about Ginia & Cor [Cordelia Fisher, who was about Vanessa's age] wd so gain by having her[.] I think G must be quite wonderful in his work—how you must have longed to hear him lecture. I wonder where he was[.] I am so glad that C [illegible] appreciated all his good work—I feel you would have been out for a drive yesterday had your throat been all right—I hope [Dr.] Seton comes to look at you—only remember it would be the greatest pleasure to have Ginia—I know you are not well eno' yet to move—

Despite the painful memories it aroused of her mother's last illness, for Virginia in 1904 or 1905, the letter would have had its comic aspects. The notion that she should have visited the Fishers for the benefit of her cousin Cordelia must have seemed as ludicrous to Virginia as the idea of her social-climbing half-brother George Duckworth lecturing on his "good work."

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Sorting the letters was further complicated by the innumerable, undated letters from Maria Jackson, several of which bear labels and dates in Virginia's hand.[7] One of her grandmother's letters from 1891 would have caught Virginia's attention: "I hope Ginia will not do her 50 strokes [of swimming] far out[.] What an inquiring spirit she has." That letter was bundled with another letter from Aunt Mary's son, William Wordsworth Fisher, who had become a naval cadet when he was only thirteen and was in 1891 a sixteen-year-old midshipman. Dated from Cape Town, South Africa, on Wednesday 5 August, this letter addressed William's Aunt Julia as "My dearest Buzzard," apparently because of her frequent deathbed watches. He referred to Adrian as the "White Rabbit" because of his notorious tardiness, and supposed that he "can swim now and I wonder whether he still remembers me." William wished himself transported to the Stephen family's summer retreat at St. Ives, and there "basking in [Julia's] many clutches & pecks!"

William also told his Aunt Julia of one of his recent adventures:

> We have just returned from our East Coast Cruise, having visited Lourenço Marques, Mozambique and Zanzibar[8]—and are now in Dry docks at Cape Town. Mozambique was rather a dull place there being little or nothing to see but Zanzibar despite the smells was a most fascinating place not to say unpicturesque. The greatest part of the population is Arabs and it was most interesting to watch them in their various houses the doors being always kept wide open. Here you saw one practically dead from the effects of opium and there one counting his beads or saying his prayers—the broadest street is not above 14 ft. wide & a great many [are] one third of that . . . [so] that it is impossible for two men to walk abreast of one another. The Sultan came on board & we fired guns and torpedoes & performed such like naval operations for his edification. We also went to see a grand review of his own army.

William went on to tell of the "jolly" time the sailors were having on shore: "I expect that there will be many entertainments dances & such like festivities given by the citizens of Cape Town in our honour." In closing, William asked Julia to "Give my best love to Uncle Leslie & all—," and he offered "my dear Buzzard" "many pecks & clutches."

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William Fisher's account of the shipboard tour offered the Sultan of Zanzibar might have seemed rather pompous from a sixteen-year-old—especially when he bragged of being honored in Cape Town and petted by Julia in England. If Vanessa and Virginia were, as penciled-in labels suggest, the only letter-sorters, they almost certainly seized upon this one to read aloud to their brothers for laughs at William Fisher's expense. For Adrian, though, this letter, like Will's 1898 visit, could only provoke invidious comparisons between himself, by then a twenty-one-year-old with no sense of direction, and his motivated and successful cousin. Adrian would also have been irritated that William had patronized him as the "White Rabbit" and as a boy unable to swim, especially when their grandmother had praised Virginia for her "inquiring spirit" and intrepid swimming. To make matters worse, William had assumed considerable intimacy with Julia, while Adrian liked to remember his mother's affections as his alone.

Making amends or proving at least that they still knew proprieties, the Stephens and their half-brother Gerald Duckworth called upon the Fishers on Sunday, 26 February 1905. Aunt Mary no doubt regaled them with the successes of her prominent sons, H. A. L. and William, further irritating Adrian. Virginia recorded only that her aunt and cousins were "somehow very much like Fishers," meaning apparently as respectable and dull as ever (*Passionate Apprentice* 243).

On Wednesday, 1 March, the Stephens held a housewarming in their Bloomsbury quarters, inviting "half the notabilities of Kensington, and Bloomsbury":

> Our suite of apartments is to be flung open for the occasion, and four superb objects of art—the 4 Stephens in fact—are to be on view. . . . The Fishers are coming in cabs and four-wheelers, and hackney coaches—a grand reconciliation scene is going to take place in the front drawing-room when with one accord Vanessa and Adeline, Virginia and Emmie, At. Mary and Gerald, Tom and Thoby, Boo [Cordelia] and Adrian are going to fall upon each others necks, and proceed to lobster and champagne. (*Letters* 1: 179)

On the day before the party, Virginia was relieved to record: "Adrian, thank goodness, can come [home from Cambridge]—So we shall meet the invasion four square." The housewarming

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was "garrulous & successful," but the reconciliation between Stephens and Fishers apparently failed (*Passionate Apprentice* 244, 245). Thereafter, the Stephens largely dissociated themselves from the Fishers. Vanessa called Aunt Mary a "relic" of their past and later pronounced, "it isn't worthwhile seeing these old hags" (Reid, 71, 168).[9]

The "invasion" of Fishers may have been intrusive and officious enough to provoke Adrian to unearth, from his sisters' letter-sorting project, William Fisher's 1891 letter to Julia Stephen. I imagine Adrian taking Horace Cole and friends up to his quarters and reading William's letter aloud in the mocking manner his sisters had perfected, thus transforming his inferiority vis-à-vis William into ascendance. In any case, the Fisher "invasion" and the champagne coincided with the fortuitous fact that the present Sultan of Zanzibar was then in London.[10]

On Thursday, 2 March 1905, the day after the house-warming, Adrian Stephen and Horace Cole, with three cohorts, sent a telegram to the Mayor of Cambridge, inviting him, as William Fisher and the British Navy had done, to entertain the Sultan of Zanzibar who "will arrive today at Cambridge, 4.27, for a short visit. Could you arrange to show him buildings of interest and send carriage?" According to the *Daily Mail*, the mayor courteously replied, offering refreshments and promising that "a carriage would be in waiting." Perhaps having trouble with their costumes, Adrian, Horace, and the three others then sent another telegram, announcing that the sultan was "Unable to arrive til 5.43. No time for dinner."

In late afternoon, the berobed and beturbaned party created a sensation at the Liverpool Street station, where they "took tickets for Cambridge." On the train ride prudent voices in the group must have counseled caution because, by the time they got to Cambridge, they had decided that the Sultan himself was not among them. (Actually he was at Buckingham Palace and his picture was in the papers.) When they arrived, the "translator" explained to Cambridge officials that the Sultan had asked his uncle "Prince Mukasa Ali" to stand in for him. The party was graciously "received by the Mayor and the Town Clerk, the former wearing his chain of office." Cole impersonated the Sultan's imaginary uncle, Adrian one of his subalterns. With two others in similar disguise and a fifth as interpreter, the

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entourage was escorted about Cambridge. At the Guildhall, "a large crowd cheered heartily, the Prince gracefully acknowledging the salutation, and even distributing some largesse." The party refused to enter King's College Chapel, supposedly for religious reasons, though probably, instead, out of fear of detection. The group reportedly "spoke very little, but salaamed continually, and addressed each other by signs on their hands." After a triumphant departure, rather than board the train to London, the "prince" suddenly "turned round and, followed by his suite, proceeded hastily to the exit of the station," then jumped "hastily into a couple of hansoms, drove rapidly out into the country, and no more was seen of the supposed potentate."[11]

Though at least some of their garb was rented, according to the *Daily Mail*, from "a well-known costumier," the pranksters were photographed in regalia that looks none too convincing. Adrian wears an embroidered robe, a head scarf that could have belonged to one of his sisters, a fake mustache and beard, and rather light makeup. The other three members of the "court" wear turbans and darker makeup. The elaborately costumed Cole is the only moderately convincing hoaxer. All the court wear western shoes and trousers.[12]

The press coverage caused the mayor of Cambridge much embarrassment and brought Horace Cole and Adrian Stephen considerable notoriety. In the ongoing gown/town rivalry, the college students had established the naïveté and provinciality of the local bourgeoisie—while displaying the students' own patronizing notions of African royalty. The mayor even tried unsuccessfully to have them dismissed from university.

Over ninety years later, we find the generosity and courteousness of the Mayor and other local officials toward supposed officials of another culture touchingly decent, while the college students' prank seems arrogant and racist. Of course, they chose African rather than European royalty because their masquerade was less likely to be detected. But their choice also suggests that for them African nobility was an oxymoron, an apt subject for comedy. It also implied that black people's identities were interchangeable.

Virginia, then twenty-three, had not developed her later sensitivity to such issues. As her journal indicates, she was simply elated at the ridicule of authority:

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> the world was talking of a grand practical joke played by Adrian & 2 [actually four] others on the Mayor of Cambridge. They pretended to be the Sultan of Zanzibar & party, & were solemnly driven to the Guildhall, welcomed by the Mayor in his chain of office, & shown the sights of Cambridge—while porters & dons raised their hats. When they were shown the Queens statue they all solemnly bowed, as loyal natives. Then instead of taking the London train they leapt into hansoms, drove in to the country & changed. The whole story is in the Daily Mail, without names, & other papers beg for photographs. (*Passionate Apprentice* 246–48).

That *Daily Mail* story of 4 March described the hoax as "One of the most audacious and carefully-planned practical jokes ever perpetrated by undergraduates." The paper explained that when the entourage was shown into the great court of Trinity College, with its Christopher Wren-designed library, the "visitors stopped, struck with admiration, and lifting up their hands, expressed their wonder." (Since Adrian was a member of Trinity College, his hand-lifting in wonder also conveniently hid his face.) In a follow-up story gleaned from the *Cambridge Daily News*, the *Daily Mail* suggested that the Sultan's uncle and "his suite" were almost detected by their cabmen, and that one "potentate" had no money to pay his cab fare which the "Prince" then covered with "a fairly substantial sum."

This prank was not only the talk of Cambridge but of *Daily Mail* readers all over England. Three weeks later, Virginia recorded that Adrian "turned up for lunch, & we had the true history of the Sultan of Zanzibar from his own mouth. He is still apparently rather nervous, as the Mayor has set detectives to watch" (*Passionate Apprentice* 255). For once, Adrian's daredevil behavior had outdone Virginia's witty tongue and earned him her admiration.

That the pranksters chose to impersonate the Sultan of Zanzibar the day after the "invasion" of respectable Fishers into the Bloomsbury housewarming seems to me persuasive, if circumstantial, evidence that William Fisher's letter, as well as the presence in London of the actual Sultan, had inspired the hoax. Adrian could congratulate himself on a successful impersonation that outdid his sister's satires, though the Zanzibar hoax, I suspect, would only have been a total success if William Fisher had learned that the tour he reported giving the actual

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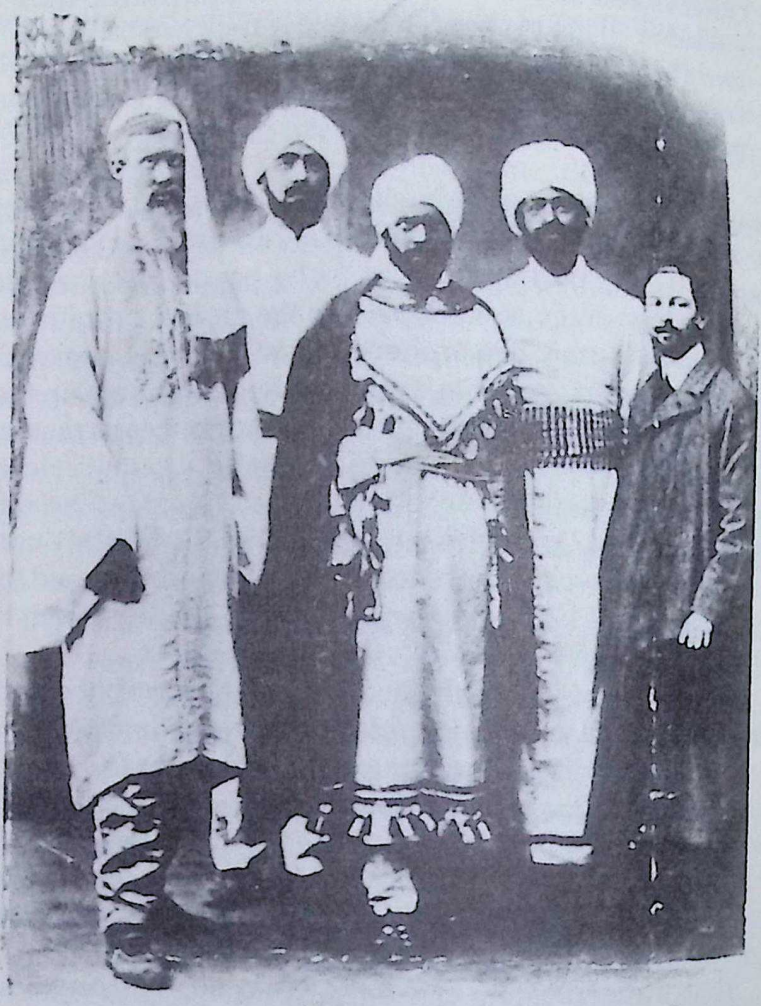
Sultan of Zanzibar "for his edification" was the source of Adrian's farce.

With Virginia's help, Adrian would return to such impersonations in the 1910 *Dreadnought* Hoax—but that is another story.



'THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR' AND HIS SUITE

*Names from left to right:*

Adrian Stephen, – Bowen Colthurst, Horace Cole.
Leland Buxton, 'Drummer' Howard.

The photograph is reprinted from Adrian Stephen's *The "Dreadnought" Hoax* (Hogarth, 1983) by the kind permission of Charlotte Synge, granddaughter of Adrian Stephen.

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## NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I wish to thank the Council on Research at Louisiana State University for the funds that made possible this article. I also thank Bin Xie, Lynn Barrie, and Bet Inglis for their assistance.

1. Stansky devotes an entire chapter to the *Dreadnought* Hoax. He also reproduces the famous photograph.
2. See Reid 14, 34, and *passim* for more on the rivalry between Virginia and Adrian, and on the *Hyde Park Gate News*. Quotations from that family newspaper are printed with the kind permission of the late Quentin Bell and the British Library.
3. See Quentin Bell for a description of Mary Fisher (1: 58–59).
4. The quotation, from an unpublished letter, is cited with the permission of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. Stephen does not indicate whether the Fishers were in London or the Stephens had visited Julia in Brighton.
5. Vanessa's familiarity with these letters is acknowledged in a later letter in which she described her own listing of visitors and social engagements as an "Aunt Mary-like letter" (78). The unpublished letters from Mary and William Fisher cited in this paper were donated by Quentin Bell to the Manuscript Division of the University of Sussex Library. I read them too late for mention in my biography.
6. The Duckworth children—George, Stella, and Gerald—were the children of Julia Stephen's first marriage. George Duckworth was then private (unpaid) secretary to wealthy Charles Booth, assisting him in preparing his *Life and Labour of the People of London;* George's volunteer work and his speeches on it were intended as the basis for a political career.
7. See Reid 460. Vanessa was still sorting and labeling these letters after she married Clive Bell in 1907, for she wrote on one, "From Mrs. Fisher to my mother, VB."
8. The areas Fisher and the *H.M.S. Raleigh* visited had been trade centers for minerals, spices, and slaves. The British had campaigned in all these areas against the slave trade, carried on especially by Arab and Portuguese powers. Under pressure from the British, the Sultan of Zanzibar had closed the slave markets in 1873. The Portuguese ceded mineral rights in Mozambique to the British South Africa Company in 1885. And in 1890, the British had claimed a protectorate over Zanzibar. Thus it was fitting that in 1891 the British and Zanzibarian forces saluted each other.
9. Two months later, Virginia did visit Aunt Mary "dutifully" (*Passionate Apprentice* 271). Vanessa avoided her aunt, even

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ignoring the Fishers when they met on London streets (1: 72). Aunt Mary reappeared when Thoby was dying of typhoid fever in November of 1906. More interested than Vanessa in preserving ties with the past, Virginia took Leonard Woolf to visit Aunt Mary in 1912, when they announced their engagement. Mary Fisher attended their wedding.

10. Thirty-one years later, Adrian remembered that at Trinity College, Cambridge, he and Cole had tried to invent a "plan of amusement" to alleviate depression. He implied that the young men went to London explicitly to carry out their hoax. But as Virginia's journal indicates, Adrian went to London for the housewarming. The hoax plan, therefore, seems to have developed during or after the party.

11. *Daily Mail*, 4 March 1905: 3. *Passionate Apprentice*, Appendix C, contains an abbreviated version of the *Daily Mail*'s coverage from 4 March, and the complete coverage of 6 March 1905 (410–11). I quote from the original newspaper accounts.

12. The *Daily Mirror* reprinted this photo in 1910, at the time of the later prank "at Portland," misidentifying Adrian and Cole in their 1910 poses rather than as a member of the court and the uncle of the Sultan of Zanzibar, the roles they actually played in the Cambridge hoax of 1905.

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# Reviews

Paul A. Cimbala and Robert F. Himmelberg, eds. *Historians and Race: Autobiography and the Writing of History.* Blacks in the Diaspora Series. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1996. 160 pp. ISBN 0-253-33235-4, $25.00 cloth; ISBN 0-253-21101-8, $12.95 paper.

Today, much of American history that deals with the issue of race is caught up in a black/white binary of signification that defines whites as normative and superior and blacks as victim, as inferior, or as devalued other. This black/white binary, which does not allow for any other axes of power relations, represses African American differences. A polycentric, multicultural approach to American/African American history might be more effective in engaging African American differences. *Historians and Race: Autobiography and the Writing of History*, a collection of essays by prominent American historians, proves to be an interesting and appropriate site to explore this polycentric approach.

In the "Introduction" the editors, Paul A. Cimbala and Robert F. Himmelberg, state that "this volume has its origins in Fordham University's quest to find ways to revive interest among its undergraduates in the continuing struggle for racial justice." The University's President, Reverend Joseph O'Hara, S.J. "issued a call to the university community to devise creative ways to rekindle an awareness of the work and the goals of the men and women of good will who had rallied to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s call to action." The professors at Fordham who received the President's call responded by organizing three symposia on scholarship and race in America that generated the papers now published in this collection. In choosing this approach, the organizers of the three symposia "hoped to go beyond just another series of lectures that presented significant historical content but failed to stimulate an emotional response in [their] students." The objective of the symposia was "to correct misconceptions about race by giving [their] audiences sound scholarship." Therefore, the organizers "concluded that lectures presented by prominent scholars who reflected on both their professional and personal commitments to understanding the problem of race in America would be not only most appropriate but exciting as well." In recruiting participants for the symposia, the organizers "approached internationally recognized historians who represent the generational, regional, and racial richness of the profession." They specifically asked participants "to reflect upon their careers and how their personal experiences might have influenced their approach to scholarship."

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First, all the participants work from the assumption that the existing paradigm for race in the United States is largely framed historically and in the present around white-black relations. That is the nexus of how this country has come to understand and address the issue of race. Of course, this paradigm leaves out millions of Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans whose presence complicates the dynamics of race, or the white-black polarization in this country which makes for a complex and diverse American history. Second, the essays are not rigorous historical treatises about an historical event. They are more personal in nature. But they are quite telling in what they imply about history as a discourse. Most of the participants begin with incidents, encounters, and experiences that make them aware of the inequality between the races, between American ideals and American realities. According to his "Jumping Jim Crow," George B. Tindall encountered individuals and experiences in elementary school, high school, and college, and in the community that made him aware of the inequalities among the races. There was the fourth-grade teacher, Laura Butler, "lecturing the class about an incident in which passing black children had been pushed off the sidewalk after school." The work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation somehow touched him indirectly. Noticing the discre-pancies between the black high school and the white high school in his home town of Greenville, South Carolina caused him to realize that "something was wrong." The "salience of civil rights in the 1948 campaign also made a strong impression on him." These encounters and experiences caused Tindall to do graduate work in history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he eventually wrote books with titles like *South Carolina Negroes* and *The Disruption of the Solid South.*

Likewise, Dan T. Carter, born and raised in North Carolina, in "Reflections of a Reconstructed White Southerner," chronicles the transformation of a southern racist into a Civil Rights activist. The universe in which he lived as a child and a teenager was the "world of the segregated South." Despite the fact that his early playmates were Black, he noticed that the annual County Fair was segregated. There was the story told to him by his cousin James about being in the Navy and becoming ill and having Black friends taking "turns sitting with him, helping him to the latrine, feeding him, cleaning him when he fouled himself, nursing him back to health." But even this story did not change Carter from being a racist. The change came in four intense years between 1958 and 1962 when he was attending night classes at a local community college and working as a reporter for the *Florence Morning News*. Local Klansmen ran the editor out of town for daring to argue that *Brown v. Board of Education* was the law of the land, and Carter noticed how the older reporters with whom he worked made no effort to conceal their disdain for the old order of

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white supremacy. Witnessing "raucous whites screaming obscenities at the dozen well-dressed young black men and women sitting quietly at the lunch counter," Carter realized that the "racial moorings of a lifetime had been severed." Becoming involved with the Civil Rights Movement in college and attending graduate school in history, Carter committed himself to thinking and writing about his region of the nation and about those "women who had struggled so hard to keep alive the dream of racial justice." His commitment has produced *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South, When the War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South,* and *George Wallace, Richard Nixon, and the Transformation of American Politics.*

From "The Making of a Historian," we learn that Leon F. Litwack grew up in a rented house in a "large Mexican American neighborhood" in Santa Barbara, California. His neighborhood exposed him "to a diversity of cultures, languages, histories, and experiences." Early, his parents introduced him to a "cultural world that helped to shape [his] thinking, reading, and listening, and they spoke often of those people they most admired, many of them well known . . . many of them less known—rebels and dissidents . . . who had engaged themselves in struggles for social justice." These early experiences and teachings marginalized him from normative America and caused him in high school to challenge the textbook history, which was an "uncritical celebration of America." After high school he became moved by an awareness of the uses and abuses of the past and of the fundamental "contradictions between his country's often proclaimed ideals and its practices, between its professed egalitarianism and deep inequalities." Litwack's first book, *North of Slavery*, examines the degree to which white racial attitudes in America transcended regional boundaries, including the Mason-Dixon line. In his second book, *Been in the Storm So Long*, he explores the question of what happens to an enslaved people when they are free.

In "My Life as a Historian," Eric Foner writes that he was born in New York City and raised in Long Beach, Long Island. During his childhood and for many years later, his parents, who were teachers, were blacklisted and unable to teach after informers named them as members of the Communist party. Unlike most of his generation, he did not have to wait until the "upheavals of the 1960s to discover the yawning gap that separated America's professed ideals and its self-confident claim to be a land of liberty, from its social and political reality." He comes from a family that early on was preoccupied with the "past and present condition of our black fellow countrymen." He lists two great teachers as examples of what it is to be a historian. The first was his father. Deprived of his teaching job, his father supported his family as a freelance lecturer on history and current affairs. Listening to his father's lectures, Eric Foner "came to appreciate how

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present concerns can be illuminated by the study of the past." Foner's second great teacher was Jim Shenton, legendary history professor at Columbia, who taught him that "successful teaching rests on both a genuine and selfless concern for students and the ability to convey to them a love of history." Foner has spent most of his professional career writing about the Reconstruction era, and his objective was to include the experiences of previously neglected groups—blacks, women, laborers, and others. He is known for such titles as *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America, Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War,* and *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy.* Tindall, Carter, Litwack, and Foner are to be commended because they took risks and broke with the status quo, thereby becoming agents for social change in America. Actually, they are paragons of how liberal-minded, progressive, white Americans historically deal with race in the United States. In the tradition of Twain's Huck Finn, their self-worth and value as human beings are defined and measured by how just they behave toward the black man. Within this American social construct, this black/white binary, they are defined as good American citizens, great historians who champion social equality for all Americans, and we should applaud them. But, they and the binary have limitations.

Despite the fact that many of the participants were given the charge to correct misconceptions (assuming that there is a *correct* conception) about race and "to devise creative ways to rekindle an awareness of the work and the goals of the men and women of good will who had rallied to Martin Luther King, Jr's call to action," in their essays and their books, most of the participants focus on the struggle for equality for African Americans. They want to remove the discrepancy between American ideals and America's racial realities. They want social equality for all Americans. But what do they mean by social equality? Equal access to goods and services? Equal opportunities for all Americans? The acceptance of all Americans in their own diversity and complexities? Since most of the participants focus on social parity and not cultural diversity and tolerance of difference, one has to assume that social equality means making the African American the *same* as some normative American ideal. In the quest for social equality, the agenda usually incorporates and reinforces broadly mainstream American social, intellectual, and cultural norms and conventions such as enlightenment ideas, middle class respectability, protestant ethic, and Christian values. But, if the emphasis of these historians is on defining African Americans in terms of some idealized America, they reduce the African American to a singular formation, for they fail to textualize, examine, and appreciate the rich cultural diversity and approaches to life that comprise African American life. Of course, I am not advocating that these prominent

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historians should abandon the struggle for racial equality, especially if it means access to goods and services and equal opportunities for all Americans. But, I am arguing that if racial equality is the only trope which they use to construct African Americans and their histories, they are only examining a narrow aspect of that history.

Tindall, Carter, Litwack, and Foner's approach to history is caught up in a Western liberal-pluralist discourse of ethical universals, which include freedom, tolerance, and charity. It is premised on an established hierarchical order of cultures, or what I call a white/black binary of signification, which defines whites as normative and superior and blacks as victim, as inferior, or as devalued Other. Grudgingly accretive, this binary/order benevolently "allows" other voices to add themselves to, or allows the African American to become the same as, the mainstream. It is a discourse that is characterized by a "touchy-feely" sensitivity toward other groups. These historians are working out of a notion of western history where white America is the center, the maker of history, and African America is the periphery, the object of history. Their struggle/goal is to "add on" the African American to this white-centered American history. This approach to American history not only fails to examine the heterogeneity and diversity that exist within white America, but totally represses African American differences.

Although Darlene Clark Hine, one of two African American historians included, in "Reflections on Race and Gender Systems," disturbs this liberal-pluralist discourse of history by writing about the history of Black women, her objective is similar to theirs, to "make a meaningful and useful contribution in the whole struggle for social justice." She also simply wants to "add on" African Americans, and especially Black women, to a white-centered construction of American history, without seriously engaging the issues of class and differences within African America. While at Roosevelt University in Chicago, she was shaped, in many ways, by the Black Arts Movement, or Black Consciousness Movement, with its celebration of music, art, theater, poetry, and its search for an empowering black identity. As she grew into blackness, she tried to figure out what she could do, how she could also make a contribution to the eradication of racial inequalities. Since African Americans were excluded from traditional American history, she, like Carter, Tindall, Litwack, and Foner, felt obligated to research and write African American history, especially the history of African American women. Her books *Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas*, *When the Truth is Told: A History of Black Women's Culture and Community in Indiana*, and *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession*, add to American history the contributions and the presence of African American women.

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Furthermore, Jacqueline Jones, who grew up middle class in Christiana, Delaware, a town of 500, in "Autobiography and Scholarship," also expands the liberal-pluralist discourse of American history. She was a dutiful daughter throughout high school. It was at the University of Delaware that she underwent the conversion from Eisenhower Republicanism to social historian. During her last two years at college, her intellectual interests began to coalesce around African American history, especially after taking a course in black history from Professor Thomas Cripps, a visiting professor from Morgan State University in Baltimore. Her interest in African American education led directly to the topic of her dissertation and of her first book, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, "a study of the northern teachers who went south after the Civil War to teach the freedpeople of Georgia." But Jones realized that liberalism is wrong, that it is based on a "misplaced faith in schools and in the goodwill of white people." She became "skeptical of any missionary's message that preached racial equality but omitted mention of economic equality." Therefore, to amend this liberal-pluralist discourse, she focuses on three systems of oppression: race, gender, and class. But even Jones ignores differences within race, gender, and class.

Most of the historians in *Historians and Race* are limited by the liberal-pluralist discourse and by their use of autobiography. First, they use their autobiography to explain why they *chose* history, with the focus on African American history, as a career choice. But a more interesting investigation/examination would be a discussion of how their subjectivity/autobiography causes them to construct history in a particular way. They work from the assumption that history itself consists of congeries of lived stories, individual and collective, and that the principal task of historians is to uncover these stories and retell the narrative. They believe that history seeks to explain what happened in the past by providing a precise and accurate reconstruction of the events reported in the documents. As Professor Foner states in discussing his book on Reconstruction, the book "integrated the era's numerous themes into a coherent whole." But as theorists such as Hayden White, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Michel de Certeau have pointed out, the idea of a total history is illusory. It becomes a project of reducing all historical statements and events to a central theme, and all the events that are irrelevant are repressed and/or excluded. These theorists inform us that history has a fictive quality; it constitutes a system of signification by which we make sense of the past. The readings and interpretations of the historical past are vitally dependent on our experience of the present. And yet, while these historians tell us why they chose American history, which focuses on racial inequalities, they never discuss how their readings and interpretations of the historical past are vitally dependent upon

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their own subjective autobiography, their ideologically constructed notion of race in America.

Second, these liberal historians, throughout their essays, invoke the well-behaved diversity that is dear to college brochures, but they seem to reject, or are totally oblivious to, the anti-Eurocentric drift of polycentric, multicultural history. I believe this is what David Levering Lewis, the second of the two African American historians included in the collection, has in mind in "From Eurocentrism to Polycentrism"—the most interesting and innovative essay in the collection—when he remarks about the "tendency . . . among radical white historians to mine subjects such as slavery, segregation, migration, labor, and the urban crucible primarily to supply ammunition for arguments about mainstream history, instead of probing them for what they can tell us about the great complexity of African American life over time." Nurtured as a resolutely mainstream, majoritarian, assimilationist, David Lewis, the youngest son in a secure and relatively affluent, two-parent household, seems to have eluded all of America's ideological/racial constructs such as black nationalism, the black/white binary, assimilationism, marxism, etc. Therefore he becomes basically a radical individualist who understands that African America does not constitute a monolithic group. He therefore writes extensively about class within African America, but more importantly, his radical individualism causes him to take an interest in "the unmasking of motives behind the complexity and similarity of individual and group interaction. The key to the quest turns out not to be French history, or U.S. history, or African American history, or African history. The quest is for histories." The quest leads him from Eurocentrism to polycentrism.

In the process of using the African American "to supply ammunition for arguments about mainstream history," the liberal historian ignores what Lewis calls "histories" and what I want to call American/African American differences. For example, although Professor Tindall explores the role of African Americans in the paradoxical history of South Carolina and finds a "hybrid civilization," he does not approach American history as one of dispersal/hybridization, which would undermine the white/black polarization that defines American history. Instead, he approaches this history in terms of that polarization. Although Leon F. Litwack grew up in a multicultural working-class community in California, he does not spend his career as a historian writing a polycentric American history that defies the white, liberal, progressive paradigm, where whites constitute the center and others, through the struggle for equality, are "added on." He writes about his "country's often proclaimed ideals and its practices, between its professed egalitarianism and deep inequalities."

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The historians in *Historians and Race*, with the exception of David Levering Lewis, are practicing, at most, a cooperative liberal pluralism, tainted at birth by its historical roots in the systematic inequalities of conquest, slavery, and exploitation. And I would not for a minute criticize anyone for writing about conquest, slavery, and exploitation. But, I must admit, given the enormous diversity and complexity of American/African American life and history, that focusing on social equality exclusively ignores and represses much of this life and history. What I see as an approach to American history that eschews the framing of American history around white-black relations, that allows for racial and cultural differences, is a more relational and radical polycentric multicultural approach. This notion of polycentrism envisions a reading of American history where relations have many dynamic cultural locations, many possible vantage points, rather than a center and peripheries.

A polycentric, multicultural approach to American history engages critically the entire construction of that history as a white center and a periphery of people of color. It has less to do with canons, artifacts, and representations than with the communities "behind" the artifacts. In this sense, a polycentric, multicultural approach to American history reconceptualizes it by focusing on the power relations between cultural communities. Refusing a ghettoizing discourse, it links minoritarian communities, challenging the hierarchy that makes some communities "minor" and others "major" and "normative." It concerns the dispersing of power, the empowering of the disempowered, and the reconfiguring of subordinating institutions and discourses. It assumes changes not just in images but in power relations. It thinks and imagines "from the margins," seeing minoritarian communities not as "interest groups" to be "added on" to a preexisting nucleus, but rather as active, generative participants at the very core of a shared, conflictual history.

In taking this polycentric approach to American/African American history, these historians can eschew a history of African Americans that focuses narrowly on African Americans' journey to the middle class, christian, protestant ethic American mainstream. Rather, it can examine the various American/African American communities (along with Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American communities) and lifestyles or theoretical conceptions of life such as radical individualism, existentialism, modernism, postmodernism, the Jazz/Blues definitions of life, voodoo, African American urban survivalism, and the African American subaltern, which are a part of African American life, which are different from mainstream norms and conventions, and which cannot be engaged, examined, and discussed adequately and positively in the historical narrative about the quest for social equality. A polycentric, multicultural approach to

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American/African American history might "stimulate an emotional response" in students, especially since about a third of college students today are students of color who come from diverse and different cultures and races and classes.

*W. Lawrence Hogue*

Couser, G. Thomas. *Recovering Bodies: Illness, Disability, and Life Writing*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1997. 314 pp. ISBN 0-299-15560-9, $55.00 cloth; ISBN 0-299-15564-1, $24.95 paper.

In the past few decades, to some extent as a result of postmodernist and feminist theory and analysis, interest in the genres of life writing, life history, memoir, biography, and autobiography has been revived in disciplines as diverse as anthropology and English literature. For some scholars texts in any of these genres are subjected to methods of criticism similar to those applied to more canonical works of literature. Other scholars have involved themselves in the writing of such texts, recognizing them as powerful modes of communication. Focusing on women's biography in particular, Meryn Stuart has suggested that women read about other women "because they want to know about their private worlds, about how other women perceived themselves and their lives, about their sources of power. . . . Women want to know these things because other women's experiences can be a resource to them, and because previously this resource has been denied" (59).

A similar observation could be made about the narratives of illness and disability that are the subject of Thomas Couser's book *Recovering Bodies*. No doubt the proliferation of such texts, labeled by Couser as "the literature of personal disaster or the memoir of mischance" (x), has to do not only with the more confessional public culture of the late twentieth century, but also with the fact that readers of such texts are seeking understanding, and perhaps also a source of strength, as they or someone close to them experiences a life-threatening or life-challenging illness or disability. Readers, and undoubtedly writers as well, engage in this search because the authoritative discourse of biomedicine is often esoteric, alienating, and inhumane. Couser refers to this as a process of reestablishing subjectivity in the face of objectifying treatment (11). It is also a form of resistance.

Couser focuses his analysis on the narrative literature for four conditions, all of which were stigmatizing until quite recently: breast cancer, HIV/AIDS, paralysis, and deafness. Each chapter treats a number of texts, written by sufferers themselves or, as is often the case with HIV/AIDS, by someone close to the sufferer. In his discussion of each narrative for a particular condition, Couser explores

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how and why the narrative was written; the nature of plot, structure, and voice; the use of literary conventions and language; how the story is resolved or comes to closure; and its political impact, whether explicit or implicit. If he does not claim to have laid out a "systematic poetics of illness narrative," he at least aims to highlight such narratives as "a relatively new form of life writing" (14).

Each chapter begins with a brief discussion of general issues surrounding the particular illness or disability. Some chapters are richer than others, partly the result of the differential wealth of texts—there are more narratives dealing with HIV/AIDS than with paralysis. Each chapter, however, has its points of interest. For example, in the chapter on breast cancer, Couser notes that the master plots of the narratives, most of which are autobiographical, often focus more on detection, diag-nosis, and treatment than on the progress of the illness. Many are written in the form of diaries. Some, for example Audre Lorde's *The Cancer Journals*, transmit a radical political message about powerlessness and isolation. Others are written by survivors—their voice is affirmative and through writing they gain some sense of control. All help to "invalidate the discourse of women's invalidity" (78). Breast cancer narratives represent a genre with a history but, as Couser points out, a genre that may someday become, like the slave narrative, obsolete.

The chapter on HIV/AIDS is by far the longest and therefore wrestles with a broad range of issues and a diversity of narrative styles, not all of which can be treated in this short review. In the 1980s AIDS replaced cancer as the most stigmatized disease in the United States. Unlike cancer it was "read" as an automatic death sentence and thus the narrative plot in writings about HIV/AIDS generally follows a path of deterioration and ends in dissolution. Most are memoirs rather than autobiographies:

> People who are HIV positive but asymptomatic may resist writing illness narratives because they are reluctant to identify themselves as infected, for fear of prematurely adopting . . . the sick role. Once diagnosed with AIDS, the same individuals might be reluctant to write [out of] a sense of hopelessness, symptoms that interfere with . . . [the] detachment conducive to autobiography, or . . . to avoid or minimize the stigma of AIDS. (86)

The chapter begins with narratives of the famous—Rock Hudson, Arthur Ashe, Mary Fisher. Couser describes the atypical works of Hudson and Ashe as attempts to "regain control of public images" (93). Ashe, in particular, comes under what I think is some unfair criticism from Couser for his attempts to distance himself from other AIDS sufferers, particularly homosexuals. Here, I think it would be

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better to adopt a more empathetic stance for Ashe's social location—as both African-American and an AIDS sufferer—and to allow him the space to speak himself rather than be spoken for. If image was important to him, then so be it. His narrative is no less authentic in its effort to record complex emotions.

Couser places the narratives of "ordinary" AIDS sufferers who, he suggests, may be experiencing a different disease in cultural terms from that of celebrities into a number of categories: conversion narratives of individuals who rediscover their Christian roots through their disease (a form that Couser finds problematic and subjects to the same kind of criticism to which he subjects the narrative of Arthur Ashe); New Age, spiritual autobiographies; relational memoirs written by family members, generally a wife, father, mother, daughter, or sister rather than brother, husband, or son (Couser is right to note that this is itself revealing); chronicles of drug treatments; and auto/biographies often written by one partner in a gay couple.

Chapter Five focuses on paralysis. Here Couser makes an interesting observation about the prominence of male accounts of paralysis—"the story of the disabled male is privileged because of the semiotic clash between the modifier and the noun, whereas the story of the disabled woman is ignored because of its apparent redundancy" (185). Paralysis is the epitome of emasculation. As with some AIDS narratives, some paralysis narratives also employ the conversion trope. More use the plot of success story in describing conquest of the worst aspects of the disability. Others focus on their political awakening—as is the case of the narratives of the anthropologist Robert Murphy and the sociologist Irving Zola, both of whom view their disabilities through the prism of their respective academic disciplines.

The penultimate chapter, one of the most interesting in my view, deals with the final condition, deafness. Here Couser focuses more forthrightly than in other chapters on the political context of the discourse: "Most contemporary accounts of deaf people, though not by any means unanimous in their politics, display awareness that representation is a political act; most, indeed, offer themselves as counterdiscourse that is doing the important work of disabling stereotypes of disability" (230). The narratives that Couser analyzes include those by the deaf themselves, by deaf parents about a child, by hearing children about a parent or parents. Each offers a different perspective on the disability. Particularly powerful are the excerpts from Ruth Sidransky's account of her parents and of the process of burying the silence within: "We abandoned our dreams and took care of our deaf mothers and fathers. They were our children, and we were their parents. We, the children, were invisible" (qtd. 250). As in the previous chapter, Couser finds success (or conquest) narratives problematic, largely because they undermine the political messages.

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Again I would prefer more distance. If a narrator chooses to downplay difference and to attempt to live in the hearing world, then again so be it. Individuals cope in distinct ways with their disabilities and their memoirs are part of their coping strategies.

In a final chapter, Couser addresses the value of body stories. This book will provide provocative reading for anyone interested in life writing. It will also appeal to those interested in medical anthropology, medical sociology, and the general issue of the social and cultural construction of illness and disability.

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*Caroline B. Brettell*

Linda Haverty Rugg, *Picturing Ourselves: Photography and Autobiography*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. 286 pp. ISBN 0-226-73146-4, $46.00 cloth; ISBN 0-226-73147-2, $17.95 paper.

For the past decade there has been a growing interest in the relationship between photography and autobiography, marked most recently by this insightful study.[1] The reasons for this interdisciplinary confluence are not hard to comprehend: the autobiographer's focus of attention on himself as subject is analogous to the representation of the subject photographically, both offering a "picture" of a life. Moreover, the inevitable effort of memory to recover the past in autobiography is frequently structured according to flashes, incidents, spots of time, fragments that bear resemblance to the photographic freezing of the current of life. And autobiographers have not infrequently resorted to photographs as a way of recalling and recapturing the experience of the past, often including them in their published works. At the same time, both forms of representation pose issues that the autobiographer must come to terms with: the photograph seems to exist in a state of evidentiary bliss, an unassailable record of exactly what happened, at least at a given moment in time.

Yet the photograph is at best a problematic representation of the past, no less problematic in its own way than the autobiographer's memory, for we have long since been disabused of the supposed "objectivity" of an image cut from the complex fabric of reality, an image that in many cases has been posed and arranged to begin with. The presence of photography in an autobiographical text makes unavoidable the fact that the past self is the "same" as the present

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self, yet strangely other, different. It is with a full recognition of such issues that Rugg begins her study, asking among other questions, "How does the introduction of photographs and/or the photographic metaphor into autobiographical texts complicate autobiographical reference?" (9).

Rugg takes an affirmative position with regard to the post-structuralist issue of the disassociation of self, arguing that "the introduction of photographs into autobiography not only effectively represents that disassociation but also offers a possibility of reconciliation or reintegration" (14). The specific texts Rugg chooses to explore are suitably complex: Mark Twain's *Autobiography*; August Strindberg's *Alone* (with reference as well to several other autobiographies); Walter Benjamin's *Berliner Kindheit um neunzehnhundert* (Berlin childhood around 1900—not yet available in published translation); and Christa Wolf's *Patterns of Childhood*. Omitted from detailed consideration, though receiving mention, are Walt Whitman, Marcel Proust, Vladimir Nabokov, Roland Barthes, Marguerite Duras, Wright Morris, and Cindy Sherman.

Though seemingly arbitrary, the choice of her principal texts allows Rugg to discuss photography and autobiography both historically and theoretically. Twain and Strindberg, writing around the turn of the last century, share a certain historical conception of the nature of photography as a truth-telling medium—questioned ironically by Twain, affirmed mystically by Strindberg—while Benjamin and Wolf, living through (and in Wolf's case beyond) the disruptions of Nazism and World War II, share a sense of photography as an instrument of political manipulation as well as personal memory—and questioning its authenticity in either case. For Twain and Strindberg, the individual's control of the image and its uses was of paramount importance; Benjamin and Wolf, seeing firsthand the state's nearly absolut power to control representation, eschew the reproduction of photographs in their autobiographies, even though photography informs, metaphorically and theoretically, their respective imaginations.

In her Twain chapter, Rugg demonstrates the author's fascination with photography throughout his life, and most explicitly in the late autobiographical phase, when he exploited photography's inherently deceptive powers as one more way—Twain was a master at self-impersonation—to achieve the obfuscation of the represented self. As subtle as she is in discussing the nature of candor in Twain, Rugg is equally alert to the nuances of narrative in Strindberg's literary and photographic self-representations. Strindberg, a devoted photographic experimenter, saw the medium as a way into the true inner self, at the same time that he uncovers "the unavoidable duplicity of self-photography" (105). In this chapter, Rugg intriguingly positions Strindberg as a precursor of postmodern selfhood.

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The chapter on Benjamin is more meditative and speculative, as Rugg tracks this elusive figure through his theoretical writings on photography and through the veiled photographic references in *Berliner Kindheit*. Benjamin's identification with "the little hunchback" —a stereotype of the Jew in European imagery—is seen as "an image for otherness and dominance within the same body" (186). With Wolf, Rugg aims to demonstrate—building here on Marilyn Sibley Fries's work—how the author, in her autobiographical writings "'faces the challenge of simultaneously making visible and withholding closure'" (201). Wolf, Rugg argues, exposes both "the rhetoric of propaganda and her own culture's susceptibility to its images" (205). Yet Wolf is, in this regard, an immediately controversial figure, given the 1993 revelation that she cooperated with East Germany's secret police as an informer within literary circles during the years 1959–1962. Rugg deliberately avoids ethical judgment (too "journalistic," she says), choosing instead to respect the "academic" complexity of the issue. Not everyone will agree.

For all her sensitivity to the parallel issues of representation in photography and autobiography, one theoretical issue Rugg slights in *Picturing Ourselves* is the lack of parallel between a text about a subject written by that same self and a photograph representing the subject but taken by another. The precise parallel to autobiography, obviously, is self-portraiture, which is the explicit concern of just one chapter (on Strindberg). But Rugg's discussion of Strindberg's photographic self-portraits takes a different tack (focusing on "his anxiety at the inevitable disintegration of the self"), leaving the larger conceptual issues untended. Still, this is a relatively minor quibble. Written in a clear and scrupulous style, Rugg's *Picturing Ourselves* is a fascinating exploration of the nature of photography and the nature of autobiography.

NOTES

1. See also "Autobiography, Photography, Narrative," the special issue of *Modern Fiction Studies* 40.3 (Fall 1994), edited by Timothy Dow Adams.

*Miles Orvell*

Vincent Newey and Philip Shaw, eds., *Mortal Pages, Literary Lives: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Autobiography*. Aldershot: Scolar and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1996. 259 pp. ISBN 1-85928-206-7, $68.95.

Over and over again, I find myself fascinated by the inherent paradoxes, the inner dynamism, of autobiography. *Mortal Pages,*

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*Literary Lives*, a collection of fourteen essays edited by Vincent Newey and Philip Shaw, provided me with an admirable opportunity to indulge this interest, not just because of the panoply of primary texts under scrutiny, but because of the resourceful approaches brought to bear to analyze them. Ranging from Romantic to late Victorian, including both British and American texts, the variously defined autobiographical endeavors under study make a convincing case for the nineteenth century as the golden age of autobiography. Yet it is primarily in the context of the century's inherent fear of the modern that the authors of these essays are provoked to such an intriguing array of exploratory *modus operandi*; in confronting the forms autobiography can take, i.e., self-writing that does not overtly announce itself as autobiography *per se*, these scholars display a willingness to read their chosen texts newly, not just as self-defined or traditionally delimited. At the same time, I was pleased to note that the occupational hazard of the field, namely a tendency to employ outsized concepts or to overshadow rather than illuminate the subject at hand with intellectual machinery, seldom interferes with the genuine desire to explicate and to uncover connections.

In the course of the past two decades, autobiography has come very much into its own as a legitimate academic discipline, and numerous conferences and essay compilations have fueled and supported its advent. What makes this collection unique is not only its specific choice of subject matter but its overall continuity and interplay between the Romantic and the Victorian. The two writers whose work figures most frequently are poet William Wordsworth and novelist George Eliot. As a result, the reader learns to recognize their lines of influence in the latter part of the century, and earlier works often reflect Wordsworthian prescience as much as they look ahead to the multiple ways in which Eliot tries to culminate the arguments raised by their concerns. Yet despite this general accord, at no point are these literary giants treated as unquestionably dominating the two periods. As always when autobiography is under discussion, its status as genre comes into play, and here I can commend the essayists for both their openness and their creativity in interpreting the issues raised by genre inquiry, much in the manner that feminist scholarship has tended to foster. Moreover, the essays certainly devote sufficient attention to women writers and the considerable diversity that their autobiographies have assumed. Overall, individual essays and the collection as a whole maintain an impressive balance between both canonical and non-canonical texts, with informed theorizing well-integrated and imaginatively employed.

The editors set the volume in motion with their introductory essay, which features the understudied autobiographical fragments of John Clare as an exemplary demonstration of "what is at stake in *the right*

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*to autobiography*" (1). Peter Swaab picks up this common thread in his close examination of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*, reading the Romantic self-representation in this edition of letters as one more instance of her expert mobility among the "array of genres" that constitutes what Mitzi Myers has elsewhere called "experiments in selfhood" (14). In general, the influence of this key text can be broadly read throughout the corpus of Wollstonecraft's "fellow" Romantics, but specifically with respect to both Wordsworth and Percy Bysshe Shelley, Swaab substantiates what I would be more inclined to label as cases of "co-influence." Ultimately, he concludes that Wollstonecraft's unwillingness in *A Short Residence* "to separate the voices of her self (political scientist, natural historian, abandoned lover) defines the originality of her experiment in autobiography," adding that possibly "its failure turned out to have no less influence on subsequent autobiographical writings than any success we may imagine" (28). In his turn, Keith Hanley invokes Gerard Manley Hopkins as intermediary between Wordsworth and Eliot, arguing that "the shock of the old" in both instances can be read in "the path to Rome." Again the concepts of both revision and innovation come to the fore: "What [Eliot] referred to as her fictional 'experiments in life' were effectively extensions of the literary 'experiment' in identifying a communal language that Wordsworth had pursued in *The Prelude* after first instituting it in *Lyrical Ballads*" (46).

As backdrop to many studies in modern autobiography, the dual *Confessions* of St. Augustine and Jean Jacques Rousseau have achieved privileged status. But Julian North and Nicholas Roe put further turns to the screw of the confessional mode for Thomas De Quincey and Leigh Hunt respectively. North is quick to point out an instance of De Quincey's "knowing retailoring of a novelistic convention to the language of confessional autobiography," whereby the author of *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* "restyles the public as his priest" (64), yet North finally determines that "the opium indulgence which has been represented as enabling autobiography ends up by disabling it" (65). Critical reception is telling in this respect, for as North aptly observes, "The distrust of Romantic autobiography as a self-indulgent genre is clear in those critics who attacked De Quincey, but it is also latent in the criticism of those who defended him" (67). Here unhealthiness and self-indulgence have become synonymous for both sets of critics. In this vein, Roe shows us how Hunt complicates the equation by giving it a gendered twist: "Hunt elaborates an alternative Romantic identity, a 'feminized' self associated (after Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry*) with ill-health, weakness, and vulnerability—the susceptibility of the 'heart loosed in tears' rather than the supposedly 'masculine vigour' of Currer Bell" (72). Equally intriguing is the final "corrective" that Roe reads into his line of analysis: "The 'real state of the case,' as

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recounted by Hunt in the *Autobiography*, actually elaborates the myth of Keats's sickliness—but by way of vindicating Hunt himself" (77)—and by implying his shared "susceptibility" to genius.

Traditional Victorian studies have centered their examination of the autobiographical impulse on the texts of John Stuart Mill, John Henry Newman, and Thomas Carlyle, but once again this collection has surprises in store for the reader. In perhaps the most provocative of the essays, Philip Davis reproduces F. H. Bradley's question—"Why do we remember forwards and not backwards?"—in order to dismantle the predictable dullness of rigidly defined autobiography, critiquing its key form as "an unredeemed chronological successiveness, prosaically denying true memory-thinking" (82). Contrasting the two cases of Mill and Newman, Davis reformulates his basic question in more specific terms—"could there not have been more room within the form of nineteenth-century prose autobiography for mental, temporal and grammatical movements of mind *other* than that of sheer narrative progression?" (84)—ultimately finding that "[i]t is only in its breakdowns and its failures . . . that Victorian autobiography ironically succeeds" (94). For William Myers, accounting for Newman's various autobiographical undertakings assumes a similar philosophical guise, this time via Wittgenstein, Dennett, Augustine, and Carlyle—in that order. Proceeding from the common postmodern assumption that "the self is only a story in constant process of revision" (104), Myers concludes, "Newman's writings are continually revised for the purpose of self-definition because, for him as for us, identity is always so constituted" (107). If this reasoning seems tautological, so must any final analysis that paraphrases Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* for its own insight, namely that "if a text is real it is also autobiographical" (116)—such a convoluted self-turning nonetheless confirming the validity of its assertion.

In apparent contradistinction to the foregoing studies, David Amigoni's essay attempts to displace the autobiographical impulse in Carlyle's *Reminiscences* by starting with a question fundamental to the charge of this journal: "In the language of generic categories, are the *Reminiscences* writings of the self (autobiography) or writings of the other (biography)?" (121). Utilizing a Bakhtinian framework, Amigoni argues that in the dual autobiographical and biographical modes comprising *Reminiscences* "we witness both a generic quest through which social values are articulated and a 'laying bare' of the practice of life writing as a contestable and contested cultural activity" (122). These portraits, composed at two separate periods in Carlyle's life, are essentially "rhetorical performances" of the author, whose very style seems to anticipate, nay even demand, a response. So in Bakhtinian terms, this text exposes "the practices of life-writing, inscribing images of the others who helped to shape the authorial,

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evaluative act of writing—which produce an 'I,' or an image of the self" (127). This dialogic operation obviates any meaningful distinction between biography and autobiography for both Bakhtin and Amigoni, allowing him to concur as well with Bakhtin's intriguing extension of the typical genre question: "The author's quests for his own word are basically quests for genre and style, quests for an authorial position" (*Speech Genres*, 149). As a fitting assessment of the Carlylean *modus operandi*, with respect to both self and other, we could hardly do better than to honor his imperative as a quest for a generic style.

Comparing the "dangerous" art of biography with its "still more fatal" counterpart, Margaret Oliphant warns against autobiography as a "terrible instrument of self-murder" in her 1877 review of Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* in *Blackwood's Magazine* (140). Cited by Joanne Shattock in her essay entitled "Victorian Women as Writers and Readers of (Auto)biography," these observations reflect the tone and manner with which both Oliphant and Eliza Lynn Linton read and review John Cross's edition of *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals*. As Shattock remarks of Oliphant, "She sees shrewdly that Eliot is herself constructing a persona which is scarcely reconcilable with the rich humor and the sophistication of the novels" (145), but Oliphant's subjective perceptivity generates a "creative tension" as she confronts the task of writing her own autobiography, for "Eliot is the role model she expected to be compared with—single-minded, dedicated to her art, cocooned, protected, a thoroughly professional writer for whom writing took precedence over everything else" (148). Continuing the study of women's autobiographical writings, Valerie Sanders reminds us that they "tend to be dismissed as unimportant because they fail to focus on a single coherent subject," itself "a defect that may now seem less serious and more interesting because of the critical doubt surrounding the viability of the unified subject" (154). She carves out her own subject matter from the work of female anti-feminists Charlotte Mary Yonge, Linton, and Mary Augusta (Mrs. Humphrey) Ward, asking the key question, "How did they sustain the pressure of an inward desire to tell and an outward injunction to remain silent?" (156). Answers unfold in riveting scenarios that include Yonge's invocation of a communal childhood, Linton's cross-gendered self-depiction in her *Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland*, and Ward's masculine-identified self-accounting located through a series of dominant male influences.

Turning to the American autobiographical endeavors under scrutiny, we discover both continuity and discontinuity with their British analogues. Critiquing *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, for example, allows Rosemarie Morgan to participate in the on-going dialogue about gender and genre, though this particular case produces an almost parodic instance of the self-reflexive hall-of-mirrors effect as Chesnut's layers of intertextuality multiply and redouble in a dizzying

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array of revising and editing. One could argue that Morgan does not really have much to add to the existing scholarship on Chesnut, but she is especially adept at teasing out how the revised diary-style purports to deliver a form of objectivity "by means of a profound authorial subjectivity: gazing into the self-reflecting text, Chesnut displaces the self already narrated by the diarist now narrating" (207). Touting its hybridity, its mediation between opposites, Morgan concludes that "the diary form in itself exploits these deconstructive elements by virtue of its periodic structure, its incremental repetitions, and its open destiny" (208). In this latter respect, with her emphasis on *process*, Morgan prefigures Nicholas Everett's essay on Walt Whitman's autobiographical *Specimen Days* as prophecy rather than history. Seeing the Whitman text more as a work of organization than as one of fresh composition provides another linkage between the autobiographies of these two American *literati*, for whom the Civil War is the supreme defining moment for self and nation, albeit from opposing vantage points and to radically divergent ends.

Finally, addressing two authors writing at the turn of the century, Vincent Newey and Diana Barsham reiterate the Victorians' propensity to displace and conceal from themselves what they reveal only too readily to the modern reader. As Newey so thoroughly demonstrates, William Hale White creates an intriguing series of removes in his semi-fictional *Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* and *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance*, which he further complicates with the exploration of female sublimation in his late novel *Catherine Furze*. Female characters in this latter text put personal history to imaginative uses, manipulating "the traditional self-constructive purposes of autobiography" to variously position themselves in the larger community (189). Catherine herself becomes a fascinating case study of the interplay between the conscious and the unconscious, recalling especially Eliot's Dorothea Brooke in *Middlemarch* and thereby providing us with yet another study which uncovers "the limits of female experience and power" (193). Ultimately, however, Catherine's life-history is no *Bildungsroman*, for the disguised autobiography of the pseudonymous Rutherford tells a tale of sexual frustration and only partial transcendence (198). In contrast, Diana Barsham finds a more reticent self-explorer in Arthur Conan Doyle's *Memories and Adventures*. Paradoxically, although this is "a rebellious text, defiantly non-canonical in its concept of identity and in its demarcation of areas considered appropriate for representation" (237), it is at the same time striking for "its subject's avoidance of personal disclosure" as well as "its reappropriation of story material that has previously been used by Doyle either in works of fiction or of cultural propaganda" (238). National identity becomes allied with Doyle's definition of masculinity, particularly in wartime, leading to an endorsement of British imperialism that parallels "the lack of interior meaning" espoused by his popular creation Sherlock Holmes.

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*Mortal Pages, Literary Lives* is a welcome addition to "The Nineteenth Century Series" published under the general editorship of Newey and Shattock by the Scolar Press. One of the chief rewards of reading these essays lies in discovering how they end up "talking to" one another, perhaps partly the result of their genesis within the dialogue engendered by the 1994 conference of the same title sponsored by the University of Leicester, home of the Victorian Studies Center. At the same time, the individual essays stand as independent, legitimate studies in their own right, reaching out to the scholarly community across a variety of disciplines as well as to the literate general readership. The essayists stretch and redefine our notions of canon and genre, whether they are introducing works long out of print or looking beyond the traditional choices that constitute the "definitive" autobiography for a given author. Moreover, besides augmenting current feminist scholarship on women's autobiography, many of the essays raise issues of empire and democracy which open up race and class for further consideration. Reading Wordsworth through Hopkins, for instance, Hanley shows how Hopkins prefigures both George Orwell's BBC broadcasts to militant Indian university students at the end of World War II, and the Wordsworth Centenary issue of an Indian journal which "represents an extraordinary effort at assimilation, reconciliation, and cultural translation still in dialogue with a poetic language that was perceived to have a special power of endorsing an elective western discourse of human dignity and spiritual aspiration" (34). It is indeed a healthy sign when scholarship transcends periodization to such encompassing ends.

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*Carol Hanbery MacKay*

Amia Lieblich, *Conversations with Dvora: An Experimental Biography of the First Modern Hebrew Woman Writer*. Trans. Naomi Seidman. Ed. Chana Kronfeld and Naomi Seidman. Contraversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature, Culture, and Society 6. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 343 pp. ISBN 0-520-08539-6, $45.00 cloth; ISBN 0-520-08541-8, $16.95 paper.

In 1923, the Hebrew and Yiddish writer Dvora Baron walked into her Tel Aviv apartment, and did not emerge until her death, some thirty-

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two years later. From her self-imposed exile from quotidian existence, Baron maintained an active literary life, writing and translating, receiving visits and correspondence from the literati of her time and culture. Imprisoned, and for twenty years bedridden, by an elusive, undefined, and undiagnosed ailment, Baron published an impressive compendium of work that included approximately eighty short stories. She gained a reputation as a literary translator, most notably of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. Tended devotedly by her daughter Tsipora, Baron died in 1956, at the age of 69.

Baron is the subject of Amia Lieblich's unusual biography, *Conversations with Dvora: An Experimental Biography of the First Modern Hebrew Woman Writer*. The mystery of Baron's self-elected seclusion, the significance of Baron as a woman writer among men, as a Hebrew writer during an era when the language was reborn into modernity, as an immigrant writer looking back at the Old Country, form the central concerns of the biographer. What makes this biography "experimental" is the form in which its author has chosen to write it. Lieblich has invented a series of twenty-four encounters with Baron, whom she never actually met. Out of these imagined conversations with the writer during the last years of her life, Lieblich has composed twenty-four chapters, encompassing the life and work of her subject, and utilizing the fruits of her research about Baron to create the persona of "Dvora." Both the subject of this fascinating biography—Dvora Baron—and the genre developed by Lieblich deserve discussion.

In many ways, Baron led a singular existence. Born in 1887 into a rabbi's family in a small town in Minsk, Baron had a rare chance to come to know the intricacies of shtetl life. Apparently favored by her father, who recognized her intellectual gifts, Baron was permitted to overhear the shtetl dwellers' conversations with the rabbi. Educated in classic Jewish texts as though she were a boy, Dvora also sat in on her father's synagogue classes, and was a vocal, if not visible presence, seated as she was behind the *mehitza*, or curtain separating the woman's section from the main sanctuary. Bent on acquiring also a secular education, at the age of fifteen Baron left home and followed her older brother to the city, where she lived on her own. She graduated from the Russian Gymnasium, earned a teacher's certificate, and supported herself by tutoring. She began to publish stories in Hebrew in 1902, and in Yiddish in 1904. Amid the pogroms that destroyed Jewish homes and took Jewish lives after the Russian Revolution, Baron immigrated in 1910 to Palestine, then part of the Ottoman Empire, where she continued to write and translate. Baron died in 1956.

As part of the first wave of modern Hebrew writers, Baron faced a daunting challenge—to write literature in a language that was not

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only not her native tongue, but was virtually no one's native tongue. In the world to which Dvora Baron was born, Hebrew was reserved as a language of prayer and scripture. In addition to the language of their host country, Eastern European Jews like Baron's family spoke Yiddish. With the birth of Zionism came the rebirth of the Hebrew language into the tongue of quotidian existence. Early Hebrew writers dedicated to revivifying the ancient tongue opted to write in an acquired language—one, moreover, that was not spoken around them, indeed, was not the daily language anywhere. Not only did immigrant parents to the Jewish homeland—as in other countries—learn a new language from their children, but (as Yaron Ezrahi demonstrates poignantly in *Rubber Bullets*), they learned the language as their children invented it.

The majority of the early modern Hebrew writers self-consciously took on the mission to regenerate the language as a lived one, and to create a national literature and culture with Zion at the center. In this spirit, most chose to write about life in the Jewish homeland, life in the settlements. Baron, however, wrote only about the shtetl she had left. Thus, to her contemporaries, Baron seemed increasingly irrelevant. As the years passed, her writing held little interest for subsequent generations of writers and readers more interested in staking out a contemporary mythos of the New Jew, the Israeli Jew, than in looking backwards at the shtetl. The Nazi genocide, and the painful experience of extreme Jewish vulnerability, increased the desire to distance oneself from the European Jewish past, to embrace fully the Jewish future as represented by the State of Israel. Baron's writing, by consequence, passed through a period of neglect.

Baron's shtetl writing is neither sentimental nor nostalgic. Her stories examine the shtetl inhabitants, their foibles, the relationships between couples, parents and children, and community dynamics. Baron's writing places special emphasis on the situation of women, their unhappiness in marriage, their powerlessness in divorce, but also women as strong, wise characters. The omnipresence of loss—men and children killed in recurring pogroms, children lost to disease, premature death of spouses—characterizes her oeuvre. This pervasive sense of loss is undershadowed by the radical loss of this entire world, first to the writer by her act of emigration, then, irretrievably, by the catastrophe of the Nazi genocide.

In the past decade, Israeli culture—as evidenced by works of historians, literary scholars, debates in newspapers, and in the academy—has shown an increased desire to examine its past, interrogating myths of the founders, and generating more complicated readings of the recent and more distant past. As part of this, Israelis have become more receptive to, more interested in lost and unheard narratives—ranging from a new receptiveness to the remembrances

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of Holocaust survivors, to a willingness to examine the European past in a more nuanced manner, which does not simply posit it as the intolerable impetus for Zionism. While earlier generations felt the need to assert a radical break between their own lives and the European past, many contemporary Israelis of European descent seek to better understand the past of their grandparents and great grandparents, and the impact of that past in their own lives.

Moreover, just as for American Jews, the trauma of the Holocaust has occluded the trauma of earlier immigrants—the consequence of the radical break from one's birthplace and community into a promised, but often alienating and demanding land. In Israel, as in America, the descendants of these immigrants have only now begun to contemplate the real cost of that transition on one's sense of self, and on one's family dynamic. Lieblich's biography amply illustrates her sensitive understanding of the consequences of loss and displacement for Baron. The work also exemplifies and explicates the willingness of Lieblich's generation to open doors formerly judged best left closed, and to see relevance in works which had been previously regarded as largely irrelevant. The sense of loss that pervades Baron's writing, for example, resonates strongly with the sense of loss experienced by contemporary Israelis—loved ones lost to war or terrorism, loss of vision, loss of national mythos.

In addition, Lieblich considers Baron's life—and particularly her long seclusion—with the insights of feminist theory. What must it have been like to be a woman pioneer in the Jewish homeland, during the early parts of this century? What must it have been like to be a woman writer—an inventor and bearer of culture—and at the same time, also a mother, a wife? In her excellent study, *A Marriage Made in Heaven: The Sexual Politics of Hebrew and Yiddish* (U of California P, 1997), Naomi Seidman notes that the Hebrew language has been consistently figured as male when partnered with Yiddish, troped as female. Thus, Seidman points out in her insightful chapter on Baron, although the writer wrote both Yiddish and Hebrew stories, she was seen primarily as a Yiddish rather than a Hebrew writer, linked with the past rather than the future. (Seidman is also the translator of Lieblich's autobiography.)

One cannot separate Lieblich's portrait of Baron from the form in which she develops it. Lieblich employs a daring gambit—creating a hybrid genre which melds the facticity of nonfictional biography with the imaginativeness of fiction, but in a way entirely different than fictional biography or biographical fiction. Lieblich's biography hones closely to the known facts of Dvora Baron's life, offering well-founded conjectures about what is not known. From her work as a Gestalt therapist, Lieblich insists that "nothing prevents our engaging in dialogue with someone who has died or moved away. Our

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imaginations can break through the walls of time and death to win us this freedom." After reading both Baron's writing and writing about Baron, and meeting with people who had known the author, Lieblich explains, "I finally raised her voice in my own ear." She describes this experimental biography as "two women who meet in an imaginary time-space." Lieblich's mode in this volume makes explicit what is always true of biographical writing, but which traditional biography buries: the ways in which biographical writing is always an imaginary encounter, a taking in of the other, an imaginative leap which reconstructs a life not one's own, which then becomes informed by the imaginer's. Further, by placing herself within the biographical narrative, Lieblich unveils the emotional charge of the biographical project—acknowledges, in other words, that biographical writing is also what Susan Suleiman has called "mediated autobiography."

However, while it is true, as Lieblich insists, that one can speak with the dead, it is equally true that one *cannot* speak with the dead, that death signifies the end of narration. In that light, one's encounter with the dead is at heart an encounter with oneself, and not with the other, who perpetually eludes us. Having chosen an experimental form of biography that, by virtue of its form and artifice, makes explicit the imaginative engagement of the biographer, Lieblich might have pushed further by deliberately breaking the illusion from time to time, thereby inviting the reader to contemplate also the limitations of the encounter between biographer and subject.

In order to imagine more fully Baron's inner life, Lieblich uses Baron's fiction as a type of documentary evidence of her psychological reality. She treats Baron's stories, then, as a dream life, or a collection of fantasies. Thus Lieblich imports into her imaginary dialogue with Baron, and at times verbatim, "memories" of events and episodes which are actually portions of Baron's stories, instantly recognizable to readers familiar with Baron's writing. The result for such readers is a curious sense of deja vu, of repetitiveness; an interesting reframing of such episodes in terms of the writer's life; and, as for all readers, a means of constructing a convincing "voice" for Lieblich's Baron. But analyzing the meaning of a writer's writing for her life *in* her life, teasing out autobiography from innovation, is less straightforward than Lieblich's use would indicate. Irony, displacement, denial, projection—all complicate the work of the critic looking to see the writer's life in the writer's work.

The inclusion at the end of the volume of "Fradl," a story by Baron, is a valuable part of Lieblich's book. It permits the real voice of the writer to be heard alongside Lieblich's invented voice, and offers the reader a sense of the power of Baron's writing.

*Sara R. Horowitz*

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*Jennifer Fleischner, Mastering Slavery: Memory, Family, and Identity in Women's Slave Narratives.* New York: New York UP, 1997. 232 pp. ISBN 0-8147-2630-5, $40.00 cloth; ISBN 0-8147-2653-4, $18.95 paper.

Building on the analyses of male slave narratives by Henry Louis Gates and William L. Andrews, and drawing on her background in psychoanalytic theory, Jennifer Fleischner's *Mastering Slavery* sets out to decipher the ways in which the narratives of four African American women were "profoundly shaped by . . . conscious and unconscious links to slavery" (80). Fleischner argues that each narrative is a coded dramatization of "ongoing internal and external efforts to construct a sense of self and a relation to audience." Hers is an enterprise fraught with hazards because of the diverse character of the four autobiographies. Harriet Jacobs and Elizabeth Keckley grew to adulthood in slavery, but Keckley devotes most of her book to the years she spent as a seamstress for the Lincoln White House. Kate Drumgoold, the third author, experienced slavery directly only as a very young child; and Julia A. J. Foote, an itinerant preacher who was the daughter of former slaves, colors much of her story in religious terms. Trying to uncover common thematic and rhetorical constructions in such disparate narratives is no easy task.

The author's clear and succinct introductory discussion comparing psychoanalytic with feminist and other methodologies for reading slave narratives provides a valuable overview of interpretive possibilities. After this chapter, the author provides what amounts to a second introductory chapter, "The Family Romances of Child and Stowe," intended to demonstrate how these works "alert us to the strategies of self-representation deployed in slave narratives by African American women" (59). The connection between the fictional productions of white women authors and the autobiographies of African American women remains tenuous, however. It might have been more useful to review and contrast the issues of family and identity in male slave narratives (as Fleischner later does on one occasion by comparing Harriet Jacobs's narrative to the brief autobiography of her brother John S. Jacobs).

Fleischner's discussion of Jacobs (Chapter 3 and most of the brief epilogue) calls attention to the male figures closest to Jacobs and to Jacobs's mother and white surrogate mother. Portions of this discussion are skillfully handled, deepening our sense of Jacobs's multivalenced familial relationships. However, the comparison of Jacobs's narrative with that of her brother John S. is sometimes vague and unconvincing, as when Fleischner identifies a moment of confusion in John's narrative as "one of several disjunctive moments in John's account of his relationship to Harriet—moments that seem

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to correspond to Harriet's narrative ambiguities surrounding their complicated attachment" (68). Elsewhere in *Mastering Slavery* readers will find many other passages where a series of points qualified by phrases like "seems to," "perhaps," and "may also" create an extremely hypothetical result.

In the chapter devoted to *Behind the Scenes, or Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House*, Elizabeth Keckley's account of her life in slavery and as a *modiste* for Mary Todd Lincoln, Mrs. Jefferson Davis, and others, Fleischner ruminates provocatively on the many ironies of Keckley's narrative and life, particularly her complicated relationship with Mrs. Lincoln. But in arguing that Keckley's narrative is marked by "striking suppressions or repressions, ruptures, substitutions, splittings, and inversions" that reflect "the hidden presence of a cluster of more primary scenes, associated with feelings of sorrow, rage, and longing for her (by now) dead black slave family" (7), Fleischner asks a few passages in Keckley's text to carry far more weight than they can bear. For example, she makes much of the contrast between Keckley's spare description of her adult son's reported death in the army and the vivid descriptions of Mrs. Lincoln's grief for her son and later her husband, without noting circumstances, audience, and narrative demands that can explain the contrast. Instead, Fleischner insists on interpreting the description of Mrs. Lincoln's overwhelming grief as a narrative "inversion" with "the 'mistress' . . . cast in the role of the black slave as Other" because Mrs. Lincoln is described as having "traits ideologically assigned to African Americans (wild, child-like, passive, weak)" (130). Surely other, more straightforward explanations need at least to be considered for Keckley's descriptions, including reportorial accuracy and the sales value of this extremely intimate revelation of Mary Todd Lincoln's private suffering. When incidents in Keckley's narrative are automatically read as "the necessary maneuverings of a marginalized black self engaging the codes and symbols of a dominant white culture" (131), the analysis loses credibility.

Fleischner's discussions of Drumgoold's and Foote's narratives also reveal similar mixtures of sensitive readings and strained interpretation. It is likely and in fact probable that, as Fleischner argues, family memories of slavery, particularly Foote's knowledge of her mother's whipping by her owner, were experienced vicariously, and as a result, profoundly shaped the authors' consciousnesses and expressions. And it is certainly plausible that "the cost of Drumgoold's internal conflicts is evident in the linguistic self-devaluation and self-erasure she enforces by overvaluing whiteness" (150). But evidence for these assertions tends to be assumed. The author's argument that "narrative aggression" appears in Drumgoold's narrative in various guises similarly lacks compelling evidence or explanation. And while Foote's

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situation as a nineteenth-century African American woman may have influenced her to envision God and Christ as "surrogate nurturing, maternal figures of love" (168), and to use terminology that suggests she accepted their mastery, and thereby willingly took on herself a kind of slavery, the fact remains that many white Americans shared similar if not identical religious vocabulary and conceptions.

Occasionally the author's psychoanalytic background results in formulaic explication that amounts to self-parody. In one passage, Fleischner draws a connection between whips used on Julia Foote and her mother and Foote's vision of a message from Christ written with "a golden pen, in golden ink, upon a piece of paper" to place in her "bosom." "The whip," Fleischner explains, "transformed into a golden pen, transmits its 'message' by displacement onto the paper, which is then rolled up (fetal-like/phallic-like) and nourished within her own bosom. Whatever dangers lurk in forbidden fruits and cracking whips are idealized away and made into tokens of purity and maternal love" (169).

When *Mastering Slavery* remains close to the autobiographical texts it examines and does not push its theoretical program too aggressively, the readings are often sensitive and even provocative. Fleischner provides many interesting suggestions for understanding the complicated lives and relationships, particularly with white surrogate mother figures, of these four nineteenth-century female African American autobiographers. Unfortunately for this reader, however, the concepts of "family," "identity," and "memory" of the subtitle remain vaguely defined, never come together into a unified whole, and often seem to be working at cross-purposes. Other words such as "mourning" and "sanctification" are used without definition or apparent awareness of the evolving historical experiences for which they stand. Vague concepts and specialized terminology ("inversion," "doubling," "transferential habit"), gaps in logic, and elliptical syntax all contribute to a fragmentary effect.

Ultimately Fleischner's case for psychoanalytic theory being an "exacting tool" with which to analyze "narrative self-representations" depends on acceptance of a basic set of assumptions underlying psychoanalytic theory. For the reader who does not accept these assumptions, the overall effect of *Mastering Slavery* is something like being given a handful of randomly chosen pieces from a dozen jigsaw puzzles. We recognize that, in a general way, the pieces all belong to a certain kind of thing, and we may even be able to make guesses about what they generally depict, but clear relationships cannot be discovered. To some extent, the discontinuities of *Mastering Slavery* are the inevitable result of the very different character of these four narratives. Yet, given the many flashes of insight and the importance of these remarkable narratives by extraordinary nineteenth-century

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African American women, one wishes that Fleischner had taken more time to deepen her background (especially in social history), tighten her prose, and refine her arguments.

*Gary Collison*

Barbara T. Gates and Ann B. Shteir, eds., *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1997. 256 pp. ISBN 0-299-15480-7, $45.00 cloth; ISBN 0-299-15484-X, $17.95 paper.

Although the title *Natural Eloquence* might suggest that there is something essentialist in the ways that women write about nature, in fact the suggestion here is rather that the women write in an engaged way, using their individual perceptions and relationships within natural, cultural, and scientific environments. The individual essayists are evocative, teasing the reader with sometimes quite minimal biographical information even as they probe what it means for women writers to operate in intersections among scientific cultures, individual enthusiasms, and a changeable natural world. The net effect is to mark the significance—and the complexity—of women writing about nature over two centuries.

Both editors, Barbara T. Gates and Ann B. Shteir, have written on women writers, and their introduction reflects on descriptors for those writers who might be termed "scientific popularizers" but whose capacities and variety resist the subtle denigration of that term. Arguing that in the early nineteenth century many women writers established a distinctive discourse that was familiar and directed, in part, at an audience of women and children, the editors trace the major literary and historical discussions about this genre. About mid-century the dialogue and narrative style tended to change and choices were made that modified the approach, although the new forms often retained the distinctive, individual voices of the authors. From the nineteenth century on, the writings of many women writers can continue to be contrasted with standard textbook accounts. The essays in this volume move the discussion into the late twentieth century, concluding with an interview with naturalist poet Diane Ackerman.

The first contribution of these chronologically organized essays is a reprinted sketch by Stephen Jay Gould that recounts his historical encounter with the nineteenth-century English conchologist Mary Roberts. Himself a conchologist, Gould tracked down this author of a dozen or more books of natural history and offers an assessment of *The Conchologist's Companion* (1834 edition): it represents the mainstream of the field in her day. Reflecting on the invisibility of women naturalists like Roberts and on their conventionality in terms

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of a religious and gendered outlook, he investigates her other books and finds clues that she was restive about the secular certainty of the male experts of her day. He is left pondering "what really went on beyond the mask of acceptance?" Subsequent essays in the volume continue to explore women writers whose conventional, and sometimes unconventional, lives navigated between particular sciences and a public audience.

In her recent prize-winning book on *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science*, Ann Shteir provides an important backdrop for Victorian women who engaged in science, and the changing patterns of participation and acceptance in the larger framework of botanical activity. The essay on Jane Marcet and her *Conversations on Chemistry* (1806), by Greg Myers, places his subject's work on a different topic into that familiar mode. He analyzes the way Marcet used dialogue, rather than the authoritative voice of the lecture form that Humphrey Davy used to dominate topics at the Royal Institution. Marcet's discussion of chemistry reflected a deep familiarity with the science, yet presented it in a way consistent with her position as a woman writer aware of her audience. Her successful negotiation of expertise and genre made her works popular and respected. Later in the century, Agnes Mary Clerke's work on astronomy took on the more impersonal, objective point of view of the standard scientific text. That positioning, and the respect she got from many astronomers, did not, according to Bernard Lightman, protect her from strong criticisms of her work. Her historical outlook, evident enthusiasm for the "new astronomy" that relied on astrophysical techniques, and intense interest in natural theology offended some astronomers. Ultimately, contemporaries found it hard to place authors like Clerke, who must simultaneously be "historians, critics, something of experts, [and] something of originators all in one" (63).

A number of the essays deal with nineteenth-century women in the natural sciences, many of them on geographic frontiers, where new data could be viewed as contributing to science and descriptions were of interest to those in settled places. Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley's discussion of the intrepid Catharine Parr Traill in Canada's backwoods demonstrates how much a persistent reader could gain on her own, and in turn, how much she could then give back by way of collections and essays. Similarly, Judith Johnston's account of Louisa Anne Meredith in southeastern Australia indicates how science and literature are easily combined in the travelogues of exoticized yet familiar places. There was a gendered quality to the ways in which Meredith used poetic sensibility and close attention to details of sight and sound in her *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales* (1845); her work also reflected a hardening racist attitude that sought to justify the extermination of the Tasman people. The extent to which scientific

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outlooks coincided with racial outlooks is also evident in Julie English Early's discussion of Mary Kingsley.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, Darwin's theory of evolution sparked considerable debate. Some authors like Anna Botsford Comstock, whose entomologist husband promoted the basic premises of evolutionary theory, accepted the idea as it applied to the natural world they studied. While he concentrated on a research career, she illustrated his books and gradually developed a style and audience of her own that made her *Nature Study Handbook* a leading textbook in the early twentieth century. Others, concerned about the implications of Darwin's work for women's lives, read him closely and contested his premises. Eliza Burt Gamble, for example, turned the theories of sexual differentiation and natural selection on their heads by using the same data to argue that matrilineality and altruism were more likely factors in cultural evolution. Rosemary Jann's essay highlights Gamble's arguments from *The Evolution of Women* (1894) and its later revision, published as *The Sexes in Science and History: An Inquiry into the Dogma of Woman's Inferiority to Man* (1916). Barbara Gates sees a more sympathetic effort to use Darwinian ideas in the work of Arabella Buckley, a writer who accepted the theory but pressed beyond the observational aspects of natural science. For Buckley science was mysterious and exciting, and she elaborated her enthusiasm in books with titles like *The Fairy-Land of Science* (1879) and *Through Magic Glasses* (1890). Moreover Buckley, like Gamble, pushed back against the idea of competition and preferred to emphasize ideas of mutuality.

Two essays directly work to problematize simplistic notions about women's relationship to nature and to science. Susan Squier's account of sisters-in-law Charlotte Haldane and Naomi Mitchison is a revealing discussion of one fundamental way in which feminist writers of the post-suffrage years split into factions. Squier uses the category of pronatalist essentialist feminism to discuss Charlotte Haldane's *Motherhood and Its Enemies* (1927), and contrasts it with Naomi Mitchison's proto-postmodernist feminism in *Comments on Birth Control* (1930). Personal and educational backgrounds as well as scientific outlooks distinguish the quite different positions each woman takes in her effort to advance women's causes. For Squier, it is important to recognize the complicated and often contentious points of view that emerge, perhaps inevitably, as part of understanding the multiple relationships between feminism and science. In a rather different way Rebecca Raglon discusses alternative feminist approaches by looking at Rachel Carson, whose early work like *The Sea around Us* (1951) fit into the long tradition of women writing with empathy and wonder about the ecological relationships within the natural world. Raglon, however, sees in the later publication of *Silent Spring* (1961) a much darker genre that positions its author in

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distinctive ways within the scientific community and a broad public audience. The pain is palpable in Carson's later work, but the activist biologist felt compelled to take her research and her writing in new directions, and to halt the depredation caused by human action. In so doing, she established a distinctive legacy among women that has been followed by illustrators like Cornelia Hesse-Honegger and other authors who challenge authority and emphasize the legitimacy of their own knowledge, experience, and feelings.

Many of these women authors were self-fashioning in their lives and work, and two essays look closely at how this process might work. James Krasner follows up on the work of Donna Haraway, whose *Primate Visions* showed the work and lives of Dian Fossey and Birute Galdikas gendered in distinctive and public ways. Krasner indicates how effectively certain sexual innuendoes were intensified by the press that reported on them and their work, using *National Geographic* as an example, as a way to demonstrate the themes of voyeurism and gender determination. Krasner argues that the anthropologists have placed themselves in a culturally subordinate position by adopting a two-world model and representing themselves at the border between the two worlds. Perhaps, but distinguishing so markedly between individual choice and the intellectual, economic, and even personal incentives seems to me problematical. My favorite new figure in this book is a self-conscious self-fashioner, Mary Kingsley, whose lectures and book of *Travels in West Africa* (1897) made her well-known, as did her flippant humor and eccentric style. She was caught up in the racial outlooks of her time but once inside the racist superstructure, as Julia English Early argues, "her interest focused on discerning the coherence and integrity of a cultural system" (222). As a result, she challenged contemporary anthropologists who theorized first and then looked for evidence, discounting the so-called "master key" in works like *The Golden Bough* by James George Frazer. Kingsley understood that her working-class upbringing showed through her work, and that standpoint forced a reconsideration of the appropriate demeanor of science and the scientist when the substance of her observations was authenticated by reviews in the most prominent journals. Like many other women discussed in this volume, Kingsley took herself and her subjects seriously: "One by one, I took my old ideas derived from books and thoughts based on imperfect knowledge and weighed them against the real life around me, and found them either worthless or wanting" (228). From such a position, women who wanted to learn and to share their knowledge could take an independent direction, however framed it might be by contemporary culture.

This is a provocative set of essays that offers many rewards to the careful reader. The relatively short essays do not always provide much by way of biographical context. I was left to wonder, for example,

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about the practical, day-to-day connections between Charlotte Haldane and Naomi Mitchison, or about the actual time that Mary Kingsley spent in West Africa. Taken together, however, these essays significantly expand our understanding of the women who, whatever their relationship to the largely male scientists around them, framed investigations of nature in ways that made it accessible to a broader public and in the process renegotiated scientific and cultural themes.

*Sally Gregory Kohlstedt*

Catherine E. Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives.* Twayne's Studies in Literary Themes and Genres. New York: Twayne, 1996. 175 pp. ISBN 0-08057-0965-7, $24.95.

Catherine Parke's *Biography: Writing Lives* is intended to serve as an introduction to the genre of life writing from classical times to the present, and as an engagement with critical perspectives on the genre. Given that writing—and writing about—biography have been rapidly growing fields of literary production in the last twenty-five years, Parke has set herself a daunting task. The fact that she achieves it with clarity and the contribution of her own insights, says much about her skills of synthesis, her selection of examples, and her careful identification of different styles of biographical writings.

The impulse to both write and read about the lives of others remains strong in Western culture. This, argues Parke, is no accident. Biography is essentially a modern genre, for "life writing was not merely the result of but also the signifier and vehicle of changes that ushered in the modern era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." The effects of imperialism, changing ideas about childhood, the notion of the secular individual, increased literacy, and so on, all "combined to produce a new sense of what constitutes a life, its possibilities, meanings, and the reasons for and ways of telling a life story" (13). Biography thus provides us not only with insight into the lives of individuals, but into the beliefs and value systems of their culture.

Parke begins her study with a critical-historical overview. Here she traces the development of biography from its earliest examples in antiquity to recent offerings. It is a comprehensive overview which deals with some of the major developments in the genre and with its critics. The impact of Freud on life writing is canvassed—never again could biographers present the characters of their subjects fully formed, without giving space to the significance of childhood and the dramas of the interior life. Parke also discusses other preoccupations the twentieth century has brought to the study of biography, such as the "relation between art and fact, imagination and truth, fiction and

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nonfiction" (28). Curiously, any mention of the challenges writers concerned with questions of identity, gender, race, or ethnicity have brought to biographical criticism, is left until Parke's much later discussion of "minority biographies."

Before reaching that discussion, however, Parke looks closely at the figures of Samuel Johnson and Virginia Woolf, both writers who made significant contributions to the genre of biography, and who were themselves the subjects of biography. Both Johnson and Woolf had biographers with whom all subsequent writers have had to contend, and Parke examines the different ways in which these later biographers have dealt with James Boswell and Quentin Bell respectively. In the context of this discussion, Parke's decision not to identify, for example, that a number of Woolf's biographers who reject Bell's interpretation of Woolf's mental state have been writing from an explicitly feminist standpoint, seems curious. The frameworks for many of the revised accounts of the lives of Johnson and Woolf are not considered until later in the book, preventing useful examples of the points Parke then seeks to make. Perhaps she has erred too much on the side of brevity, as for example in her contrasting the very different ways in which the mental states of Johnson and Woolf are discussed: "Johnson is typically honored as the hero of his disabilities, while Woolf is often either pitied or criticized as difficult patient or victim" (88).

Parke's discussion of Johnson and Woolf comes under her criteria of "majority biography." In her chapter on "minority biography," Parke briefly highlights some of the recent theoretical developments and debates which have challenged the writing and study of biography: multiculturalism, postcolonialism, new historicism, and feminism amongst them. She concludes, however, "that the ideas of truth and judgment are, perhaps, more radical, enduring, and valuable than late-twentieth century postmodern theory has credited them with being" (91). Parke does not have the space within this volume to examine in detail the debates she mentions, and her very useful bibliographic essay provides pointers for further investigation. However, given the impact of some of these critiques on the genre, I would like to have seen more engagement with them. Parke's discussions of Jean Strouse's life of Alice James (sister of William and Henry), and of the different versions of the life of African-American writer Langston Hughes provide her with the opportunity to explore the different implications of foregrounding gender and race respectively in biographical writing. It is a pity that other influences on the changing concept of identity were not more thoroughly canvassed.

One of the points Parke returns to in *Biography* is the difficulty involved in writing good life stories. The complexities of the genre are many and the demands on the practitioner considerable. Virginia Woolf found it harder to write than either poetry or fiction, and yet

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for all the pain involved, "biography is not remembered for its own sake but for the imaginative traces of the subject's personality left in the reader's memory" (70). For Woolf, the key challenge was the dramatization of personality: "practitioners" of the new biography "could no longer justify themselves as mere chroniclers, secretaries to their subject's lives and times, but rather must rise to the challenge of being coequals" (71). While reading biography may be the pastime of many, Parke concludes, writing it is not for the fainthearted.

*Biography: Writing Lives* introduces us to the genre, its features, and main practitioners. It also offers a chronology of significant publications, a discussion of group biographies (the emphasis here is decidedly American), a bibliographic essay, and a selected list of recommended biographies. All these make it a most useful text, one full of accessible information and helpful references for students, teachers, and practitioners alike.

*Katie Holmes*

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# Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing editors Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Gloria Fisk, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, Gabriel Merle, Forrest R. Pitts, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Albion, American Scientist, Ariel, Bulletin Critique du Livre Français, Études Anglaises, French Review, French Studies, The Historian, Journal of Asian Studies (JAS), Journal of British Studies, Journal of Women's History, Los Angeles Times Book Review (LATBR), Le Monde des Livres, New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), The New Yorker, Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, Science, Sight and Sound, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), Washington Post National Weekly Edition (WP),* and the *Women's Review of Books.*

**Adams, John Quincy**

*John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, A Private Life.* Paul C. Nagel. New York: Knopf, 1997. 432 pp. $30.00.

"Finally we have a new biography of Adams himself by Paul Nagel, which aims to exhibit aspects of the man's personality hitherto, the author believes, imperfectly understood. . . . The author is primarily concerned with the private side of his subject's character, and claims to have discovered the key, which has eluded investigators up to now, to the 'iron mask' once referred to by Adams's son Charles Francis. This was his susceptibility to attacks of depression, the most dramatic of which occurred in 1788 when the young Adams was trying to adapt himself to the study of law, which was becoming more and more of a daily drudgery, and being immobilized by feelings of failure, guilt, self-doubt, and despair. It took several months of rest, time off from his studies, and then a youthful love affair to get him back in shape. . . . Mr. Nagel's subtitle, *A Public Life, A Private Life,* is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as his announced purpose is to reveal the hidden Adams, and in the fact the public only accompanies this quest as a sketchy and monochromatic outline, obtainable in greater depth and certainly greater accuracy from any other extant account of the Adams story. The two sides are thus artificially partioned, with the public side little more than dimly present in the search for the 'real' Adams."

Eric McKitrick. *NYRB,* Apr. 23, 1998: 53.

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**Andrews, Julie**

*Julie Andrews: A Life on Stage and Screen.* Robert Windeler. London: Aurum, 1997. 288 pp. $16.95.

"This pleasant but superficial biography reveals that Julie remains the same girl onscreen and off, whether considerately pouring tea for the crew or boosting morale by impromptu singing and whistling."

Peter Matthews. *Sight and Sound* 8.2 (Feb. 1998): 32.

**Aragon, Louis**

*Il n'y a pas d'amour heureux? Louis Aragon (1897–1982).* Entretiens avec Francis Crémieux. INA, Radio-France, coll. "Archives sonores." INA and Les Grandes Heures. 2 CDs. 2 hr. 30 min. F197.

The interviews took place in 1963; Aragon had just finished *Le fou d'Elsa*, an epic situated in the last years of the Moorish kingdom in Granada, in the fifteenth century. Spontaneous erudition, confidences and revelations, virtuosity, subtlety—and the voice.

Valerie Cadet. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 19, 1997: 4.

*Les Aragonautes: Les Cercles du poète disparu.* Dominique Desanti. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1997. 324 pp. F120.

*Elsa et Aragon: Souvenirs croisés.* Pierre Hulin. Paris: Ramsay, 1997. 240 pp. F105.

Though liable to factual mistakes, Hulin and Desanti lead us convincingly through the twists and turns of a torn up, chaotic life, "a life which enlarges the century to its own dimensions."

Josyane Savigneau. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 19, 1997: 4.

**Arnold, Benedict**

*Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered.* James Kirby Martin. New York: New York UP, 1997. 540 pp. $34.95.

"As it covers the northern campaigns of the Revolution, the book often crosses paths with Kenneth Roberts's historical novels 'Arundel' and 'Rabble in Arms'—and it makes a fine successor to those splendid books."

Allen D. Boyer. *NYTBR*, Jan. 18, 1998: 16.

**Atlee, Clement**

*Clem Atlee.* Francis Beckett. London: Cohen, 1997. 338 pp. £20.

"Beckett does not add much new evidence to the information contained in Kennth Harris' excellent official life. Instead he offers a refined assessment. . . . *Clem Atlee* contains irritations. . . . Nevertheless . . . [it] makes enjoyable and entertaining reading."

Ben Pimlott. *TLS*, Jan. 9, 1998: 7–8.

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**Austen, Jane**

*Jane Austen: A Life.* Claire Tomalin. New York: Knopf, 1997. 325 pp. $27.50.

"To counter the tenacious image of Jane Austen as a sweet-spirited spinster whose existence flowed without event, critics and biographers have typically pointed to the novels' subversive wit. Tomalin, however, looks at the life itself, and there she finds little evidence of stability or contentment."

*The New Yorker*, Mar. 9, 1998: 92.

**Bacon, Francis**

*Bacon: Portraits and Self-Portraits.* France Borel. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997. 216 pp. $60.00.

"With 233 color reproductions illustrating Bacon's variations on a theme—series of three (or two) studies for a portrait or self-portrait, single portraits or studies, diptychs portraying different subjects, as well as details of all of the above . . . Borel, a Belgian art historian, provides ample opportunity to examine ways the artist had of delving into his subjects—friends, lovers, admirers and himself."

Christine Schwartz Hartley. *NYTBR*, Mar. 29, 1998: 18.

**Barnes, Hazel**

*The Story I Tell Myself: A Venture in Existentialist Autobiography.* Hazel Barnes. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. 352 pp. $29.95.

"During the second half of this century, autobiographical writing, much of it by women, has increased explosively, creating a treasury of insights and support for the rest of us. Hazel Barnes' *The Story I Tell Myself* is a worthy addition, though her story follows the shocks and pleasures of psychological, political and philosophical awakenings rather than perhaps more typical memoir plots about surviving twentieth-century hardships and horrors."

Gertrude Reif Hughes. *Women's Review of Books* 15.6 (Mar. 1998): 22–23.

**Baudelaire, Charles**

*Baudelaire, l'enfant idiot.* Claude Delarue. Paris: Belfond, 1997. 271 pp. F129.

("Idiot" here does not mean unintelligent, but suggests an inability to adapt oneself, first to school life, then to society.) The main contribution of this book to Baudelaire's biography lies in the importance given to *shame* in the poet's life—shame and its repercussions: negative (failures, provocations), and positive (revolt against society, obsession of expiation). Delarue succeeds in making this spiritual adventure alive and moving.

Pierre-Robert Leclercq. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 11, 1997: 13.

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**Beerbohm, Max**

*Max Beerbohm's Caricatures*. N. John Hall. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997. 224 pp. $45.00.

"N. John Hall's 'Max Beerbohm's Caricatures' reproduces 213 of the best of these [drawings], many in color. Hall's witty commentary is supplemented by Beerbohm's own prose as well as contemporary observations by the likes of Virginia Woolf and E. F. Benson."

Sarah Harrison Smith. *NYTBR*, Jan. 4, 1998: 17.

**Bergson, Henri**

*Bergson*. Philippe Soulez, completed by Frederic Worms. Foreword by Antonia Soulez. Paris: Flammarion, coll. "Grandes Biographies," 1997. Bibliography, index, bibliographical notes. 386 pp. 16 plates. F140.

Ironically, Bergson was strongly against critics of his works mentioning his private life. Besides, here, each of the two successive biographers has left his mark on the book, one classical, the other more reticent about anecdotes. One of these reveals an honorable trait of character: Bergson was on the verge of being converted to Catholicism, but gave up the idea when informed of the persecutions undergone by the Jews in Germany.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français 584* (May 1997): 1231.

**Bloy, Leon**

*Journal intime, Journal littéraire: L'année 1892*. Ed. Pierre Glaudes. Paris: Lettre Modernes, 1995. F220.

"The *Journal intime* offers a renewal in Bloy studies, a wider and deeper understanding of his personality and his work. It emphasizes what is known from his published work, his inability and refusal to conform to any aspect of the world around him, hence the relentless defence of his independence."

Elfrieda Dubois. *French Studies* 52.1 (Jan. 1998): 109–10.

**Bonaparte, Napoleon**

*Napoleon Bonaparte: A Life*. Alan Schom. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 888 pp. $40.00.

*Napoleon: A Biography*. Frank McLynn. London: Cape, 1997. 739 pp. £20.

"... neither really offers a life and times. ... Schom writes in the well-established tradition of a military buff. What really interests him is telling the story of a man who made universal rules for others, but recognized none for himself. He tells it straightforwardly and well. ... Frank McLynn ... seeks to explore his subject's psychological depths in terms that Schom does not."

William Doyle. *TLS*, Mar. 6, 1998: 15.

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**Brahms, Johannes**

*Johannes Brahms: A Biography.* Jan Swafford. New York: Knopf, 1997. 699 pp. $35.00.

"Though 'Johannes Brahms: A Biography' would have been still more of an accomplishment if its author had been as ruthless in pruning as Brahms was, it manages, like Swafford's previous study of Charles Ives, to construct a full-bodied human being in the midst of its ambling meticulousness."

Edward Rothstein. *NYTBR*, Feb. 8, 1998: 14–15.

AND *Johannes Brahms: Life and Letters.* Styra Avins. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 880 pp. $45.00.

"Avins's . . . is the first comprehensive collection of the letters of Brahms to appear in English. . . . The 564 letters are well-chosen. . . . Amply foot-noted, with context supplied by a running commentary by Avins, they allow us to eavesdrop as Brahms, his friends and associates discourse on everything. . . . Swafford tries to . . . give us, as he puts it, 'Brahms without beard,' a flesh-and-blood person rather than the plaster bust on a pedestal. . . . One of [Swafford's] book's most admirable features is the way it captures the Zeitgeist of imperial Vienna . . . to which Brahms was inexorably drawn."

Ted Libbey. *LATBR*, Jan. 11, 1998: 6.

**Brodsky, Joseph**

*Conversations with Joseph Brodsky: A Poet's Journey Through the Twentieth Century.* Solomon Volkov. New York: Free Press, 1998. 288 pp. $25.00.

"Based on a series of conversations with Brodsky between 1978 and 1992, Solomon Volkov's 'Conversations with Joseph Brodsky,' well translated by Martin Schwartz, traces that dramatic trajectory [of Brodsky's life]."

Robin Lippincott. *NYTBR*, Mar. 8, 1998: 19.

**Buchwald, Art**

*I'll Always Have Paris: A Memoir.* Art Buchwald. New York: Putnam's, 1996. 256 pp. $22.95.

". . . the whole book reads like an ode to Paris, or rather it becomes a festival of Paris. Francophiles will devour Buchwald's scintillating experiences in their favorite town. At the same time they will be profoundly moved by the bittersweet tale of Buchwald's romantic companionship with Ann, a woman who symbolized for him the beauty of a great city."

Jack Kolbert. *French Review* 71.2 (1997): 305.

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**Burns, Anthony**

*The Trial of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston.* Albert J. von Frank. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 409 pp. $27.95.

"After reading this book, one is convinced that the ordeal of Anthony Burns was instrumental in reminding Americans of both the meaning and the responsibilities of freedom."

David S. Reynolds. *NYTBR*, Mar. 8, 1998: 14.

**Bush, George**

*George Bush: The Life of a Lone Star Yankee.* Herbert S. Parmet. New York: Scribner's, 1997. 576 pp. $32.50.

"If 'George Bush' the biography is not as insightful as the Beschloss book on LBJ or as salacious as the Hersh book on JFK, its plain-vanilla quality describes a life that has been one Americans can be proud of, and a man with many qualities we can hope to emulate."

Norman Ornstein. *WP*, Jan. 5, 1998: 33.

**Bush, Vannevar**

*Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of the American Century.* G. Pascal Zachary. New York: Free Press, 1997. 518 pp. $32.50.

"The general consensus was that [Bush's] elitist, technocratic, politically conservative, and contrarian views were acceptable, useful, and, perhaps even necessary in time of war, but that they were out of place and not to be tolerated in the postwar era. . . . Zachary is a journalist by profession, and, following the common practice for mass-market books on science, he 'dumbs down' the scientific treatment in his exposition in the hopes of broadening his audience."

William Aspray. *Science* 279, No. 5350 (Jan. 23, 1998): 500–01.

**Caesar, Julius**

*Jules César.* Robert Etienne. Paris: Fayard, 1997. 328 pp. F340.

The author avoids the trap of "novelty at any cost." He is original, and convincing, when, in parts III and IV, he points out the revolutionary character of some initiatives, and the absence of a common project of the conspirators who killed him. Too allusive for the general public, too short for the specialist, yet this disconcerting book offers an appealing portrait of a revolutionary Caesar.

Maurice Sartre. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 20, 1998: 9.

**Cagney, James**

*Cagney: A Biography.* John McCabe. New York: Knopf, 1997. 439 pp. $27.50.

"McCabe is essentially faithful to the ghost he was 20 years ago [when he ghostwrote Cagney's memoirs]; he shows us an eminently quiet, naturally patient, decent man, a devoted husband, a guy who liked to live on his farm, do a little poetry or painting and who had amiably

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given up trying to convince the world that he didn't spend sleepless nights waiting on breakfast so he could squeeze a grapefruit on some slut's face."

David Thomson. *LATBR*, Jan. 4, 1998: 8.

**Capote, Truman**

*Truman Capote: In Which Various Friends, Enemies, Acquaintances, and Detractors Recall His Turbulent Career.* George Plimpton. New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1996. 498 pp. $35.00.

"... these voices—and many others—have the flat, regulated quality of people who have been talking about their subject for way too long. Capote knew better than anyone that for gossip to be good it has to be fresh.... And that's pretty much what the book is, gossip. There is little about Capote the writer, and lots about Capote the personality, which is hardly the fault of the editor, since it was Capote himself who traded in the former role for the latter."

Julia Reed. *NYTBR*, Dec. 28, 1997: 4.

"... *Truman Capote* slowly gains strength, page after page, as an indictment of the spite and pettiness of the literary and social worlds Truman Capote inhabited.... This book is more like the raw material for a biography than a book itself. There are many repetitions, much vagueness, and several versions of key events."

Edmund White. *TLS*, Feb. 20, 1998: 14.

**Carroll, Lewis**

*Lewis Carroll, Une Vie, Une Legende.* [Lewis Carroll: A Biography]. Morton N. Cohen. Translated from English (US) by Laurent Bury. Paris: Autrement, coll. "Littératures," 1997. 696 pp. F169.

Charles Lutwidge Dodgson was a genius and a tormented soul, an enigmatic mixture of religion and reason, eccentricity and Victorian seriousness, alacrity and melancholy, Churchmanhood and love for little girls. Trying to disentangle the skein leads Cohen to enunciate a classical series—pulsions, sublimation (at a heavy psychological cost), sense of guilt, frustration—and to conclude that the whole set is the source of Lewis Carroll's exceptional flashes of genius.

Florence Noiville. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 27, 1998: 5.

**Carson, Rachel**

*Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature.* Linda Lear. New York: Henry Holt, 1997. 600 pp. $35.00.

"The book sags a bit under the weight of detail, and the extensive research overshadows most of Lear's attempts to synthesize, analyze, or bring in contemporary context. The reader comes away with a feeling for Carson's professional drives and commitment more than the person herself."

Paula DiPerna. *Women's Review of Books* 15.6 (Mar. 1998): 1–3.

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**Cash, Johnny**

*Cash: The Autobiography.* Johnny Cash with Patrick Carr. San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1997. 310 pp. $25.00.

"Unfortunately, Cash's reluctance to pursue [significant questions] is typical of his book, whose slackness may be due partly to ill health . . . but also to the fact that he wrote an autobiography, 'Man in Black,' 28 years ago and not a whole heck of a lot has happened to him since. That book . . . lacked literary sophistication but offered powerful personal testimony to the ravages of drug addiction and the redemption of religion. . . . Unable to compete with that dramatic narrative, 'Cash' is reduced to anecdotes.

Ken Emerson. *LATBR,* Feb. 15, 1998: 3.

**Chamberlain, Joshua, and William Oates**

*Conceived in Liberty: Joshua Chamberlain, William Oates, and the American Civil War.* Mark Perry. New York: Viking, 1997. 500 pp. $31.95.

"Mark Perry, the author of works about the C.I.A., the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Middle East Affairs, has made their dual biography the basis for an ambitious book, a history of the North and South from before the war to the end of Reconstruction. That he succeeds as well as he does is remarkable, for the book's narrative structure is built on the lives of two men who never met and who interacted only at Gettysburg and in a long-distance feud almost a half a century later over positioning of a monument there."

Frederick Allen. *NYTBR,* Mar. 8, 1998: 17.

**De Charriere, Isabelle, and Benjamin Constant**

*Correspondance (1787–1805).* Ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux. Paris: Desjonqueres, 1996. 539 pp.

The editor's inclusion of a chronology, a list of major figures, and clear, well-documented notes adds much wisdom and enjoyment to our reading of this correspondence.

Isabelle Vissiere. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 97.6 (1997): 1142-3.

**Chekhov, Anton**

*Anton Chekhov: A Life.* Donald Rayfield. New York: Henry Holt, 1998. 674 pp. $35.00.

"Readers will have to go elsewhere for Chekhov's cultural context. But Rayfield has done Chekhov and his readers a great service. His efforts have uncovered a Chekhov—complex, troubling and ambiguous—who finally feels right as the man behind the art."

Clare Cavanagh. *NYTBR,* Mar. 15, 1998: 12–14.

*Dear Writer, Dear Actress: The Love Letters of Anton Chekhov and Olga Knipper.* Ed. Jean Benedetti. New York: Ecco, 1997. 320 pp. $24.00.

"The letters collected in 'Dear Writer, Dear Actress' are remarkable not only for their sublime, often poetic expressions of yearning, but

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also for a breadth of topic that ranges from the domestic banalities of dental appointments to the artistic immensities of mounting a new play."

Marilyn Stasio. *NYTBR*, Jan. 25, 1998: 18.

**Chopin, Frederic**

*Chopin in Paris: The Life and Times of the Romantic Composer.* Tad Szulc. New York: Scribner's, 1998. 444 pp. $30.00.

"This solid book is offered as the first definitive English-language biography of Chopin, but that 'definitive' is somewhat doubtful. . . . The book's lack of direct involvement with the music can lead one to forget that in his brief life Chopin became perhaps the most original composer, with Wagner, of the 19th century."

Paul Driver. *NYTBR*, Apr. 5, 1998: 37.

**Churchill, Winston**

*Churchill and the Secret Service.* David Stafford. Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 1998. 432 pp. $35.00.

"In providing this balanced but never dull portrait, Stafford has added a new dimension to our understanding of this ever-fascinating titan while simultaneously throwing an illuminating light on the development of Britain's intelligence services during his long momentous life."

Zara Steiner. *NYTBR*, Feb. 22, 1998: 10.

**Constant, Benjamin.** See **De Charriere, Isabelle.**

**Copfermann, Emile**

*Dès les premiers Jours de l'automne.* Emile Copfermann. Paris: Gallimard, coll. "Haute Enfance," 1997. 245 pp. F95.

A childhood torn up by the war, his parents dead in a Nazi camp: impossible as it seems to reconstruct a puzzle some pieces of which are missing, the writer overcomes the challenge, finding the right words, never appealing to the reader's sensibility, yet leaving him convinced Copfermann is an orphan for life.

Pierre Drachline. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 30, 1998: 5.

**Corning, Erastus**

*Mayor Corning: Albany Icon, Albany Enigma.* Paul Grondahl. Albany: Washington Park, 1997. 508 pp. $36.00.

"Grondahl's biggest challenge in writing this biography of Albany's 'Mayor for Life' is to drive the indifferent reader through events and personalities that may not have much historical significance. He succeeds because the characters here have compelling stories to tell. But the book is certainly repetitive."

Steven R. Weisman. *NYTBR*, Feb. 8, 1998: 24.

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**Cranmer, Thomas**

*Thomas Cranmer: A Life.* Diarmaid MacCulloch. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996. 692 pp. $35.00.

"This magnificent study of Cranmer bulges with telling details . . . and, together with Diarmaid MacCulloch's massive research, engaging prose, and sound judgment, they make this book a stunning achievement. . . . MacCulloch never loses sight of the rapidly changing political situation in which Cranmer was operating both in England and in western Christendom. . . . MacCulloch is to be warmly congratulated for writing the best biography of a Tudor individual we have. This is not merely church history but human history at its best."

Sears McGee. *Albion* 29.3 (Fall 1997): 475–76.

**Degas, Edgar**

*Degas in New Orleans: Encounters in the Creole World of Kate Chopin and George Washington Cable.* Christopher Benfey. New York: Knopf, 1998. 294 pp. $27.50.

"The scholar and critic Christopher Benfey makes the case that Degas's American visit not only gave him subjects for some wonderful portraits, but helped to send his work in a new direction. When Benfey writes about Degas and his paintings in 'Degas in New Orleans,' he seems to have his materials firmly in grasp, but when he writes about the city's racial discord and literary history, his argument sometimes squishes between his fingers."

Robert Wilson. *NYTBR*, Jan. 25, 1998: 12–13.

"Benfey, a professor of literature at Mount Holyoke College, is a frequent contributor to magazines such as the New Republic and Slate. He uses the 1872 visit of French Impressionist Edgar Degas as his departure for a learned look both at Degas's work and at the Crescent City at a turning point in its fascinating history. . . . Few Impressionist scholars, according to Benfey, have paid attention to the fact that Edgar Degas's mother was a New Orleans-born Creole."

Grace Lichtenstein. *WP*, Dec. 22–29, 1997: 34.

**Delaney, Beauford**

*Amazing Grace: A Life of Beauford Delaney.* David Leeming. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 221 pp. $30.00.

". . . in 'Amazing Grace,' Leeming sets out to 'discover the man behind the paintings.' Restricting his own judgments and relying almost exclusively on Delaney's journals and sketchbook notes, observations and written tributes from contemporary acquaintances and friends, and taped conversations with [James] Baldwin (subject of Leeming's previous biography), he has shaped an impressionistic account that traces the journey of the elusive black artist and trickster-cum-saint

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from his native Knoxville, Tenn., to Paris and St. Anne's Hospital for the Insane there, where he died in 1979."

Mel Watkins. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 42.

**Devoy, John**

*Irish Rebel: John Devoy and America's Fight for Ireland's Freedom.* Terry Golway. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 371 pp. $26.95.

"Golway, an editor and writer at The New York Observer, has produced a well-researched biography of a man whose life has hitherto been given too little attention."

David Murray. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 26.

**Dickens, Charles**

*The Letters of Charles Dickens.* Vol. 8. *1856–1858.* Ed. Graham Storey and Kathleen Tillotson. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995. 807 pp. £95.00.

As indefatigable as Dickens himself, the editors present 1,324 letters, among which 467 were hitherto unpublished. Dickens appears overactive, always on the move, irritable, even worn out at times, and occasionally a racist. He is more lavish on his matrimonial problems than on his art, but, as a critic he is lucid, and, in contrast with modern critics, highly readable.

Anny Sadrin, *Études Anglaises* 50.4 (Oct.–Dec. 1997): 461–63.

**Disney, Walt**

*The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life.* Steven Watts. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 526 pp. $30.00.

"What Watts . . . does best is to remind us that the Disney we ended up with, whether the 'avuncular Uncle Walt,' patron saint of childhood and family values, or the right-wing entrepreneur and vulgar manipulator of pop culture, was not the Disney we began with. . . . To criticize popular culture is to reject America, but to embrace it is to reject the critical. Watts has not found his way out of this dilemma."

Tom Engelhardt. *LATBR*, Jan. 4, 1998: 6.

"Watts, a professor of history at the University of Missouri, confesses at the outset to having fallen under the Disney spell as a child four decades ago, and at times he seems incapable of wiping the stars out of his eyes; though not exactly a Disney apologist, he does bend over quite far backwards to give him his due. But in the process he requires us to acknowledge two essential truths that are easy to forget: that where Disney ended up is not where he began and that his stupendous success arose not from cynical manipulation of the popular audience but from a heartfelt understanding and sympathy with 'average Americans and their hopes, fears, and values.'"

Jonathan Yardley. *WP*, Feb. 9, 1998: 34.

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**Dooley, Thomas**

*Dr. America: The Lives of Thomas Dooley, 1927-1961.* James T. Fisher. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1997. 304 pp. $29.95.

". . . Fisher, the author of 'The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933-1962,' deftly shows how religion, cold-war intrigue and show-biz shenanigans came together in 'Dr. America.' Dooley, he persuasively argues, helped pull American Catholicism away from its insular, angry anti-Communism, providing 'the bridge between Joe McCarthy and Jack Kennedy' to the great benefit of the latter."

Michael Sherry. *NYTBR*, Jan. 4, 1998: 5–6.

**Douglas, Helen Gahagan.** See **Nixon, Richard M.**

**Douglas, Kirk**

*Climbing the Mountain: My Search for Meaning.* Kirk Douglas. London: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 269 pp. £16.99.

This second autobiography is a "Spiritual Journey, prompted by a helicopter crash in which two fliers died and which almost killed the author. As a result, he rediscovers his identity as a Jew and re-evaluates his relationship with God."

Nick Roddick. *Sight and Sound* 8.2 (Feb. 1998): 32.

**Dreyfus, Alfred**

*L'Affaire Dreyfus.* Le procès Zola devant la cour d'assises de la Seine. Paris: Stock, 1997. 1024 pp. Fl90.

*Carnets (1899–1907).* Alfred Dreyfus. Ed. Philippe Oriol. Pref. Jean-Denis Bredin. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1997. 480 pp. F159.

*Journal de l'année 1898. Au coeur de l'affaire Dreyfus.* Raniero Paulucci di Calboli. Translated from Italian by Odette Gelosi, introduction and notes by Giovanni Tassani. Paris: Stock, 1997. 336 pp. F130.

A hundred years ago (Jan. 13, 1898), in defence of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, *L'Aurore* published Emile Zola's scathing attack on the war ministry and its services. The coming out of a series of documents hitherto unpublished shows that the intellectual and ethical debates of the time are still relevant.

Philippe-Jean Catinchi. *Le Monde des Livres*, Jan. 9, 1997: 7.

**Drucker, Peter F.**

*The World According to Peter Drucker.* Jack Beatty. New York: Free Press, 1998. 204 pp. $25.00.

"Beatty, a senior editor at The Atlantic Monthly, has composed a fine intellectual profile. Necessarily this means that the book ignores all but the bare outlines of Drucker's long life. It is short on biography—and legwork—and long on literature. But what literature!"

Michael Lewis. *NYTBR*, Jan. 11, 1998: 5.

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**Eaton, Margaret.** See **Jackson, Andrew.**

**Eisenstein, Sergei**

*Eisenstein: A Life in Conflict.* Ronald Bergan. London: Little, Brown, 1998. £22.50.

"Published to coincide with the centenary of Eisenstein's birth in January, Bergan's accessible, cogent biography is a welcome corrective to the subtle slide in the great Soviet director's reputation."

Leslie Felperin. *Sight and Sound* 8.2 (Feb. 1998): 32.

**Elgin, Thomas Bruce, Seventh Earl of**

*The Elgin Affair: The Abduction of Antiquity's Greatest Treasures and the Passions It Aroused.* Theodore Vrettos. New York: Arcade, 1997. 238 pp. $26.95.

"... [Elgin's] venture proved suggestive of a mummy's curse: a mysterious disease, contracted in Constantinople, rotted his nose, his wife was unfaithful, and Parliament paid him so little for his financially extravagant enterprise that he had to move to France to escape his creditors."

*The New Yorker,* Mar. 16, 1998: 78.

**Erasmus, Desiderius**

*Erasmus of the Low Countries.* Jim Tracy. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 290 pp. $40.00.

"Tracy gives us an Erasmus who believed that the . . . Christian message lay in a *philosophia Christi,* which should be simple, intelligible, practical, appealing to men's hearts as well as to men's minds.... Jim Tracy concentrates much more than earlier scholars on Erasmus' later career."

Tom Scott. *TLS,* Jan. 16, 1998: 28.

**Ericsson, John**

*Monitor: The Story of the Legendary Civil War Ironclad and the Man Whose Invention Changed the Course of History.* James Tertius DeKay. New York: Walker, 1997. 224 pp. $21.00.

"In his well-researched 'Monitor,' James Tertius DeKay, the author of 'Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonia,' not only describes the famous battle of the ironclads but examines the innovative techniques behind the first modern battleship."

Chris Patsilelis. *NYTBR,* Apr. 5, 1998: 25.

**Evers, Medgar**

*The Ghosts of Medgar Evers: A Tale of Race, Murder, Mississippi, and Hollywood.* Willie Morris. New York: Random House, 1998. 288 pp. $23.00.

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"'The Ghosts of Medgar Evers' is Morris's 16th book. Filled with the strong personalities of real people and actors who play them, it is covertly autobiographical."

Theodore Rosegarten. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 32.

**Farouk, King**

*One of Us.* David Freeman. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1997. 278 pp. $23.00.

"Sometimes it takes a novelist to make things real. It doesn't matter whether the young Farouk of 'One of Us' ever existed. In Freeman's hands he becomes not just a king but a country, and as such he earns our sympathy in ways the bloated exile never could.

Susan Dooley. *WP*, Feb. 9, 1998: 33–34.

**Fisher, M. F. K.**

*M. F. K. Fisher: A Life in Letters, Correspondence 1929–1991.* Selected and compiled by Norah K. Barr, Marsha Moran, and Patrick Moran. Washington: Counterpoint, 1997. 500 pp. $35.00.

"This is a priceless book: a whole life, a serious life, eighty-four years long. You come out of it tired, as she did, and, like her, not necessarily smarter ('I don't feel wise'), but less alone."

Joan Acocella. *The New Yorker*, Feb. 23, 1998: 172–77.

"Since the very idea of writing letters as a literary exercise is, in the era of E-mail, as outmoded as Benzedrine addiction, it is a special pleasure to open a book of nearly 500 pages and hear on each one of them the distinctive, quirky, personable, contradictory and altogether artful Fisher voice."

Betty Fussell. *NYTBR*, Jan. 18, 1998: 8.

**Fitch, William Stevenson**

*The Postmaster of Ipswich: William Stevenson Fitch, Antiquarian and Thief.* Janet Ing Freeman. London: Book Collector, 1998. 177 pp. £10.50.

"Freeman reconstructs Fitch's story from the books and manuscripts with which he was involved. . . . Her case against Fitch . . . is devastating and told with both flair and a clear attention to detail. . . . Her book is a restrained classic of investigative research."

H. R. Woudhuysen. *TLS*, Mar. 6, 1998: 36.

**Flaubert, Gustave**

*Correspondance IV.* Gustave Flaubert. Ed. Jean Bruneau. Paris: Gallimard, coll. "La Pleiade," 1997. 1500 pp. F470.

This fourth volume reveals Flaubert's black years, the years of bereavement and misfortune, the years of anger and disgust towards the critics who slate him and a political situation which infuriates him.

Pierre Lepape. *Le Monde des Livres*, Feb. 13, 1997: 2.

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**Flook, Karen**

*My Sister's Life: The Story of My Sister's Disappearance.* Maria Flook. New York: Pantheon, 1998. 352 pp. $25.00.

"By the end of 'My Sister's Life' you will feel like a rubbernecker at the scene of a gory 10-car pileup, horrified yet relieved as you pull away, wondering what in the hell happened to those people."

Courtney Weaver. *NYTBR*, Feb. 1, 1998: 16.

**Gardner, Isabella Stewart**

*The Art of Scandal: The Life and Times of Isabella Stewart Gardner.* Douglass Shand-Tucci. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. 351 pp. $27.50.

"'The Art of Scandal' is different; it pays scant attention to chronology and attempts no coherent view of Gardner's character or achievement. The narrative is one long, messy, juicy gossip peppered with exclamations."

Diane Wood Middlebrook. *NYTBR*, Dec. 28, 1997: 6.

"This intimate, engrossing biography finally gives the creator of one of the world's great museums credit for her achievements."

*The New Yorker*, Jan. 12, 1998: 82.

**De Gaulle, Charles**

*De Gaulle: Statesmanship, Grandeur, and Modern Democracy.* Daniel Mahoney. Westport: Praeger, 1996. 200 pp. $55.00.

"Mahoney bases his book on a close scrutiny of de Gaulle's own writings, especially those that predate World War II and his two sets of memoirs, plus his most significant public addresses. In a sort of post-structuralist dialogue with de Gaulle's texts, Mahoney the political scientist delineates the intellectual foundation of the great Frenchman's persona."

Rosalie A. Vermette. *French Review* 71.2 (Dec. 1997): 303.

**Gibson, Josh**

*The Power and the Darkness: The Life of Josh Gibson in the Shadows of the Game.* Mark Ribowsky. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996. 319 pp. $23.00.

"Gibson's life . . . becomes simply a chronology of his games—one that is limited by the poor record-keeping of the unstable black leagues and the weekly publication schedules of the black press. . . . Because Gibson bounced between the Grays and Crawfords, Ribowsky details the business dealings of the clubs' owners. . . . Also good is the coverage . . . of the NNL's struggling franchises."

Ronald Story. *The Historian* 60.2 (Winter 1998): 404–5.

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**De Graffigny, Madame**

*Correspondance.* Tome III. *Le 1er Octobre 1740—27 Novembre 1742. Lettres 309–490.* Ed. N. R. Johnson, with P. Bouillaguet, M. Cunningham, M.-P. Ducretet, M. Filipiuk, E. Showalter, and D. W. Smith. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1992. £60.00. Tome IV. *Le 28 Novembre 1742—2 Janvier 1744. Lettres 491–635.* Ed. J. A. Dainard, M.-P. Ducretet, and E. Showalter, with P. Bouillaguet, J. A. Curtis, D. W. Smith, and E. A. Walker. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996. £70.00.

"In short, literary, theatrical, and cultural historians as well as specialists in women's studies will find pleasure and profit consulting these volumes. . . . The editors are to be congratulated and we can only look forward to similar quality in the further ten projected volumes."

Simon Davies. *French Studies* 52.1 (Jan. 1998): 100–01.

**El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos)**

*Greco.* Fernando Marias. Translated from Spanish by Marie-Hélène Collinot. Paris: Adam Biro, 1997. 336 pp. F550.

Examining critically the many disputable affirmations, prejudices, and interpretations current about Greco, this illustrated biography is chronological, precise, detached, built on facts and facts only.

Martine Silber. *Le Monde des Livres*, Dec. 11, 1997: 3.

**Green, Debora**

*Bitter Harvest: A Woman's Fury, a Mother's Sacrifice.* Ann Rule. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 351 pp. $23.00.

"Rule, a former Seattle police officer and the author of 'The Stranger Beside Me' and 'Small Sacrifices,' among other true-crime accounts, has written an unnerving book."

Carolyn T. Hughes. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 26.

**Greenberg, Clement**

*Clement Greenberg: A Life.* Florence Rubenfeld. New York: Scribner's, 1998. 336 pp. $32.00.

". . . for anyone who doesn't know much about the concerns that drove Greenberg, and about the milieus he traversed, this biography will be a big disappointment. For readers who do not know about Greenberg and his various contexts, it will be an even bigger disappointment."

Lee Siegal. *NYTBR*, Mar. 29, 1998: 8–9.

"Far from being a revisionist (Greenberg has had more revisionists since his heyday than he ever had disciples during it), Rubenfeld has given us an absorbing, fair-minded biography, which is scrupulously sympathetic to her subject, or at least to his writing, and rightly feels he's been slighted since he died."

Adam Gopnik. *The New Yorker*, Mar. 16, 1998: 70–78.

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**Grosser, Alfred**

*Une vie de Français: Mémoires.* Alfred Grosser. Paris: Flammarion, 1997. 222 pp. F110.

The classical itinerary of a gifted Jewish boy whose parents fled from Germany in 1933, who became naturalized in 1937, was hidden by monks during the occupation, taught sometime in the Sorbonne, became a specialist of things German, then devoted himself to writing, mainly history books. A convinced European, tolerant, he is a respected mediator between French and German peoples.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 584 (May 1997) : 1288–89.

**Haines, William**

*Wisecracker: The Life and Times of William Haines, Hollywood's First Openly Gay Star.* William J. Mann. New York: Viking, 1998. 444 pp. $29.95.

"[Mann] seems to have researched and written 'Wisecracker' in a little more than a year, and his apparent haste permitted a careless style. . . . Mann's notes [on sources] tend to be sketchy. . . . 'Wisecracker's' thesis seems to be that the explanation for almost every personal and professional choice the people in this book made was based on sexuality. . . . [But] people in 'Wisecracker' are fascinating or tragic not because they are gay but because they are men and women of accomplishment who happen to be gay and have problems like anyone else. Still, 'Wisecracker' recounts an integral but shadowed part of the history of Los Angeles and the movies."

Eric Lax. *LATBR,* Mar. 8, 1998: 8.

"Haines was neither an important artist nor a hero, yet his story is interesting for the cultural history of which he was a part. Mann, who is fonder of Haines than most readers are likely to be, has done good research and has written a lively book that fans of Hollywood gossip will love."

Rick Whitaker. *NYTBR,* Feb. 8, 1998: 19.

**Hailsham of Saint Marylebone, Quintin McGarel Hogg, Lord**

*Lord Hailsham: A Life.* Geoffrey Lewis. London: Cape, 1997. 403 pp. £25.

A biography of the longtime English parliamentary leader. "Geoffrey Lewis's sympathetic biography is written with the skill of one who brought to life the more austere Lord Atkin."

Michael Beloff. *TLS,* Jan. 30, 1998: 27.

**Hall, Radclyffe**

*Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John.* Sally Cline. New York: Overlook, 1997. 434 pp. $32.50.

". . . Cline too frequently relies on shaky speculation (particularly the claim that Hall was sexually abused by her stepfather); Cline was

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perhaps hampered by the lack of access to Hall's journals or letters, which might have added a deeper understanding of her subject's character."

Judith Newman. *NYTBR*, Mar. 29, 1998: 18.

**Head, Bessie**

*Bessie Head: Thunder Behind Her Ears—Her Life and Writing*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996. 312 pp. $17.95.

"For scholars wishing to evaluate Head's creative use of the raw material she encountered, [this] is a boon. . . . [It] helps one understand the determining role of apartheid in both Head's life and writing."

H. Nigel Thomas. *Ariel* 28.3 (July 1997): 192–94.

**Hogben, Lancelot**

*Lancelot Hogben: An Unauthorized Autobiography*. Ed. Adrian and Anne Hogben. Rendlesham: Merlin, 1997. 254 pp. £14.95.

This is a biography reconstructed by family members from two memoirs left behind by the scientific humanist when he died in 1975.

Paul Barker. *TLS*, Jan. 30, 1998: 27.

**Holiday, Billie.** See **Rainey, Gertrude "Ma."**

**Hook, Sidney**

*Young Sidney Hook*. Christopher Phelps. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997. 257 pp. $35.00.

Phelps' book is for the most part a competent, straightforward account of Hook's political journey from socialist revolutionary to what Phelps calls 'bourgeouis democracy.' He uses letters, interviews, and other documents to fill out some of the murkier parts of Hook's own story. He makes some revisoins of Hook's autobiography but the main line does not vary much from it. His own political viewpoint is stated frankly in his introduction: he wants 'popular power and social justice . . . again placed on the stage of history by egalitarian movements from below.' In effect, he is a young, academic radical who was attracted to Sidney Hook as an inspirational forerunner—but only to a part of Hook's long career."

Theodore Draper. *NYRB*, Apr. 19, 1998: 52.

**Hugo, Victor**

*Victor Hugo: A Biography*. Graham Robb. New York: Norton, 1998. 682 pp. $39.95.

"Robb's portrait of Hugo's last days affords an opportunity to admire the scope of his sources, the force of his writing. . . . But there is a danger in seeing Hugo only in terms of his 'erotic energy and commercial verve.' This is too near to the popular image. . . . Hugo was a more remarkable person than the man who appears in these

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anecdotes. . . . As a biographer, Robb should be more interested in the life of Hugo than in his literature. At the same time, to appreciate Hugo, one has to explain how his works were a vital part of his life."

Douglas Johnson. *LATBR*, Feb. 22, 1998: 4.

"Robb's biography is solid, thick (at almost seven hundred pages), factually reliable, genially knowledgeable about French literature, and cleverly written."

Paul Berman. *The New Yorker*, Jan. 26, 1998: 76–83.

**Hyegyong, Lady**

*The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyong: The Autobiographical Writings of a Crown Princess of Eighteenth-Century Korea*. JaHyun Kim Haboush. Berkeley: U of California P, 1995. 372 pp. $17.95.

"With confusion rampant in Greater Asia, and with court intrigue and factional disputes at a precariously reckless pitch in Korea, [King] Yongjo determined to rule his court and his country with dignity, and thoroughgoing devotion to Confucian precept. As a direct result, he drove his son, Sado, the Crown Prince of Korea, completely mad. Sado became a serial killer, murdering palace attendants, male and female. ... The king solved the horrible dilemma by ordering the crown prince into a rice chest, which was then sealed up. The prince was dead eight days later. . . . The *Memoirs*, as they circle around the silence of the beloved family members lost in the aftermath, come to comprise an amazing achievement . . . [by] the crown prince's widow."

David R. McCann. *JAS* 56, No. 4 (Nov. 1997): 1114–16.

**Ickes, Harold L.**

*Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal*. Jeanne Nienaber Clarke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996. 414 pp. $39.95.

"Clarke is obviously a sympathetic biographer. . . . She is, however, honest as to Ickes's own shortcomings. . . . Clarke's study offers no new interpretation. . . . Even so, Clarke has written a solid, scholarly biography of a major figure in the Roosevelt administration that serious students of that subject will want to consult."

David L. Stebenne. *The Historian* 60.2 (Winter 1998): 382–3.

**Jackson, Andrew**

*The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House*. John F. Marszalek. New York: Free Press, 1998. 304 pp. $25.00.

"What makes this story fascinating is not the commonplace tale of a woman wronged, but the great power wielded by women in early America as the ultimate arbiters of moral rectitude."

Douglas A. Sylva. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 26.

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**James, William**

*Genuine Reality: A Life of William James*. Linda Simon. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1998. 467 pp. $35.00.

"William James, America's most famous philosopher, brother of the novelist Henry James, has never seemed so vulnerably human as in Linda Simon's biography 'Genuine Reality.' Drawing innovatively from the vast correspondence of the James family, Simon portrays a troubled, gritty man whose philosophical vision grew directly from private travail."

David S. Reynolds. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 11.

**Jung, Carl**

*The Aryan Christ: The Secret Life of Carl Jung*. Richard Noll. London: Macmillan, 1997. 334 pp. £20.

"Richard Noll draws on extensive, previously unpublished archive material about the world reknowned Swiss psychoanalyst to reveal for the first time a man who regarded himself as the divine founder of a new pagan religion, a self-styled god who believed he could save the world."

Veronica Groocock. *TLS*, Jan. 16, 1998: 27.

**Kafka, Franz**

*Franz Kafka: The Jewish Patient*. Sander Gilman. New York: Routledge, 1995. 328 pp. $23.95.

"[This book] makes an important contribution to our understanding of the enigmatic writer's life and work, and in a much broader sense to our understanding of Jewish stereotypes in modern culture."

Michael Greenstein. *Ariel* 28.3 (July 1997): 167–69.

**Kaneyoshi, Ichijö**

*Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijö Kaneyoshi*. Steven D. Carter. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996. 278 pp. $44.95.

"Carter's study, beautifully presented and well researched, expands our knowledge of the complex interrelationships of court families, the imperial institution and the Ashikaga shogunate, providing valuable information on social and economic history of fifteenth-century Japan previously unavailable in English language scholarship."

Eleanor Kerkham. *JAS* 56, No. 4 (Nov. 1997): 1092–94.

**Keats, John**

*Keats*. Andrew Motion. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 636 pp. $35.00.

"Though he is acutely sensitive to Keats' inner life, Motion has little new to say about him or his poetry, so he frames his biography with the social and political context of Keats' life. That is both the weakest

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aspect of his book and one of the strongest. It is strong in the sense of historical evocation. . . . Unfortunately Motion also feels he has to reduce Keats' poetry to the very social and political circumstances the poetry toughs its way beyond. . . . Luckily, Motion's eloquent and deeply insightful telling of Keats' life takes up the majority of his biography."

Lee Siegel, *LATBR*, Feb. 22, 1998: 8.

"In 'Keats,' he [Motion] leans heavily on earlier biographers, especially Gittings, whose careful research he gratefully echoes, sometimes almost word for word. . . . Motion's ideas even feel more derivative, indebted above all to recent work on Keats and politics, especially a 1995 collection of essays edited by Nicholas Roe, 'Keats and History.'"

Morris Dickstein. *NYTBR*, Feb. 1, 1998: 13.

AND *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent.* Nicholas Roe. Oxford UP, 1997. 315 pp. $60.00.

"Neither author seems to me to force himself upon the poem. By the time Keats was writing 'To Autumn,' he had already meditated at length on 'negative capability' and on the lessons to be learned from Shakespeare about identifying with characters. He was less of a flag-waver in his poetry than he had been, but he still hoped, by his writings, to serve the liberal cause. It is right that a biographer should remain alert to this political dimension of Keats's experience and thought. And it is at the very least worthwhile to consider Nicholas Roe's argument that Keats's 'most impersonal, negatively capable lyric, "To Autmn," may be understood as the belated celebration of an ideal commonwealth of humankind and the natural world.' . . . Motion has read widely and conscientiously in such matters as the medical practices of the period. This makes him a good guide to both Keats's training as a surgeon and to his unbearable decline. Keats's recognition of his consumption and his clear knowledge that he was doomed, the brave face put on, the agony of parting from Fanny Brawne, the final weeks of torment—it is not that the story is unfamiliar, but that this particular account of it is convincing."

James Fenton. *NYRB*, May 14, 1998: 39.

**Kennedy, John F.**

*The Kennedy Obsession: The American Myth of JFK.* John Hellman. New York: Columbia UP, 1997. 224 pp. $29.50.

"'The Kennedy Obsession' does not break new ground; only the perspective with which to view the phenomenon is new. We all love a good story; Hellman believes Americans still love JFK because he, along with his family and associates, created a great one."

J. P. Partland. *NYTBR*, Jan. 4, 1998: 17.

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**Kerouac, Jack**

*Memory Babe.* Gerald Nicosia. Translated from English (US) by Marcel Deschamps and Elisabeth Vonarburg. Paris: Editions Verticales, 1997. 1000 pp. F170.

Gerald Nicosia's book, at last translated into French, is probably the most complete life of Kerouac. Above all, it is the first to impose the presence of a possessive mother, from whom Kerouac was never able to escape.

Jean-Luc Douin. *Le Monde des Livres,* Feb. 27, 1998: 1.

**Khaldei, Yevgeny**

*Witness To History: The Photographs of Yevgeny Khaldei.* Alexander and Alice Nakhimovsky. New York: Aperture, 1997. 96 pp. $40.00.

"'Witness To History: The Photographs of Yevgeny Khaldei,' with a biographical essay by Alexander and Alice Nakhimovsky, who teach Computer Science and Russian, respectively, at Colgate, focuses on Khaldei's record of World War II, the pinnacle of his professional career. . . . However much some of his photographs may have been orchestrated, they effectively convey the brutal strangeness of war."

Rosemary Ranck. *NYTBR,* Mar. 22, 1998: 21.

**King, Martin Luther, Jr.**

*Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–1965.* Taylor Branch. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 746 pp. $30.00.

". . . 'Pillar of Fire' is an indispensable book and an enduring achievement. It provides a clear-eyed, panoramic view of the civil rights community at a triumphal moment—the end of legal segregation—before violence and divisions tore the movement apart."

Jeff Shesol. *WP,* Feb. 9, 1998: 33.

"As he did in 'Parting the Waters,' Branch brings to these events both a passion for their detail and a recognition of their larger historical significance. By giving King such epic treatment, Branch implies that he was an epic hero. Was he? The great merit of Branch's stunning accomplishment is to prove definitively that he was."

Alan Wolf. *NYTBR,* Jan. 18, 1998: 12–13.

**Knipper, Olga.** See **Chekhov, Anton.**

**Lavoisier, Antoine**

*Lavoisier: Chemist, Biologist, Economist.* Jean-Pierre Poirier. Tr. Rebecca Balinski. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1996. 516 pp. $19.95.

"Few eminent scientists have been publicly executed, and the 1994 bicentennial of Lavoisier's death has provoked much study. . . . Poirier seems a little less assured about the science, but his telling anecotes and thumbnail sketches of contemporaries are vivid. . . . Lavoisier seems to have aroused admiration or resentment rather than

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friendship. He emerges as a cool and ambitious individual, capable of generosity to assistants and clients, but not very likeable. . . . Poirier is to be congratulated on giving us a new perspective and an important and readable life."

David Knight. *American Scientist* 86, No. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1998): 202–03.

**Lawrence, D. H.**

*D. H. Lawrence: Dying Game, 1923-30.* David Ellis. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997. 780 pp. £35.

This is the final volume of the multi-authored Cambridge biography of Lawrence. "It is a most impressive achievement, and fully maintains the quite exceptionally high scholarly studies adhered to by the first two volumes. . . . The ample, well-balanced text is supplemented by nearly 200 pages of extremely useful appendices and notes."

Tony Tanner. *TLS*, Jan. 9, 1998: 1–2.

**Lincoln, Abraham**

*Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln.* Douglas L. Wilson. New York: Knopf, 1998. 369 pp. $30.00.

"Because Wilson doesn't take a bold or unorthodox approach . . . he is left to quibble over what for the most part are very minor issues. . . . [W]hat he delivers is the revelation that his subject 'suffered from periods of deep depression and moments of suicidal desperation.' This . . . is a critically important point, but . . . one that nearly all of the first-class Lincoln historians . . . have eludicated. . . . Still, the picture of Lincoln that emerges from Wilson's study—as is the case with other serious works on Lincoln—is at variance with popular mythology."

Benjamin Schwarz. *LATBR*, Feb. 15, 1998: 4.

**Lindbergh, Charles A.**

*Charles A. Lindbergh: A Human Hero.* James Cross Giblin. New York: Clarion/Houghton Mifflin. 224 pp. $20.00.

"This sympathetic and informed account (beautifully illustrated with contemporary photographs) is an excellent introduction to Lindbergh and also to the early years of the celebrity society in which we live now."

Tom Ferrell. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 24.

**Loti, Pierre**

*Pierre Loti, ses maisons.* Pierre de Boisdeffre (text) and Michel Mauron (photos). St-Cyr sur Loire: Christian Pirot, coll. "Maisons d'écrivains," 1996. 194 pp. Illustrations & photos. F110.

Everybody knows Loti's house in Rochefort, the "depository of the treasures of his wanderings," but not so much two other dwellings, the importance of which is pointed out by the author: "the grandmother's house in Oleron" (he never lived in it but was buried there),

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and the little "solitary's house" in the Basque region. This highly readable book renders less artificial the figure and exoticism of the academician adventurer.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 584 (May 1997): 1228.

**Luce, Clare Booth**

*Rage For Fame: The Ascent of Clare Booth Luce.* Sylvia Jukes Morris. Vol. 1. New York: Random House, 1997. 561 pp. $20.00.

"Sylvia Morris, who is Luce's authorized biographer, has done a through job of research. . . . One gets the impression that Morris has tried to put the best possible face on things. . . . When it is not dealing with material that might offend the shade of Clare Booth Luce, however, the book is excellent."

Charlotte Hays. *TLS*, Feb. 27, 1998: 26.

**Mahler, Gustav**

*Mahler: A Biography.* Jonathan Carr. Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 1997. 320 pp. $29.95.

"What Carr offers here is an intelligent, solidly based, up-to-date account of Mahler's life interleaved with non-technical but still perceptive musical insights. I must confess that at first I found his approach, or more precisely his tone, simplistic—with his earnest explanations of all things musical and non-musical and his dogged translations of German titles perhaps best rendered in English in the first place. But the sensible lucidity of his writing convinces on its own terms."

John Rockwell. *NYTBR*, Mar. 8, 1998: 11.

**Mandela, Nelson**

*Nelson Mandela: A Biography.* Martin Meredith. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 596 pp. $29.95.

"The great challenge for any biographer is to situate the story of the subject's life into the context that affected him and over which he had sway. . . . Meredith's account includes only a handful of sentences about [context]. . . . Finally there is the problem of Meredith's cavalier attitude toward his sources. . . . The shortcomings in Meredith's book do not destroy it; they simply make his work less of a contribution. . . . In the end, Meredith has produced a readable account."

Robert Kinloch Massie. *LATBR*, Mar. 1, 1998: 4.

**Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal**

*Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France.* Geoffrey Treasure. New York: Routledge, 1995. 413 pp. $39.50.

"It is certainly the finest biography of Mazarin, to date, in any language. . . . Geoffrey Treasure places the cardinal . . . firmly within the twin contexts of French domestic politics and European international relations. . . . Because Treasure has not consulted unpublished

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sources, much of what he has to tell us has been said before, even if he says it better than most."

Albert N. Hamscher. *The Historian* 60.2 (Winter 1998): 446–47.

**Monroe, Marilyn**

*Marilyn Monroe.* Sheridan Morley and Ruth Leon. London: Sutton, 1997. £4.99.

"... given the brevity [of this Pocket Biography], Morley and Leon touch a surprising number of bases, with only their (joint?) style showing occasional haste. No filmography, though."

Nick Roddick. *Sight and Sound* 8.2 (Feb. 1998): 32.

**More, Thomas**

*The Life of Thomas More.* Peter Ackroyd. London: Chatto and Windus, 1998. 435 pp. £20.

"An account of More which is realistic as he can make it, and as sound in its scholarly footings. . . . This account of More is equally enriched by the imaginative powers of the novelist. . . . The most serious weakness of *The Life of Thomas More* lies in the author's failure to deal seriously and sensitively with More's black dog of Protestantism."

Patrick Collinson. *TLS*, Mar. 13, 1998: 1–2.

**Morse, Hosea Ballou**

*H. B. Morse: Customs Commissioner and Historian of China.* John King Fairbank, Martha Henderson Coolidge, and Richard J. Smith. Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1995. 314 pp. $39.99.

"The history of China's foreign relations in the nineteenth century is presently quite out of fashion. Thus a definitive biography of H. B. Morse, historian and Qing administrator, might hold limited intrinsic interest if it were not viewed historiographically in the context of the work that Morse influenced, particularly that of Fairbank and his protégés in the 1950s. . . . With this biography coming as a labor of love and his last work, the reader can almost feel Fairbank closing the circle by once again entering into a dialogue with his old mentor."

Stephen R. MacKinnon. *JAS* 56, No. 4 (Nov. 1997): 1055–57.

**Neuberger, Roy R.**

*So Far, So Good: The First 94 Years, An Autobiography.* Roy R. Neuberger with Alfred and Romma Connable. New York: Wiley, 1997. 222 pp. $29.95.

"Roy R. Neuberger knows all there is to know about Wall Street. . . . [But] his account of the world of Wall Street is devoid of interesting or useful information. There is no analysis worthy of the word. Either he's holding out on us or, at nearly 100 years of age, Neuberger is beyond that sort of thing."

Nicholas von Hoffman. *LATBR*, Feb. 8, 1998: 8.

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**Newton, Isaac**

*Isaac Newton: The Last Sorcerer.* Michael White. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997. 402 pp. $27.00.

"The virtue of White's biography is that he attempts to integrate Newton's alchemical and Biblical studies with the seer's major discoveries in physics; its fault, which diminishes as the book goes on (or perhaps the reader simply gets used to it), lives in an overexcited prose of which 'delving into the clear, blue waters' is an example."

John Updike. *The New Yorker,* Mar. 30, 1998: 88–91.

**Nietzsche, Friederich**

*The Good European: Nietzsche's Work Sites in Word and Image.* David Farrell Krell and Donald L. Bates. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996. 266 pp. $65.00.

*Nietzsche in Turin: An Intimate Biography.* Leslie Chamberlain. New York: Picador USA, 1997. 256 pp. $23.00.

"[Krell and Bates] accompany . . . photographs with a thorough biographical account of Nietzsche's life, which places particular emphasis on Nietzsche's attachment to the idea of Europe. . . . Chamberlain's elegant and sympathetic 'Nietzsche in Turin' describes Nietzsche in the last of his European homes, Turin. . . . One leaves these two books admiring the courage and good humor with which Nietzsche braved his extraordinary existence."

Alain de Botton. *LATBR,* Feb. 22, 1998: 7.

**Nixon, Richard M.**

*Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes.* Ed. Stanley Kutler. New York: Free Press, 1997. 675 pp. $30.00.

"It's hard to imagine a more explosive set of documents."

Matthew Dallek. *WP,* Mar. 23, 1998: 33–34.

*Tricky Dick and the Pink Lady: Richard Nixon vs. Helen Gahagen Douglas—Sexual Politics and the Red Scare, 1950.* Greg Mitchell. New York: Random House, 1997. 316 pp. $25.00.

"Mitchell, the author, most recently, of "The Campaign of the Century: Upton Sinclair's Race for Governor of California and the Birth of Media Politics," can't prove Nixon orchestrated the most outrageous of the anti-Douglas slurs, but newly discovered documents in the Nixon Library that he cites confirm what most Nixon observers have assumed all along: that the candidate himself, a control freak of rare intensity, was involved in every facet of the campaign."

Sam Tanenhaus. *NYTBR,* Feb. 1, 1998: 12.

**Nordstrom, Ursula**

*Dear Genius: The Letters of Ursula Nordstrom.* Collected and edited by Leonard S. Marcus. New York: HarperCollins, 1998. 496 pp. $22.95.

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"From the evidence in this collection of her letters, not only did she change literature for young people, she changed the lives of many who created it."

Rebecca Pepper Sinkler. *NYTBR*, Mar. 22, 1998: 7.

*Oates, William.* See **Chamberlain, Joshua.**

**Olcott, Henry Steel**

*The White Buddhist: The Asian Odyssey of Henry Steel Olcott.* Stephen Prothero. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1996. 242 pp. $35.00.

"Scholars have explored with great precision the development and impact of Protestant Buddhism in Asia. Yet, not until Prothero's work on Olcott have the American roots of Protestant Buddhism been explored thoroughly. Moreover . . . Prothero examines also the impact that Buddhism had on American religious thought in the late nineteenth century. . . . Prothero's account of Olcott is a provocative study of cultural exchange, religious change, and intellectual history in both America and South Asia."

Tessa Bartholomeusz. *JAS* 56, No. 4 (Nov. 1997): 1140–41.

**O'Nolan, Brian**

*No Laughing Matter: The Life and Times of Flann O'Brien.* Anthony Cronin. New York: Fromm International, 1998. 272 pp. $29.95.

"To earn a living, O'Nolan sacrificed most of his life to working in the Dublin bureaucracy. He drank too much, was sexually conflicted and suffered years of creative silence. As Cronin shows, these conflicts provided much of the fodder for his talent at expressing the funny gap between language and reality, particularly as it exists in Ireland."

Joelle Zois. *NYTBR*, Mar. 22, 1998: 21.

**Ovington, Mary White**

*Inheritors of the Spirit: Mary White Ovington and the Founding of the NAACP.* Carolyn Wedin. New York: Wiley, 1997. 367 pp. $30.00.

"Carolyn Wedin attempts to write an intimate portrait of a woman who, in spite of her autobiography, remains a bit of an enigma. Wedin, a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, fails to move much beyond what Ovington wrote herself."

Johanna Berkman. *NYTBR*, Feb. 22, 1998: 20.

**Picasso, Pablo**

*The Picasso Papers.* Rosalind E. Krauss. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 275 pp. $25.00.

". . . [Krauss] has written a book that shows how original and rewarding counterfeiting can be."

Sarah Boxer. *NYTBR*, Mar. 8, 1998: 12.

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**Pitt the Younger, William**

*The Younger Pitt: The Consuming Struggle.* John Ehrman. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996. 911 pp. $75.00.

"The publication of the third and final volume of John Ehrman's biography of William Pitt the Younger marks a historical milestone. . . . Ehrman takes a 'life and times' approach that contextualizes Pitt's career. . . . Ehrman's approach is resolutely that of high politics. . . . Whether this is a defect depends on the reader's taste. . . . [The publishers] are to be congratulated for maintaining a high standard of book production."

William C. Lowe. *Albion* 29.3 (Fall 1997): 532–33.

**Rasputin, Grigory Yefimovich**

*Rasputin: The Saint Who Sinned.* Brian Moynahan. New York: Random House, 1997. 384 pp. $30.00.

"[I]n common with almost all historians, Moynahan fails to notice how rarely Rasputin's advice was followed or even acknowledged. . . . Inevitably, Moynahan treats Rasputin as a sign of the times, typical of a disintegrating and increasingly immoral society. Unfortunately, he is handicapped by an inadequate knowledge of Russian history and the Russian social scene."

Kyril Fitzlyon. *LATBR,* Jan. 4, 1998: 4.

**Rainey, Gertrude "Ma"**

*Black Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday.* Angela Y. Davis. New York: Pantheon, 1998. 427 pp. $27.50.

"Davis chastises those black women's clubs of the 1920's whose efforts to uplift their race entailed virtually disowning free-spirited women like Rainey and Smith. But in attempting to recast these singers as working-class heroines—to 'valorize' them in the current jargon—isn't Davis practicing her own brand of social uplift and moral purification? The working class, as defined by Davis and most post-modern Marxists, sounds suspiciously like a middle-class conceit."

Francis Davis. *NYTBR,* Mar. 8, 1998: 16.

**Richardson, Henry Hobson**

*Living Architecture.* James F. O'Gorman and Cervin Robinson. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 176 pp. $50.00.

"James F. O'Gorman, a professor of American Art at Wellesley College, has written a concise biography of Richardson entitled, in a harmless attempt to cover as much ground as possible, 'Living Architecture.' Of equal importance to O'Gorman's authoritative, if workmanlike, text are Cervin Robinson's marvelous photographs, which, in the course of displaying the range of Richardson's œuvre, convey as well

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his joyous inebriation with the nature of materials: the stoniness of stone, the woodiness of wood."

Brendan Gill. *The New Yorker,* Feb. 9, 1998: 79–82.

**Riefenstahl, Leni**

*Leni Riefenstahl.* Audrey Salkeld. London: Pimlico, 1996. 256 pp. £10.

"The theme is the nature of guilt or whether Leni Riefenstahl deserves to be hounded till death for the grossest errors of her youth. . . . This eloquent and painstaking book is probably the best defense she will ever get."

Peter Matthews. *Sight and Sound* 8.2 (Feb. 1998): 32.

**Roosevelt, Theodore**

*T. R. The Last Romantic.* H. W. Brands. New York: Basic Books, 1997. 897 pp. $35.00.

"Theodore Roosevelt remains the most perplexing of our great men, and this engaging, intimate biography explores both his achievement and his incongruities; his reforms at a time when American business and government were as corrupt as any Third World country's; his evolution from a shoot-anything-that-moves hunter to a founding father of the American conservation movement."

*The New Yorker,* Feb. 16, 1998: 81.

"...it seems likely that 'T. R.' will stand for some time as the standard one-volume life, a life the author has clearly enjoyed writing. . . ."

T. H. Watkins. *WP,* Feb. 2, 1998: 33.

**Ross, Ronald**

*Ronald Ross, Malariologist and Polymath.* Edwin R. Nye and Mary E. Gibson. London: Macmillan, 1996. 316 pp. £45.

"Despite the inclusion of too much irrelevant detail, Nye and Gibson provide us with a highly competent, important and long overdue account of the life and times of Ronald Ross, the scientist, doctor, malariologist, poet, and novelist."

Zaheer Baber. *TLS,* Feb. 20, 1998: 15.

**Sade, Donatien Alphonse François, Comte de Sade, dit le Marquis de**

*Lettres à sa femme.* Marquis de Sade. Chosen, prefaced, and annotated by Marc Buffat. Paris & Arles: Actes Sud, coll. Babel 249, series "Les Epistolaires," 1997. Bibliography, biographical reference points. 462 pp. F57.

Thus isolated from the whole of the correspondence, these letters make thicker the mystery of a married couple. We observe the marchioness evolving from complicity to near hostility, without understanding exactly why (bigotry? reluctance to follow her husband's sexual fantasies?). As for Sade, he appears, during his years in prison, a great

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reader, more interested in ideas and the absence of sex than in his wife—a counter-moralist indeed, not an epicurean.

*Bulletin Critique du Livre Français* 584 (May 1997): 1230–31.

**Sayers, Dorothy L.**

*The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers.* Vol. 2. *1937–1943: From Novelist to Playwright.* Chosen and edited by Barbara Reynolds. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 450 pp. $27.95.

"Despite a generous and informative preface by P. D. James, and the remarkable claim by Sayers's biographer and editor, Barbara Reynolds, that her subject 'was a creative force in the intellectual life of the 20th century,' 'The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers, Volume 2: 1937-1943' will be disappointing to readers hoping to find in Sayers's personal voice the unique stamp of her fiction and the emotional honesty of the first volume (published here in 1996), which covered the years 1899-1936. In the first volume, Sayers endured, and managed to survive, a painful love affair; created herself as an author; had a baby out of wedlock; and spoke with refreshing frankness about the writing of the Wimsey novels. In the second volume, her vibrant emotional life seems to have burnt itself out."

Joyce Carol Oates. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 16–17.

**Scott, Winfield**

*Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of General Winfield Scott.* John S. D. Eisenhower. New York: Free Press, 1997. 464 pp. $27.50.

"His [Eisenhower's] book's tone is low-key, its scholarship reliable and its prose readable. It should reaffirm Scott's solid military accomplishments better than the vain general himself was ever able to do."

Russell F. Weigley. *NYTBR*, Jan. 11, 1998: 10.

**Schacht, Hjalmar Horace Greeley**

*Hitler's Banker: Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht.* John Weitz. Boston: Little, Brown, 1997. 361 pp. $29.95.

"How much did he [Schacht] oppose Hitler? Weitz, author of a biography of von Ribbentrop, says the answers are: yes, he was the architect of Germany's war economy; and there is evidence that he did oppose the persecution of the Jews publicly, if cautiously."

David Murray. *NYTBR*, Jan. 25, 1998: 18.

**Scheck, Christy**

*A Wrongful Death: One Child's Fatal Encounter With Public Health and Private Greed.* Léon Bing. New York: Villard/Random House. 285 pp. $25.00.

"... Bing has the instincts to let the agony of Christy's parents speak, eloquently, for itself. And she tellingly reaches past the Scheck family's

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tragedy into the broader problem that her death underscores, the existence of veritable psychosis mills."

Michael E. Ross. *NYTBR*, Jan. 11, 1998: 15.

**Seldes, Gilbert**

*The Lively Arts: Gilbert Seldes and the Transformation of Cultural Criticism in the United States.* Michael Kammen. New York: Oxford UP, 1996. 494 pp. $35.00.

"Seldes is a neglected figure, but Kammen makes a convincing case that he should be noticed. . . . This reviewer found the chapters dealing with the coming of television particularly significant. . . . Kammen's book is based on solid research . . . [and] is well written and organized, though sometimes repetitive."

Stuart D. Hobbs. *The Historian* 60.2 (Winter 1998): 392–93.

**Singer, Isaac Bashevis**

*Lost Landscapes: In Search of Isaac Bashevis Singer and the Jews of Poland.* Agata Tuszynska. New York: Morrow, 1998. 176 pp. $23.00.

"'Lost Landscapes' traces the path that Isaac Bashevis Singer took from pre-Holocaust Poland to the United States even as it chronicles the fate of the people he wrote about: the Jews of the shtetl."

Joshua Henkin. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 26.

**Smith, Bessie.** See **Rainey, Gertrude "Ma."**

**Soddy, Frederick**

*The World Made New: Frederick Soddy, Science, Politics, and Environment.* New York: Oxford UP, 1996. 223 pp. $105.

"As a scientific innovator, as a liberator of the nuclear genie, as a cassandra of environmental despoliation and scientific misuse, and as a participant in the lively economic debates of the 1920s and 1930s, Soddy's life merits close study. 'The World Made New' is the place to begin."

Kirk Willis. *Albion* (Fall 1997): 532–33.

**Solzhenitsyn, Alexander**

*Alexander Solzhenitsyn: A Century in His Life.* D. M. Thomas. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 564 pp. $29.95.

"Thomas has written this excellent and gripping tribute: a vade mecum through the life of one man that captures the Russian century. . . . He deserves our thanks for writing a marvelously readable, indispensable book about an impossibly complex man of our recent times."

Lesley Chamberlain. *LATBR*, Feb. 15, 1998: 8.

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**Steichen, Edward**

*Steichen: A Biography.* Penelope Niven. New York: Clarkson Potter/ Crown, 1997. 770 pp. $45.00.

"In Niven's hands, the arc of Steichen's endeavor curves without a break from the teen-ager with the bicycle, who offered 'the first rubber-tire telegram service' in Milwaukee for fifteen dollars per month, to the portrait photographer who demanded (and got) an annual salary of thirty-five thousand dollars from Condé Nast in 1923, icing the cake with twenty thousand from J. Walter Thompson the following year. Indeed, such is the rolling mass of projects into which Steichen threw himself that he sometimes emerges from Niven's book as a born organizer and inventor who just happened to devote his administrative talents to photography."

Anthony Lane. *The New Yorker,* Jan. 5, 1998: 68–73.

"Niven seems sometimes more concerned with her research than with her readers; she repeats nearly identical quotations and uses oddly stilted language to explain gaps in the story. But for the most part she succeeds in weaving the many threads of Steichen's life into a seamless narrative."

Jake Miller. *NYTBR,* Jan. 25, 1998: 18.

**Teresa, Mother**

*Mother Teresa: A Complete Authorized Biography.* Kathryn Spink. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997. 306 pp. $23.00.

*Mother Teresa: Beyond the Image.* Anne Sebba. New York: Doubleday, 1996. 297 pp. $24.95.

"In her straightforward 'authorized biography,' Spink, the author of previous books on Mother Teresa, gently acknowledges and plausibly rebuts criticisms from people 'uncomfortable with goodness, skeptical of simplicity.' . . . Working on a wider canvas and unobtrusively herself entering the story, Sebba, a British journalist who is the author of several books, including a children's book on Mother Teresa, probes those criticisms deeply but evenhandedly, she too worrying about 'our search for the feet of clay.' Only an annoying habit of raising unanswerable questions mars her well-informed account."

Michael Sherry. *NYTBR,* Jan. 4, 1998: 5–6.

**Tituba**

*Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies.* Elaine G. Breslaw. New York: New York UP, 1996. 243 pp. $24.95.

"From the limited documents available, Breslaw has presented a compelling biography of Tituba and offered a fascinating interpretation of this American Indian slave's confession. 'Tituba' is a valuable contribution to the study of American social history."

Dave Bush. *The Historian* 60.2 (Winter 1998): 379–80.

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**Tree, Marietta**

*No Regrets: The Life of Marietta Tree.* Caroline Seebohm. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 448 pp. $27.50.

"Tree's almost unique ability to combine glamour and rectitude is reflected in Seebohm's witty, readable, and substantial biography, which steers a clear course between the splashy and the academic."

*The New Yorker*, Mar. 16, 1998: 78.

**Trollope, Fanny**

*Fanny Trollope: The Life and Adventures of a Clever Woman.* Pamela Neville-Sington. London: Viking, 1997. 416 pp. £20.

"Fanny Trollope's significance as a writer may be open to debate, but as the subject of biography, she commands interest. . . . Only in the latter stages of her narrative does Neville-Sington turn to Fanny's most famous son, but the discussion is worth the visit, for it is here that the dynamics of the family really come alive."

Fiona Stafford. *TLS*, Jan. 16, 1998: 26.

**Vaux, Calvert**

*Country, Park and City: The Architecture and Life of Calvert Vaux.* Francis R. Kowsky. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 378 pp. $45.00.

"Unless an unsuspected cache of significant documents appears in the future, this will remain the definitive study of Vaux's life and work."

James F. O'Gorman. *NYTBR*, Mar. 22, 1998: 10.

**Warhol, Andy**

*Andy Warhol, Poetry and Gossip in the 1960's.* Reva Wolf. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997. 210 pp. $27.95.

"While Wolf's enthusiasm for her subject is admirable, unfortunately her book is most often typical of the kind of academic effort that seems to protest too much."

Robin Lippincott. *NYTBR*, Feb. 22, 1998: 20.

**Wells, Sumner**

*Sumner Wells, FDR's Global Strategist: A Biography.* Benjamin Wells. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 437 pp. $35.00.

"'Sumner Wells: FDR's Global Strategist' reports little not previously known about Wells's public achievements, and there are some inconsequential inaccuracies. The author might have dealt more analytically with Wells's ideas and their place in history, midway between Wilsonian idealism and the *Realpolitik* of the cold war years. But as a candid, sympathetic portrait of a great and tragic figure in a bygone era of aristocratic privilege, the biography succeeds admirably."

Gaddis Smith. *NYTBR*, Jan. 25, 1998: 13.

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**Wilkes, John**

*John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty.* Peter D. G. Thomas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996. 280 pp. $47.00.

"To the various merits of Mr Wilkes, impartial Posterity will do ample justice" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, no. 68, 1798). This prediction was never realized, but Peter D. G. Thomas, while judging his hero "a genuine radical as well as an undoubted rascal," has written a good book, in which, together with a vivid survey of public England under George II and George III, we learn a lot about this controversial person who was also a clear-sighted politician.

Georges Lamoine. *Études Anglaises* 50.4 (Oct.–Dec. 1997): 472–73.

"Thomas is an established master of the high-political narrative, and he guides the reader through the complexities of these battles with admirable economy of style. . . . Thomas amply proves his contention that Wilkes was indeed 'a friend to liberty,' but one ends up wanting to know more about the broader political context of his victories."

Philip Harling. *Journal of British Studies* 37.1 (Jan. 1998): 97–98.

**Woodhull, Victoria**

*Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull.* Barbara Goldsmith. New York: Knopf, 1998. 531 pp. $30.00.

*Notorious Victoria: The Life of Victoria Woodhull, Uncensored.* Mary Gabriel. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1998. 372 pp. $24.95.

"Mary Gabriel's 'Notorious Victoria' does not take either character or society to great depth. A modest book, its greatest strengths are a clear chronological organization, a generous enough sampling of Woodhull's speeches . . . and a poignant portrait of her old age in England. 'Other Powers' is much more ambitious. Not only a life of Woodhull but a detailed history of the spiritualist and suffrage movements of the time, it re-creates the characters and politics of post-Civil War American society with such immediacy that they are practically resurrected."

Elinor Langer. *LATBR*, Mar. 29, 1998: 8–9.

"Although Barbara Goldsmith's account of Woodhull concentrates on her career and on the Beecher-Tilton scandal, it is far more than a conventional biography, giving as it does a perspective account of the principal social and political movements of the post-Civil War period and many of its leading characters. The effect of her method is to present a dense and complex picture of an entire culture, in which the status of women became, more than ever before, a contentious public issue. . . . Goldsmith's is by far the most serious biography since Sachs's. It augments Sachs's work with much more careful research and shows Woodhull as a force within a constellation of

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American social movements that soon broke apart. Mary Gabriel, whose book is a much more modest affair, makes one further contribution, and a telling one; she has looked into the English story and gives the first detailed account of Woodhull's years as a bossy, conservative lady of the manor."

Millicent Bell. *NYRB*, May 14, 1998: 29.

"Barbara Goldsmith has written the more ambitious of the two biographies—a life and times, with emphasis on the times. She has combed diaries, letters and back issues of newspapers, and her pages swarm with major and minor figures from Karl Marx and Ulysses S. Grant to Stephen Pearl Andrews, who led 'a group of radical spiritualists who believed in his vision of a utopian society.' . . . Mary Gabriel's book keeps the focus on its heroine, even at the risk of telling us too much about her long endgame in England. But it acknowledges that Victoria's story is also very funny, and that she had a natural flair for showmanship."

Richard Brookhiser. *NYTBR*, Mar. 29, 1998: 11–12.

**Worth, Adam**

*The Napoleon of Crime: The Life and Times of Adam Worth, the Real Moriarty.* Ben MacIntyre. London: HarperCollins, 1997. 320 pp. £18.

"MacIntyre responds to the more romantic aspects of Worth's life, while missing nothing of his part as a Victorian anti-hero."

Jonathan Keates. *TLS*, Mar. 6, 1998: 14.

**Wyden, Jeff**

*Conquering Schizophrenia: A Father, His Son, and a Medical Breakthrough.* Peter Wyden. New York: Knopf, 1998. 335 pp. $25.00.

"There is a disjointed quality to this book, in part because early on, Jeff's illness replaces life's usual narrative milestones with a string of crises. Then, too, the author is an energetic reporter who goes off on odd tangents, like a caricatured sketch of Emil Kraepelin, the father of biological psychiatry ('hardly a people person'). When he illuminates severe mental illness, and research into it, with personal observation, however, he brings to life the ordeal of people who have to deal with it."

Winifred Gallagher. *NYTBR*, Mar. 15, 1998: 31.

**Yeats, William Butler**

*W. B. Yeats: A Life.* Vol. 1. *The Apprentice Mage.* R. F. Foster. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 640 pp. £25.

"Most biographical studies of W. B. Yeats are principally about what he wrote. This one is principally about what he did." And what he was. Conditioned by social context and struggles for power, shy and

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hating ridicule, tempted by occultism and drugs, interested in Nietzsche, a passionate lover who made a disastrous marriage, a militant nationalist, "the prize lion in the Edwardian social safari," such emerges Yeats from this luminous book, the first to do justice to his diverse and complex character.

Jacqueline Genet. *Études Anglaises* 50.4 (Oct–Dec. 1997): 495–97.

**Yeltsin, Boris**

*Boris Yel'tsin: Ot Rassveta do Zakata* [Boris Yeltsin: From Dawn to Dusk]. Aleksandr Korzhakov. Moscow: Interbook, 1997. 477 pp.

"If we have learned anything from the strange and epic story of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin these past ten years it is that no man is hero to his bodyguard. Or not for long, anyway. We know this because, in the new tradition of Russian politics, the bodyguard in question has written a marvelously venomous memoir that seems truthful in spirit, if not in every fact. . . . For ten years, Korzhakov could not have been more loyal to Yeltsin. When Yeltsin was fired from the Politburo in 1987, Korzhakov stayed with him and even drove him around town in his own car, a tuna can-sized Neva. He was with Yeltsin on top of the tank when they faced down the coup in August 1991 and he was with him when they faced a dozen crises thereafter.

David Remnick. *NYRB*, Apr. 19, 1998: 10.

**Zanuck, Darryl**

*Twentieth Century's Fox: Darryl F. Zanuck and the Culture of Hollywood.* George F. Custen. New York: Basic Books, 1997. 436 pp. $27.50.

"As Custen aptly notes in closing, 'Previous histories of Hollywood have misread both Zanuck's character and, with less justification, his ability.' . . . 'Twentieth Century's Fox' provides a lively, convincing corrective. What emerges, finally, is a view of Zanuck as both a product and a producer of what Custen terms 'the culture of Hollywood,' an infinitely confident and resourceful industry player who managed to 'reinvent' himself and his production agenda when changing social and industrial conditions warranted."

Thomas Schatz. *LATBR*, Jan. 11, 1998: 8.

## Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Interest

**American Opera Singers**

*The American Opera Singer.* Peter G. Davis. New York: Doubleday, 1997. 640 pp. $40.00.

"Davis finds today's American singers among the world's most skilled and versatile, but he fears that this professionalism breeds homogeneity."

*The New Yorker*, Jan. 12, 1998: 82.

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**American Writers**

*Hired Pens: Professional Writers in America's Golden Age of Print.* Ronald Weber. Athens: Ohio UP, 1997. 315 pp. $17.95.

"'Hired Pens' tells the pain and glamour (with an emphasis on glamour) of the good old days of Grub Street, U.S.A., when 'clever authors of acceptable work' hawked their wares in a surging market of newspapers, pulps, slick magazines, mass-produced fiction and publishers of all stripes."

Brenda Wineapple. *NYTBR*, Jan. 18, 1998: 15.

**Female Serial Killers**

*Murder Most Rare: The Female Serial Killer.* Michael D. Kelleher and C. L. Kelleher. Westport, CT: Praeger/Greenwood, 1998. 224 pp. $26.95.

Patricia Pearson. *When She Was Bad: Violent Women and the Myth of Innocence.* New York: Viking-Penguin, 1997. 288 pp. $24.95.

[These authors] "argue that while we've grown accustomed to women brokering stocks and running for office, we still balk at the idea that they can be as violent as men. We ascribe the unexplained death of a young child to sudden infant death syndrome rather than investigate the mother. Indeed, according to the authors, not only do we fail to recognize a murderess in our midst even when she leaves obvious clues, we also suffer from a kind of cultural amnesia which makes us forget what we've learned about homicidal women in the past."

Larissa MacFarquhar. *The New Yorker*, Mar. 9, 1998: 88–91.

**Medical Scientists**

*Curing Cancer: The Story of the Men and Women Unlocking the Secrets of Our Deadliest Illness.* Michael Waldholz. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. $24.00.

"As characters, the scientists tend to resemble each other, all intensely competitive and passionate about their work. But it is their single-mindedness that will someday transform the clues into cures."

Andrea Cooper. *NYTBR*, Apr. 5, 1998: 25.

**U.S. Presidents**

*Star-Spangled Men: America's Ten Worst Presidents.* Nathan Miller. New York: A Lisa Drew Book/Scribner's, 1997. 272 pp. $23.00.

"Though you can't judge a book by its unwillingness to dislike Reagan as much as I do, 'Star-Spangled Men' has other difficulties in retaining the reader's attention. Miller has chosen a number of presidents here (Taft, Harrison, Pierce) because they were unimaginative, lethargic, slow-thinking men, afraid of initiative. While those may be good reasons for placing them on his 10-worst list, they do not make reading about them much fun. On the other hand, when there is an administration full of scandal (Grant's, Harding's, Nixon's), the reader

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is frustrated by what appears to be an arbitrary goal to have the chapters be the same length (most are about 20 pages)."

Douglas McGrath. *NYTBR*, Feb. 22, 1998: 18.

"The book allots one chapter to each president, cataloguing his blunders and chronicling his rise from deserved obscurity (it also features an epilogue on the 'most overrated' presidents, Kennedy and Jefferson). As a former Senate staffer and a longtime reporter for The Baltimore Sun, Miller has good horse sense about the game of politics, but what stands out are his anecdotes, most of them humorous or just plain bizarre."

John Dorfman. *WP*, Feb. 16, 1998: 33.

**Women's Autobiography**

*Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body: Women's Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century.* Sidonie Smith. Blomington: Indiana UP, 1993. 226 pp.

*The Challenge of Feminist Autobiography.* Ed. Sara Alpern, Joyce Antler, Elisabeth Israels Perry, and Ingrid Winther Scobie. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992. 210 pp.

"Smith is a professor of English and Comparative Literature, and her lexicon and indifference to history (as historians understand it at least) can try the reader with historian's eyes. . . . For Smith, identity is postmodern: constantly shifting, ambiguous, fragmented, and segmented. . . . All of the contributors in [*The Challenge of Feminist Autobiography*] appear content with gender—of itself—as a sufficient category of analysis. They are women; their subjects are women, and they assume that gendered identity alone nullifies all the evil summed up in masculine power, as manifested in the masculine gaze. Indeed, one might forget that women as well as men belong to networks of power."

Nell Painter. *Journal of Women's History* 9.2 (Summer 1997): 166–73.

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# Lifelines

## Upcoming Events, Calls for Papers, and News from the Field

**Feminist Studies Award.** *Feminist Studies* invites submissions for its Feminist Studies Award, for the best essay submitted to the journal by a graduate student. Entries will be judged by the Editorial Board, who will announce the winner in January 1999. The winning essay will be published in *Feminist Studies*, and the winner will be awarded a prize of $500. Submissions should be a maximum of 10,000 words, including notes. Applicants should send three copies and an abstract, and must identify themselves by their department, school affiliation, and degree status. Applicants may not have received their terminal degrees before May 1998. Please send all materials to FSA; *Feminist Studies;* Department of Women's Studies; Woods Hall 2101; University of Maryland; College Park, MD 20742. **Deadline:** August 15, 1998.

**Margaret Atwood Society Awards.** The Margaret Atwood Society invites graduate essays or parts of theses or dissertations on any aspect of Margaret Atwood for its annual Society Awards. Faculty may nominate a graduate student's work, or graduate students may submit their own work. Mail submissions to Debrah Raschke; English Department; MS 2650; Southeast Missouri State University; Cape Girardeau, MO 63701; draschke@semovm.semo.edu. **Deadline:** November 15, 1998.

**Special Issue.** *Inquiry: Critical Thinking Across the Disciplines* invites essays that focus on the autobiography/critical thinking nexus and that explore, among others, questions concerning the identity and purposes of the persona presented in autobiographical texts, or the identity of the implied or projected reader, or that serve as points of departure for concerns central to discussions of critical thinking. Submissions should be between 3,000 and 8,000 words. Authors should submit three copies of each manuscript, with their names appearing only on the cover sheet, and should also include a computer diskette with the submission in two files, one

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formatted and one text only. For further information contact Robert Esformes, Editor, *Inquiry*; Institute for Critical Thinking; Montclair State University; Montclair, NJ 07043; esformes@saturn.montclair.edu. **Deadline:** October 1, 1998.

**Call for Papers.** The William Wordsworth Page invites papers on any aspect of Wordsworth's life and career. The page is available at http://members.aol.com/wordspage/home.htm. Please address all inquiries to David K. Rasnake at wordspage@aol.com.

**Call for Papers.** "John Foxe and His World: An Interdisciplinary Colloquium." Ohio State University. April 29 through May 2, 1999. The sponsors invite papers that focus on Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* in particular, or on other subjects related to Foxe and the world he lived in. In addition to plenary lectures, the colloquium will include panels, workshops, roundtable discussions, and other events. Send one-page proposals to Kevin Lindberg; Department of English; Ohio State University; Columbus, OH 43210-1370; lindberg.2@osu.edu. **Deadline:** September 30, 1998.

**Call for Papers.** "Landscapes of Memory: Oral History and the Environment." Oral History Society Annual Conference. Centre for Continuing Education, University of Sussex. Brighton, England. May 15–16, 1999. Papers and other forms of presentation are invited for an interdisciplinary, international conference which will explore the relationships between memory and place and the contested meanings of human and physical landscapes. Prospective participants should send two copies of their proposal on a single A4 sheet, including the following details: name, address, phone, fax, and email numbers, title and format of presentation, relevant conference themes, and a brief summary of the proposed presentation. Proposals should be sent to Steve Hussey; History Department; Essex University; Colchester CO4 3SQ; England. Email inquiries to Steve Hussey at husss@essex.ac.uk. **Deadline:** November 1, 1998.

**Call for Papers.** "The Carlyles in America." April 6-8, 2000. Saint Joseph's University, Philadelphia. "The Carlyles in Scotland and Europe." April 4-6, 2001. Edinburgh University. Conferences are being planned in Philadelphia and Edinburgh around the theme of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle and their

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importance and influence in the Americas, and in Scotland and Europe. Presentations should be readable in twenty minutes. Papers treating the Carlyles in relation to political, historical, philosophical, religious, scientific, or any other intellectual current of the time are preferred. For Philadelphia papers, contact David R. Sorensen, Honors Program, Saint Joseph's University, 5600 City Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19131 (dsorense @sju.edu). For Edinburgh papers, contact Ian Campbell, Department of English, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9JX, Scotland (carlyle@ cd.ac.uk). **Deadlines:** Participants are encouraged to submit proposals for Philadelphia by 1 June 1999 and manuscripts by 31 January 2000; for Edinburgh, proposals by 15 January 2000 and manuscripts by 1 September 2000.

**Call for Papers.** "Rhetoric of Memorials." The editor seeks previously unpublished essays for a collection exploring the rhetorical nature of memorials. Possible questions include what do memorials mean, how do they make their meaning, and what do they say about our culture. Essays may focus on one memorial in particular, on a common aspect of several memorials, or on trends in memorials. **Deadline**: 250 word proposals by August 1, 1998; completed manuscripts by May 1, 1999. Submit proposals to Billie J. Jones, Department of English, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43402; bjonesw@bgnet.bgsu.edu.

**New Database.** "The Chinese Biographical Database Web Site." Accessible at http://exodus.lcsc.edu/cbiouser, this interactive, scholarly, moderated, online database is based on multiple tables. Eleven are now online: basic biographical information, career, alternate names, family, education, youth activities, affiliations, official positions, historical events, locator table, and sources. There are more than twnety search and ten report forms. A new biographies section allows entry of new figures or additional information on existing figures. There is also a form to suggest new variables and fields. The range of subjects includes artists, officials, educators, industrialists, scientists, military leaders, and politicians—the career table currently lists over fifty occupations. This interdisciplinary, multilingual tool is not for downloading, but for online use only; no authorization is needed and there is no charge to users. Although the database

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is concentrated on post-1850 figures, its chronological scope is open-ended. The database is a pilot project, and suggestions and feedback are encouraged. For further information, contact Marilyn A. Levine, project director; Division of Social Sciences; Lewis-Clark State College; Lewiston, Idaho 83501 USA; mlevine @lcsc.edu.

**New Journal.** *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, a new history journal from Routledge, is a forum for debate on all aspects of the construction of the past. Articles already published have addressed such questions as can empiricism constitute history as a licit epistemology, what is the nature of historical evidence and what role can it play in the re/de-construction of the past, what is the functioning of social/critical theory in historical understanding, and how significant is narrative form and its relationship with content in historical explanation. For more information, contact Alun Munslow, UK Editor, Division of History, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Staffordshire University, College Road, Stoke-on-Trent ST4 2DE, UK (artam@staffs.ac.uk); or Robert A. Rosenstone, US Editor, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology, 228-77 Pasadena, CA 91125 USA (rr@hss.caltech.edu).

**New Release.** *Biography and Source Studies* 3 is now available from AMS Press. This issue includes Larry Lockridge's "Biography and Enigma: The Case of Ross Lockridge, Jr."; Frederick R. Karl's "Writing Kafka's Biography"; April Alliston's and Pamela Schirmeister's "Taking Precautions: Gender Masquerade and Authorial Persona in James Fenimore Cooper"; Mark Polizzotti's "What Lies on the Cutting Room Floor: Some Scenes Not from the Life of André Breton"; David S. Reynolds's "Writing Cultural Biography: In Pursuit of Walt Whitman"; Bettina M. Carbonell's "Literary Biography and Theory: Alone with Hawthorne"; Lin Harris-Seares's "Latter-Life Traumatology and the Search for a Hidden Author"; and Carl Rollyson's and Lisa Paddock's "'Fair Use' and the Unauthorized Biography: Dealing with the Dilemma."

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# Raising Adam: Ethnicity, Disability, and the Ethics of Life Writing in Michael Dorris's *The Broken Cord*

*G. Thomas Couser*

*Fatherhood does not confer surrogacy.*
— Cynthia Ozick (80)

Michael Dorris's *The Broken Cord* (1989) can be read as several kinds of life writing—parental memoir, Native American autobiography, and pathography. Despite the urgency of Dorris's concerns and the power of his testimony, the book's combination of these various genres is ultimately in conflict with its reformist intentions. Disentangling some of the text's generic and thematic threads reveals its internal tensions. In particular, it raises questions about the ethics of parental life writing and of the representation of people with disabilities.[1]

* * * * *

*The Broken Cord* invites us to read it first as a family memoir—more specifically, as a parental narrative of raising a disabled child. Family memoirs are necessarily relational, plural rather than singular in focus; inherently unstable, they oscillate between biography and autobiography. (The publisher's classification of the book acknowledges its fluctuating focus; on the back cover of the paperback edition, one finds the accurate but hardly adequate label "autobiography/child care.") As in all narratives that involve an intimate relation between author and subject, in *The Broken Cord* the author/narrator—as well as his ostensible subject, his son—comes under scrutiny.[2]

The politics and ethics of parental memoir are inherently problematic. At least in the sense that parents have privileged access to their children, the parental memoir is always a species of "authorized biography." Indeed, parents generally have access to aspects of their children's lives that the children themselves

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lack—scenes of infancy, for instance. In the sense that parents provide children with accounts of their early years—which often become their first "memories"—parents also serve as informal oral biographers, generating their children's "lives" in more senses than one.[3] But parental memoirs tend to be *self*-authorized, in that the biographers are likely to presume rather than to request the right to write their children's lives—especially in the case of an impaired child. Like other prerogatives of parenthood, this one is open to misuse. What is intended by a parent as a benign act may be perceived by the child, once grown, as an act of appropriation or betrayal.

The issues of parental rights and prerogatives are all the more vexed when a child is adopted and/or disabled, and parental memoirs often concern adopted or disabled children, for several reasons. One is the general principle of narratability, that the uncommon case is considered more noteworthy than the common. Another is that such memoirs are considered valuable resources for other parents faced with situations that may be especially demanding. And in the case of disability, a third factor may be the commercial value of the pathos presumed to characterize such narratives. A parental memoir of an adopted child is perhaps most problematic when the child is discovered to be disabled. A narrative that might have served to bind parent and child more closely, in lieu of blood relation, may become a narrative of disappointment, frustration, or even resentment. The discovery of hereditary problems further complicates matters. Whereas a biological parent may feel implicated in a child's congenital impairments, an adoptive parent may feel betrayed—if not by the child or the adoption agency, then by the child's biological parents. This is very much the case with Dorris. Before the adoption, he was informed that Adam was impaired—the official diagnosis was mental retardation—but Dorris was confident that good parenting would overcome any initial developmental delays. When he became aware of the actual severity of Adam's problems, Dorris blamed Adam's mother for his plight. Indeed, the effects of maternal alcoholism on Adam so appalled Dorris and his wife, Louise Erdrich, that they reluctantly endorsed the policy, carried out on some reservations, of incarcerating pregnant women who abuse alcohol (Erdrich xviii). One narrative consequence of the discovery of the source of Adam's problems is the tendency to

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treat him as a type rather than as an individual. Unlike most parental narratives of adoption, then, this one sends a very mixed message, as the relationship between father and son moves from initial bonding to gradual estrangement.

In this instance, the process of adoption was also complicated by issues of race and ethnicity. One dimension of Dorris's parenting of Adam is what I call the process of "reracination"—the rediscovery or reaffirmation of ethnic identity and the rerooting of the self in traditional culture. A Yale-trained anthropologist who taught first at Franconia College, then at Dartmouth, Dorris was a highly assimilated mixed-blood, whose relation to his Native American heritage was mediated by his profession. When he was twenty-six and still single, his bold and well-intentioned decision to adopt an Indian child afforded him the opportunity to establish a more intimate connection to the Native American community than that provided by his research and teaching. In fact, he expressed his initial impulse to adopt a child in terms of the tribal culture he was studying at the time: "In a world of 'we,' I was an 'I,' with no essential responsibilities or links outside myself"(2).

This aspect of the book comes decisively to the foreground in chapter four, which recounts the visit of father and son to the Standing Rock reservation in South Dakota at the invitation of Beatrice Medicine, a Lakota anthropologist who had been teaching at Dartmouth. In this episode, father and son bond *as Indians.* In preparation for the trip, both let their hair grow long. Getting turned away en route from a midwestern motel that is obviously not full, they experience discrimination. On the reservation, however, unlike in Hanover, it is Adam who fits in and Dorris who stands out; only gradually is the father accepted as a member of his son's tribal community: "here I felt as though I were his guest. It was he whom elderly women stopped to admire, he who was given the first taste of soup, he who blended . . ." (61). The visit culminates in a ceremony in which both are honored with the bestowal of Lakota names; the episode serves, as it is intended, to incorporate father and son into a larger Native American community. Indeed, Dorris has a dream that anticipates the name later given him by Bea Medicine's mother—a visionary experience that helps to validate his new tribal affiliation (58–59). The adoptive father is in turn adopted, as Dorris becomes Bea Medicine's son "in the Indian

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way" (64). The relation between father and son is thus reinforced and legitimated by a tribal bond.[4]

The incipient narrative of reracination, however, is frustrated by several elements. For one thing, there is the difference between the father's and son's tribal affiliations: while Adam was full-blood Lakota, Dorris was part Modoc on his father's side—a difference elided but not erased by the ceremony at Standing Rock. For another, the reintegration of Dorris and son into Native American culture is somewhat at odds with its means: the uprooting of the son—his physical removal from the reservation.[5] But most important, Dorris asserts that Adam's cognitive impairments interfere with his appreciation of his Lakota heritage and thus minimize his internalization of his Lakota identity.

Had the narrative of reracination not been blocked by these factors, the story of Dorris's life with Adam might have become a classic example of what Françoise Lionnet has referred to as "autoethnography"—"that is, the defining of one's subjective ethnicity as mediated through language, history, and ethnographical analysis; in short . . . a kind of 'figural anthropology' of the self" (99).[6] But Dorris's unhappy discovery that his son is a victim of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (hereafter FAS) greatly complicates Dorris's own relation to his heritage, since it connects him to pathological aspects of contemporary Native American life that he would rather have ignored, and requires him to revise some of his intellectual and political assumptions.[7] Insofar as the narrative shifts away at this point from the story of raising Adam to Dorris's inquiry into the roots of Adam's impairment in Native American alcohol abuse, *The Broken Cord* is finally more ethnobiography or ethnohistory—indeed, ethnopathography—than autoethnography.

The book is provoked and its shape ultimately determined by Dorris's dismayed conclusion that his adopted son's most significant kinship group is neither the Lakota nation of his biological parents nor the multitribal extended family of his adoptive parents, but the multiethnic "family" or "tribe" of victims of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, with whom Adam shares obvious physical and behavioral characteristics. Or to put it differently, the book arises from Dorris's reluctant admission that his son's race and ethnicity have been overridden—or overwritten—by the effects of his mother's alcohol abuse while

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pregnant. Nature, in the form of birth defects both physical and mental, has foiled nurture, in the form of Dorris's energetic and resourceful parenting. Further, disability not only virtually erases Native American culture as a factor in Adam's development, it also impedes his assimilation into the middle-class culture of his adoptive family. Rather than growing up as the embodiment of some optimal blend of indigenous and Western culture, Adam seems unable to internalize the values of either. Giving up hope that Adam can make up for a "late start," Dorris bitterly concludes that his son is barred from living "the life of independent choice, of unbounded possibility, that he was entitled to live" (79). Given Dorris's conclusion here, Adam is also precluded from writing that life, which would clearly be an autobiography on the Franklinian model. Growing out of Dorris's new understanding of his son's impairments, *The Broken Cord* is devised to document the existential poverty to which Adam has been condemned, and to prevent more such lives from being pre-scripted by alcohol-abusing parents.

Though it incorporates elements of family memoir and Native American autoethnography, *The Broken Cord* draws most strongly on the conventions of the memoir of illness or disability. The pathographical convention most decisively shaping *The Broken Cord* is its division into two parts at the point of diagnosis —a kind of classical anagnorisis. Significantly, in Dorris's narrative the anagnorisis involves the narrator/parent, rather than the subject/child, who is oblivious to the problem and indifferent to its amelioration. The crucial turn occurs exactly midway through the book, when Dorris, while observing some clients at Project Phoenix, a clinic for teenagers with "chemical dependencies" in Kyle, South Dakota, experiences a shock of recognition:

> I stared. . . . They could have been Adam's twin brothers. They resembled him in every facial feature, in every gesture, in body type. . . . [T]here was something uncannily familiar to me about these boys. . . . The correspondences seemed too great for mere coincidence; they were not superficial either. The fact that these boys and Adam shared the same ethnic group was far less central to their similarities than was the unmistakable set of fine tunings that transformed disparate individuals in the same general category. Some common denominator was obvious. (137)[8]

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The moment of anagnorisis proves to be a watershed in the narrative. The "diagnosis"—that is, the discovery of the true cause, nature, severity, and intractability of Adam's problems—decisively changes the father-son relationship. While the early chapters focus on Adam's developmental problems, he is portrayed there as a fully individualized character. As is the case in most parental narratives of impaired children, the emphasis is on efforts to maximize his potential despite his limitations. The emphasis, however, begins to shift to what Adam *cannot* do after Dorris and Erdrich adopt other Native American children who exemplify standards that Adam doesn't measure up to (see, for example, pages 120, 127–29).[9] In fact, the book culminates in a litany of things Adam will never understand or appreciate (264). After the moment of "diagnosis," Adam tends to become a type and his story a case history, as Dorris's emphasis shifts to generic (genetic) traits and to larger cultural problems.[10] Evidence of this shift is found in chapter nine, where the book's only photographs offer a multiracial set of images of children damaged by FAS—in effect, a "family" album. Represented explicitly as a synecdoche for a damaged generation, Adam thus becomes the subject of a kind of case study, though in a way that Dorris could not have foreseen when he was questioned, at the beginning of the adoption process, about the connection between his profession and his desire for an Indian child (4).

In most narratives of illness or disability, diagnosis is a positive development. Even if a serious condition is found, there is often relief at *knowing* what is wrong and having one's sense of dysfunction officially validated. At first, this was the case for Dorris. Hitherto he had felt that he and Adam were floundering in uncharted territory:

> Child development books were useless in his case; most of those studies took no note of a child with Adam's history—premature, abused, abandoned, institutionalized, stereotyped, and now ill, all in his first three years. He fell beyond their range of normal precedence and prediction, a wild card for whom anything was possible but nothing was promised. . . . Adam and I, as son and father, were in a land without codified laws. (38)

With the diagnosis, the parents, at least, could now take comfort in a definitive explanation for their son's impairments:

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> It was heartening for us to discover that Adam was not alone, that his collection of disabilities had a name, an explanation, a circle of interested professional researchers. We had a sense of "Aha!" to the gathering body of information. (187)

The usual illness or disability narrative has a comic plot. Diagnosis provides not only an explanation of the past but hope for the future, insofar as it determines a plan of treatment. This was Dorris's initial expectation: "I assumed that when Adam's affliction was given a name, it could be treated; then recovery would commence. It was inconceivable to me that the definitions of my life could change so abruptly and be so out of my control" (26). But Dorris soon found he could glean little hope from his extensive research. Indeed, one authority announces to him rather bluntly that for such children "Nothing works" (138). In the case of FAS, "the simple accumulation of facts, of classifications, of parallel cases yielded ultimately false encouragements. They did not lead to cure or resolution but only to a deepening, hardening conclusion" (188). This discovery that Adam's impairments were both intractable and preventable is crucial, for it explains, though it does not necessarily justify, Dorris's shift of energy and emphasis from saving his own child to preventing further such disabilities. What begins as a project to salvage a damaged and mistreated child becomes a mission to attack Fetal Alcohol Syndrome on a large scale. This diagnosis of a *cultural* pathology inspires Dorris's zeal, but also profoundly affects his narrative's representation of his son.[11] Since the desired comic resolution of the plot can only be achieved on the collective scale, in some sense, Adam's individuality gets sacrificed.

* * * * *

At the outset, the book was not intended to be life writing of any sort, but rather a scholarly investigation of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. In this way Dorris hoped to come to terms with, but also distance himself from, an intimate family matter:

> My interests on the one hand might be focused on Adam, but his unique history was, in a sense, a microcosm of a much larger picture. I had never expected my son to educate me about Indians, but now I thought that perhaps a vigorous examination of certain aspects of recent American Indian experience could lead me to a new, helpful awareness of him. (76)

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As an academic, Dorris could have produced a fairly straightforward social science monograph, but he chose instead to drop the pretense of scholarly detachment and objectivity (which he saw as hypocritical) and to acknowledge his personal stake in his topic—a decision that no doubt won the book many more readers than it would otherwise have had, and made possible its adaptation into an HBO movie in 1992.

While the book is cast as a memoir, insofar as Dorris treats Adam as the representative "Other," *The Broken Cord* is a sort of ethnography. Indeed, since Dorris's investigation of his son's developmental problems takes him far afield, to the place where his son was born, his research involves a quite literal ethnographic scenario, with Dorris functioning as a kind of participant-observer on his son's native reservation. Although Dorris arrived at his destination by a different route, other contemporary anthropologists, questioning the convention—the fiction—of objectivity in traditional ethnography, have been writing ethnography that admits and foregrounds its own mediation, the way in which it is produced by cross-cultural interaction or negotiation. As James Clifford has put it:

> It becomes necessary to conceive of ethnography not as the experience and interpretation of a circumscribed "other" reality, but rather as a constructive negotiation involving at least two, and usually more, conscious, politically significant subjects. Paradigms of experience and interpretation are yielding to discursive paradigms of dialogue and polyphony. ("Authority" 41)

Rather than claiming "ethnographic authority" exclusively for themselves, then, many contemporary ethnographers are now willing to share it, incorporating narratives by their "subjects," giving them a voice as well. This goal is equally desirable for writers dealing with the disabled, for as Susan Wendell has pointed out, disabled people are often constructed as alien:

> As I understand the concept of "the Other," we group [people with disabilities] together as objects of our experience instead of regarding them as subjects of experience with whom we might identify, and we see them primarily as symbolic of something else—usually, but not always, something we reject and fear and project onto them. To the non-disabled, people with disabilities and people with dangerous or incurable

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> illnesses symbolize, among other things, imperfection, failure to control the body, and everyone's vulnerability to weakness, pain, and death. (60)

They are thus subject to some of the same sorts of patronizing representations as ethnic or racial "Others."

To his credit, Dorris attempted to give his subject a voice; unlike most parental memoirs of children with disabilities, *The Broken Cord* includes a narrative by the child.[12] This combination of a parental and a filial narrative represents an additional mixing of genres and makes the book as a whole a collaborative venture. (If we may think of family memoir, because of its double focus, as auto/biography, perhaps we may think of *The Broken Cord* as auto/biography squared, because of the way the two narratives complement each other, with father and son, first and third persons, changing places.) The book, then, is even more generically complex and indeterminate than the typical family memoir, which is written from a single point of view.[13]

The father-son collaboration is presented to us—as it was to Adam—as essentially egalitarian, and insofar as Adam wrote his own story without assistance from his father, his narrative would seem to be a voluntary and autonomous act of self-representation:

> "Look," I suggested. "If I'm going to tell about my life and your life, it would be fair for you to do the same thing. Write down everything you can remember, the good stuff and the bad stuff, and we'll put that in the book too. Then you can tell the story the way you saw it." (197)

While Adam was encouraged to read his father's narrative in progress, Dorris scrupulously avoided editing or rewriting the narrative he elicited from his son, not even reading it until he had nearly completed his own. (Erdrich apparently supervised Adam's project more closely, but judging from the published text, which is riddled with surface errors, she did little or no editing.)

Still, even in these arrangements Dorris assumes the role of the outside expert or anthropological authority—usually a non-native—who enlists in a collaborative life-writing project a native subject not otherwise inclined to generate an autobiography. The result is thus akin to what Arnold Krupat

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calls the "Indian autobiography," which is "jointly produced by some white who translates, transcribes, compiles, edits, interprets, polishes, and ultimately determines the form of the text in writing, and by an Indian who is its subject and whose life becomes the content of the 'autobiography' whose title may bear his name" (30). What is unusual in this instance is that the role of the anthropologist is assumed by a mixed-blood, not a white, and that the "informant" is his own son. The crucial difference from most ethnography, however, is that here the disparity between the two parties is not a difference in race or culture; rather, that disparity is a function of Adam's congenital FAS-related cognitive disabilities, which, though related to patterns of Indian alcohol abuse, are not intrinsic to his cultural heritage. In practice, then, though for very different reasons than those operating in most earlier texts, this book's production involved the sort of asymmetrical collaboration typical of ethnographic auto/biography, in which the editor inevitably exercises cultural authority over his subject.

Aware of the potential for exploitation in publishing the story of his son's disability, Dorris went to considerable lengths to secure Adam's authorization for, and cooperation in, the book's production:

> As an anthropologist I was sensitive to the matter of informed consent: I did not want Adam, because of any lack of understanding of what publication meant, to agree that this book reveal material he would rather keep under wraps. But how could I explain to him, who rarely read, that total strangers would thumb through a version of our lives—our weaknesses as well as our strengths—and draw conclusions we might not like to hear? (197)

Such gestures, however sincere, could not ensure that Adam's consent would be *truly* informed. Indeed, Dorris admitted as much in an essay written after the death of his son. Adam "was passively agreeable to this idea, just as he would have been if I had proposed we move to Mars, eat only peanut butter, or go live in a cave" ("Power" 114). In any case, the parents' testimony about Adam's intellectual disabilities (Erdrich's in her foreword, Dorris's in the main narrative) is at odds with their insistence that he was a fully consenting participant in this project. Just as he seemed incapable of adjusting his appearance in everyday life to the expectations of others, he could not fully imagine,

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and thus could not censor, the way he was being presented to a reading public.

Moreover, this book reverses the conventional proportions of the ethnographic auto/biography; here the biographical narrative dwarfs the autobiographical one. Unhappily, then, Adam is assigned the traditional role of the "native informant," while Dorris assumes the role of the anthropologist who contextualizes, historicizes, and interprets his testimony. That Dorris is himself part Indian—and the adoptive father of his "informant"—does not prevent him from reenacting a scenario now seen as implicated in cultural imperialism, in which the Western editor controls the representation of the Native subject.

What is tendered as autonomous self-representation—"The Story of Adam Dorris by Adam Dorris"—is in effect mediated in ways the putative autobiographer cannot understand or control. In this case, the subject is put at a disadvantage not so much by his culture or his age and filial status as by his disability. Despite Dorris's noble intentions and understandable zeal, then, he produced a book in which disability assumes the traditional role of race or ethnicity in defining the Other in anthropological discourse. Although he did elicit Adam's testimony, that testimony serves mainly to corroborate Dorris's characterization of Adam in the narrative that precedes and introduces it. Adam's text is contained and defined by his father's: in spite of the book's autobiographical dimensions, Dorris seems to have arrogated authority in ways reminiscent of "colonial" ethnography.

Indeed, his book even inscribes the "theme of the vanishing primitive" that has characterized much ethnography. It is a convention of ethnography, according to James Clifford, to claim that the culture in question is disappearing from the face of the earth even as it being recorded on the page. The "allegory of salvage," with its "theme of the vanishing primitive," has had the effect—presumably unintentional but nonetheless destructive—of diverting attention from the actual historical condition to the static textual residue of "vanishing" peoples ("Allegory" 112–13). The dynamics of this book are ostensibly different because the narrative so strenuously calls for political action to save Native American culture. It is a prophetic autobiography in the sense that it at once predicts and attempts to prevent a communal catastrophe. Projecting the effect of FAS

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over generations, Dorris envisions a kind of catastrophe more terrible, because self-inflicted, than those already visited on indigenous Americans (183).

According to Dorris, the very nature of FAS makes the future especially problematic. One of Adam's most frustrating deficiencies was that "He could not . . . project himself into the future. . . . He existed in the present tense, with occasional reference to past precedent" (201). Insofar as he is representative of a whole generation of Native American children, the implications are grim. Thus, Dorris's discovery that his son is "a microcosm of a much larger picture" (76) leads him finally to a view of the Native American predicament that is no less apocalyptic than that of *Black Elk Speaks*. Indeed, one of the aspects of *The Broken Cord* that connects it to *Black Elk Speaks* is that both express powerful visions of the disappearance of Native American culture. As Elizabeth Cook-Lynn has noted (11), Dorris's "broken cord" echoes Black Elk's "broken sacred hoop," but in its echo of "umbilical cord," Dorris's title seems more biological than cultural in reference. Though Dorris reminds readers periodically that "FAS is an equal opportunity affliction" (152), he focuses mainly on its causes and effects on the reservation.[14] Here, however, the crisis for Native American culture is not situated in the past, where it might be the excuse for self-indulgent pathos in the reader, as in *Black Elk Speaks*, but in the imminent future—hence the need for energetic action to avert it.

*The Broken Cord* aspires to literal rather than allegorical salvage, then; it seeks to provoke interventions in a scenario which, if not disrupted, will result in the extinction of cultures that are tenuous survivors of previous catastrophes. Dorris does not, however, fully escape the problem of the ethnographic allegory of salvage—its tendency to establish or perpetuate a relationship of dependency between the culture that writes and the culture that is written. Such ethnography implies or assumes that the "primitive" culture is weak and needs to be represented by another. In the case of *The Broken Cord*, the implication is that Native American culture, at least on reservations, requires the expertise and intervention of outsiders, as well as a reassertion of its own collective will, to survive the current crisis.

Dorris's apocalyptic scenario has been faulted on various grounds.[15] My concern, however, is for the relation between

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Dorris's call for extreme remedies to prevent catastrophe and his representation of, and collaboration with, an impaired son. This concern has two dimensions pertinent to the ethics of the representation of people with disabilities generally. The first has to do with Adam as the *object* of representation—the textual Other, the embodiment of the condition in question. For in *The Broken Cord* Adam and others like him are represented as sub- or barely human. Thus, one authority is quoted as saying: "I feel for those children. They'll never be . . . they'll never be *humans*, I guess, as we know humans, because they've never been given that chance" (168). And Dorris himself laments of Adam: "By all evidence, he had been deprived of the miracle of transcendent imagination, a complex grace that was the quintessence of being human" (167). Dorris claims that his presentation at a scholarly conference on FAS of his experience trying to raise Adam had the desirable effect of putting a single human face on a problem hitherto represented anonymously and statistically (243), but the trend of the latter half of the narrative is to do the opposite—to obscure Adam's face behind a diagnostic label. Adam's ultimate function in the text is to serve as a personification of a population whose inherent limitations may doom them. He becomes the poster child for a preventable disabling condition, a poster whose implicit caption is "*Not* Wanted."

One of the saddest aspects of this heartbreaking book is that the language used by the father to describe his son echoes that used by colonizers to describe recalcitrant "primitive" people. That the language is not part of a rationale or rationalization of subjection, but rather of discourse intended to be liberatory, makes a significant difference, but the parallels are uncomfortable all the same. The book functions to project Dorris's frustration with his son onto a whole people. With the population of reservation Indians, as with his adopted son, Dorris's patience gives way to angry scolding and vain attempts at discipline. Paternal disappointment with his son turns into backlash against "his kind" for being hopelessly backward, incapable of improvement. A distinction between the human and the nonhuman is mapped onto a distinction between normality and disability, which in turn is in danger of being mapped onto a traditionally racial or ethnic distinction between the "civilized" and the "savage." The implications of Dorris's

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book are such that parental memoir and Native American autoethnography threaten to become what we might call ethnopathography.

This is not to impugn Dorris's motives nor his book's significance in bringing overdue attention to a serious problem. Rather, it is to point out the persistence in his book of a kind of discourse that has often worked to the disadvantage of minorities in the past. In his reformist zeal Dorris risks further stigmatizing disadvantaged members of his own community as degenerate, a people whose abuse of alcohol is both an identifying ethnic trait and tantamount to collective suicide (93).[16] More to the point here, it threatens to characterize people with disabilities as a literally inhuman, unredeemable population.

My second concern with the book's representation of disability has to do with Adam as its *consumer*, for both parents insist that Adam read the book in manuscript. What would it be like, I wonder, to read a narrative that describes people like you as not quite human and that is devoted explicitly to preventing the future (re)production of people like yourself. If, as I have argued, Adam was unequipped to anticipate the implications of his representation, then perhaps he also wouldn't have been hurt by what he read. The book's tendency to write off his "kind" may have gone over his head, and in fact in a later essay, Dorris recalls his son's apparent inability to remember the book at all ("Fetal" 98–99). But to argue this is to use the extremity of his impairment to justify the ethics of his (mis)representation—a principle that falls short of the golden rule that Dorris uses to condemn the behavior of pregnant women who consume alcohol (*Broken Cord* 208).

The problem appears in miniature in Erdrich's Foreword, which contains the following passage:

> If one story of FAS could be made accessible and real, it might just stop someone, somewhere, from producing another alcohol-stunted child.
>
> Adam does not read with great ease, but he has pressed himself to read this story. He has reacted to it with fascination, and he has agreed to its publication. (xiii)

This is intended, obviously, to justify the narrative, but one wonders whether Adam read *this* passage, and if so, how he would have responded to its implicit characterization of him.

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Such concerns are not idle. Erdrich goes on to tell how, after she had exclaimed to him in a moment of frustration, "Don't call me Mom," Adam literally refrained from doing so for months, and how their reconciliation took years. Thus, she prefaces what might be read as a parental narrative of disenchantment and disaffection with a story showing how vulnerable Adam was to feeling rejected (xiv–xvi).

It is important to recognize how Dorris's narrative differs in its political dynamics from most parental narratives of disabled children. In most such texts, the narrator's political and parental functions are one. The narrator's role as advocate of children with disabilities is an extension and enhancement of his or her role as parent. But in this case, as *narrator*, Dorris does not function as an advocate of his impaired child. His politics are a function—but not an extension—of his role as a parent, which is largely confined to his role as a *character*.[17] This divergence between parenting and politics is explained, but not entirely justified, by the fact that his child's disability is preventable. As Susan Wendell has noted with reference to the issue of the selective abortion of "defective" fetuses, "Knowing that your society is doing everything possible to prevent people with bodies like yours from being born is bound to make you feel as though you are not valued and do not really belong, especially when there are so many attitudes and conditions in the society that derogate and/or exclude you" (153–54). Such attitudes characterize Dorris's narrative after the diagnosis, when the emphasis shifts from dealing with Adam's problems to preventing their proliferation in the world, and particularly in Indian nations, where it seems to threaten Indian ethnicity by dilution of the racial stock—the sort of claim typically made by eugenicists. To put this another way, Dorris's politics give him an interest in presenting his son's condition in the worst possible light.

* * * * *

Reviews of this book generally ignored Adam's own narrative, "The Adam Dorris Story by Adam Dorris," as though it were a mere appendix. Such readings effectively silence the marginalized son. Though brief, his narrative makes a unique contribution to the book—and to autobiographical literature generally—in part because of its defects as narrative, which

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reflect Adam's compromised literacy. Still, a careful reading of it may to some degree recuperate his subjectivity.

In his study of *Narrative and the Self*, Anthony Paul Kerby sets out as a tenet of poststructuralist thought that "a self arises out of signifying practices rather than existing prior to them as autonomous or Cartesian agent" (1). In fact, Kerby goes so far as to claim that "persons are such only if (among other things) they can be considered to have a history, a history of acts and involvements" (35). Since according to Dorris's reports Adam generally fails to make connections between past, present, and future, he has no history in Kerby's sense—at least, little sense of his own life as a story he can plot. Insofar as the self is the product, and implied subject, of an internal autobiographical narrative, Adam seems to have little sense of self; according to Dorris, "he doesn't ask who he is, or why" (264).

Up to a point, the evidence of Adam's written narrative corroborates his father's image of him as lacking a developed sense of identity or a unique linear history. Although he was about twenty years old when he wrote his story, Adam's control of narrative is minimal. The point of view is very immature, characterized by little interpretation or introspection. The things he remembers are the sorts of events a child remembers—parties, accidents and injuries, trips, visits to the zoo, and so on—or that are brought back to him by family photos. There is little that is vividly concrete, and there is even less of a superstructure that binds events in meaningful sequences; transitions are largely associational. At one point in his narrative, he repeats the story of his getting lost on the way home from school during a sojourn in New Zealand, in effect reenacting his disorientation in the world by getting lost in his story. His lack of narrative control suggests minimal familiarity with autobiographical narrative of any sort—written, oral, or interior. "The Story of Adam Dorris" is thus disturbing in the extent to which it fails to become meaningfully autobiographical.

At the same time, the narrative offers a perspective that complements his father's in significant ways. It is a relief, though hardly a consolation, to see that Adam does not perceive himself as deprived and thus does not suffer the way his parents do. From Adam's point of view, the concerns of his father—with work habits, personal appearance, academic accomplishment, and so on—seem like peculiar and irrelevant obsessions. Indeed,

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in Adam's narrative, Michael Dorris comes across as somewhat authoritarian, lacking in sensitivity or patience. A bit of a nag, Superdad is no hero to his son. This is refreshing, at least insofar as it suggests that Adam is not tormented, as his father is, by what he might have been, by his lack of friends, and so on. But even as his narrative's defects demonstrate the severity of his limitations, his story also evinces a distinct, if undeveloped, subjectivity.

Significantly, the single sustained episode in Adam's narrative involving Dorris as a character has to do with a back injury. Almost as if to answer his father's characterization of him as impaired, here Adam captures his father in a temporary state of dependency and impotence—literally flat on his back. In this portrayal of his father as infirm or invalid, vulnerable to bodily failure, there seems to be an element of schadenfreude, if not unconscious revenge or oedipal struggle. In this way, at least, Adam's narrative does succeed in countering his father's. It answers, even as it echoes, his words. For all of its limitations —which largely confirm his father's reluctant conclusions about him—it may embody a kind of resistance to paternal and paternalistic discourse. In this sense, the book as a whole does achieve a kind of bivocalism rare in parental memoirs, which are typically parental monologues. If self-narration, as Kerby argues, "is what first raises our temporal existence out of the closets of memorial traces and routine and unthematic activity, constituting thereby a self as its implied subject" (109), then it may be that by giving Adam the opportunity and motive for this experiment in autobiography, Dorris helped him achieve a stronger sense of identity than he hitherto felt. Giving his adopted son some textual territory of his own was in some ways an enabling act.

As the book's main author, however, Dorris literally has the last word. And his hand is evident in the placement, at the end of Adam's story, of a boxed notice of a foundation to which contributions can be sent to support research on Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. The book then concludes with a brief epilogue, footnotes, and a bibliography. The effect of this framing apparatus is to reduce Adam—again—to a case or an exhibit. Ultimately, then, Dorris's voice, with the authority of age and of parental and professorial status, dominates his son's. Adam's story may supply the book's last full chapter, but surrounded

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by his father's texts, it functions finally less as complement or counterdiscourse to his father's narrative than as a corroboration of it. Though bivocal, the book is not fully dialogical. The two voices speak eloquently to us in their very different ways, but they do not engage in a sustained or meaningful dialogue with each other.

* * * * *

As we have seen, *The Broken Cord* is generically quite complex. It draws on a rather broad range of genres, including family memoir, autoethnography, ethnography, and pathography. This mixture of various life-writing genres, however, finally generates a mixed message. In its desperate attempt to get attention—and to exorcise Dorris's own conflicted feelings about his adopted son—the book echoes rather than revises traditional inscriptions of race and disability. Its claim that Adam gave informed consent to the project is not justified, and the book serves finally as a negative model of the representation of people with disabilities. Concern for disability should, as Susan Wendell argues, address a number of ways in which disability is socially constructed. One is quite literal: "social conditions that cause or fail to prevent damage to people's bodies." Others include "cultural representations, failures of representation, and expectations [inappropriate standards of performance]" (45). Dorris's passionate concern for the first way evidently blinded him to the others. His discovery of how Native American alcoholism impairs children caused him to ignore or underestimate the ways in which eugenicist discourse dehumanizes people with disabilities. His public advocacy on behalf of Native Americans involved damaging representations of people with disabilities, personified by his impaired adopted son.

A sad postscript to *The Broken Cord* is that Abel Dorris died several years after the book's publication, on September 22, 1992, at the age of twenty-three, after being hit by a car while walking on a freeway ramp. For me, Dorris's most affectionate and moving writing about his son is found in the 1993 essay, "The Power of Love," which recounts his vigil over the unconscious body of his injured son in the hospital. As Abel lay mute, Dorris continued to address him, in a final series of one-way conversations:

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> It was hard not to talk to Abel, even though I didn't know if he could hear me. I had put words in his mouth so often over the years that the process came naturally. I supplied the questions, and I provided the right answers. . . . I kept apologizing for my constant failures of kindness or understanding, and he, as he surely would have done, kept forgiving me. I kept exhorting him to get better, he kept promising to try his best. (115)

Here, in a sense, is *The Broken Cord* in microcosm, with the father ventriloquizing his impaired son. Yet in this short posthumous text, the father's pleas for reconciliation and his awareness of having spoken too readily for his son supply a dimension too often missing in the book itself. Here, as it was before Abel's devastating diagnosis, Dorris's concern is with his son's welfare as an individual rather than his significance as a case of a preventable disability. Thus, the posthumous essay is not so much a synecdoche of the book as a confessional coda to it, in which Dorris tries to repair his relationship with his son even as he tries to will him to survive.

## NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I would like to acknowledge the helpful suggestions offered by Rosemarie Garland Thomson and Sabina Sawhney when this essay was in draft.

1. The news of Michael Dorris's suicide in the spring of 1997 was followed almost immediately by the revelation of allegations of child abuse made against him in the course of the disintegration of his marriage to Louise Erdrich. In the wake of these events, I am concerned that, insofar as it takes issue with Dorris's representation of his son in *The Broken Cord*, this essay may be seen as an attempt to exploit Dorris's death and to take sides in the posthumous debate carried out in the news media over his conduct. On the contrary, this essay was first conceived and drafted years ago in response to my troubled reaction to *The Broken Cord* when I first read it soon after it was published. It is in no way intended to offer credence to any of the allegations about Dorris.

   Though this highly praised and widely reviewed book has attracted some criticism—see Cook-Lynn, Stange, and Vizenor—my main concern here is its relation to the developing discourse of disability, which no one to my knowledge has previously addressed.

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2. To afford his son, whose real name was Abel, a measure of privacy, Dorris referred to him in *The Broken Cord* as Adam. For the sake of consistency with the text, I will call him Adam as well, except in the final short section, where I refer to an essay written after he died, in which his father uses his real name.

3. In the case of Adam Dorris, adoption created a rupture in his life narrative. From the father's perspective, and so from Adam's, his first three years remained an impenetrable blank. This is one reason that Adam's first memory, with which his narrative begins, is of his first meeting with Dorris, his prospective father, at a foster home in South Dakota. Of course, "open" adoption—in which all participants know each others' identities—helps to resolve this problem, to repair this narrative lacuna.

4. The reracination impulse is also displayed in Dorris's account of dressing up his adopted children to dance at a powwow in Hanover, to which Dorris wore a kind of pan-Indian costume (114).

5. For an angry critique from a Lakota perspective of adoption outside of the tribal community, see Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's review of *The Broken Cord* (15–16), first published in *Wicazo Sa Review*, then reprinted in her recent collection, *Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner*.

6. Lionnet's example is Zora Neale Hurston's *Dust Tracks on a Road*. Michael Fischer has discussed a similar kind of autobiography, offering as examples Maxine Hong Kingston's *Woman Warrior*, Michael Arlen's *Passage to Ararat*, and Marita Golden's *Migrations of the Heart*.

7. The book thus takes on the character of a conversion narrative. His anagnorisis halfway through the book involves a shift from confidence in nurture to belief in nature; from political liberalism—the idea that oppression is entirely to blame for the degradation of reservation communities—to something resembling neo-conservatism; from "theoretical explanations" (102) and ivory-tower detachment to political activism and crusade; from affirmation of the "politically correct *right* of individual choice . . . a self-serving cultural apology that each person was beyond reproach even for destructive behavior that extended to babies" (102–03) to the idea that individual (maternal) behavior is the proximate cause that has to be addressed.

8. Gerald Vizenor has commented acerbically on this aspect of *The Broken Cord*. In the 1989 version of "Firewater and Phrenology," he denounced Dorris's association of the facial characteristics of FAS children with characterological traits as a kind of twentieth-century phrenology (315–16). Though Vizenor labeled such "social science revelations" "the technologies of racial politics" (316), the distinction Dorris draws is explicitly not a racial one. Rather, it has to do with genetic traits that cut across racial lines. Although

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the language is reminiscent of eugenicism, those it threatens are not a racial minority, but people with visible congenital impairments.

9. An irony of this aspect of the book is that the two other adopted children were also affected by maternal alcoholism. They, however, exhibited the lesser disability known as Fetal Alcohol Effect (FAE). Part of the subtext of *The Broken Cord*, then, is that Adam represents an extreme version of a condition shared by all three children Dorris and Erdrich adopted.

10. Or as Dorris himself put it in an essay written after his son died: "When at last I accepted that I could not affect my by now grown son's life, I elected, instead, to document it. If he could not contribute to society by his actions, then, I reasoned, let him act as example, as a flesh and blood object lesson against the dangers of drinking alcohol during pregnancy" ("Power" 114).

11. In its moral fervor, its desire to end the conditions it describes, the book recalls abolitionist slave narratives in which a white editor introduces, authenticates, and interprets a narrative written by a slave. Indeed, Dorris's reference to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (77) suggests that he saw himself at first as having rescued Adam from a form of slavery. Eventually, however, he came to think that Adam was forever in thrall to his alcoholic birth mother. As for Adam's own account, instead of the comic plot of the slave narrative, we get a plotless narrative whose very deficiencies as life writing make the editor's point: Adam cannot "have" a life.

12. Another interesting exception is *Deaf Like Me*, by Thomas S. Spradley and James Spradley, a parental memoir of a deaf child. It was originally published in 1978, when Lynn Spradley was quite young. Later, one of her teachers at a school for the deaf brought the book to her attention; after reading it, she contributed an epilogue for the 1985 edition.

13. An additional complication lies in the fact that, beyond her contribution of a separate foreword, Louise Erdrich functioned as her husband's collaborator both as mother to Adam and as reconstructor, if not coauthor, of the story. The extent of her involvement in the writing of *The Broken Cord* is not clear, but Erdrich and Dorris typically characterized themselves as collaborators in all their writing, and the book is dedicated to "Louise, who shares this story[,] who joined me in its living and telling" (v).

14. In later pieces, such as "Fetal Alcohol Syndrome: A Parent's Perspective," Dorris was careful to emphasize that FAS was not a "Native American" problem but a global one.

15. In "The Broken Self," Margit Stange has faulted Dorris's rhetoric of "epidemic" and "race suicide." Since reproduction is the means

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of passing on Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, an "epidemic" requires a rise in the overall birth rate or in the proportion of FAS births. Thus, "genocide" must "mean not a decrease in the number of persons belonging to the race but a decrease in the absolute amount of the abstract racial essence" (129). The number of Native Americans may be increasing, but there is less Native Americanness left in the world. In addition, Stange has faulted Dorris's writing on Fetal Alcohol Syndrome for misogyny:

> For Dorris and other writers on Native American struggles, this notion of alcoholic disease as a legacy passed on by the female bearers of children has enabled an etiology of Native American distress in which woman is both the medium of infection and, through her sexuality and fertility, an infectious agent in her own right. (127)

The problem, as Stange sees it, is that pregnant women are singled out for scrutiny and blame, with too little attention to the social, cultural, and economic factors that encourage alcoholism among Native Americans. One consequence is that some of the "remedies" —sterilization of alcoholic women of childbearing age—would seem to be more truly genocidal than the "epidemic" of FAS. Stange characterizes Dorris's response to the problem as a "fantasy of the restoration of the true racial self by the excision of women from the racial body" (134). Elizabeth Cook-Lynn has voiced a related critique, arguing that Dorris did not give enough attention or credence to approaches to FAS that build on indigenous cultural values (14–15).

16. His advocacy of harsh preventive measures, such as the incarceration of pregnant alcoholic women, is inconsistent with the popular liberal view of Native Americans as victims of white oppression. Calling for communal responsibility and individual self-control, he risks being excoriated as a traitor to his people, a kind of Uncle Tomahawk. And in fact Gerald Vizenor has taken issue with Dorris (and Erdrich) on this count: "Indeed, alcohol is a poison, but must tribal women bear once more the moral burdens of manifest manners? Must tribal women bear the burdens for the distribution of beverage alcohol and the excise revenues of the sale of alcohol? The 'internment' of poor tribal women would be an autocratic salvation for the moral crimes of a nation" ("Postindian Warriors" 31; see also his "Firewater and Phrenology" 313 ff.).
17. For more positive examples of parental narratives of children with disabilities, see Spradley and Spradley, which has to do with a deaf daughter; West, which concerns a daughter who is deaf and brain damaged; and Bérubé, which concerns a son with Down syndrome.

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# Biography and Autobiography in Eliza Butler's *Sheridan, A Ghost Story*

*Sandra J. Peacock*

In recent years, scholars have analyzed, deconstructed, and criticized biographers' motives and methods.[1] To some theorists, the biographer's presence in a work is so pervasive that the subject must inevitably emerge as a projection of the author. This intimate connection, for good or ill, between biographer and subject is axiomatic, and many authors have explored the origins of their interest in particular figures.[2] Other theorists focus on form rather than content, privileging rhetoric and structure over mere facts.[3] A study of an unusual and neglected biographer, Eliza Marian Butler (1885–1959), affords an opportunity to explore both approaches simultaneously.

Butler's most innovative book was an unconventional biography of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish playwright, manager of Drury Lane Theatre, and Member of Parliament. *Sheridan, A Ghost Story* (1931) illustrates Butler's idiosyncratic approach to the study of the past, her attempt to create a new narrative form for biography, and the connection between her own life and her view of Sheridan. Examining *Sheridan* simultaneously with Butler's autobiography, *Paper Boats* (1959), reveals a lively interplay between biographer and subject; the Sheridan who emerges has a remarkable resemblance to Butler herself. Further, if it is true that "what gives biography its impact," as Ira Nadel suggests, is "the linguistic expression, narrative technique and mythical elements employed by the author to tell [her] story"(115), Butler's *Sheridan* also serves as an intriguing example of the force of rhetoric on the act of lifewriting.

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A scholar of German literature and much else, Butler was educated at Newnham College, Cambridge, and taught German there from 1921 until 1935.[4] After nine years at Manchester, she returned to Cambridge in 1945 as the Schroeder Professor of German. Despite her linguistic and literary training, she always had more in common with historians and biographers than with literary critics, for her focus remained with the person behind a work. The elusiveness of the creative individual vexed her, making her characterization of Sheridan's life as a "ghost story" only partly metaphorical. Biographers can relate to her sense of frustration.

In the late 1920s, when Butler was a Newnham Fellow teaching German, someone at Longmans Publishing Company suggested that she write a biography of Sheridan. When she submitted her manuscript, however, the editors objected to its two-part narrative structure, "the first describing the unsuccessful hunt for 'the real Sheridan' in libraries and elsewhere, the second showing the real Sheridan vanishing during his lifetime." Deciding she was "incapable of dealing with him in any other way," Butler "sent the book to Constable, who liked it as it was" and published it in 1931 (*Paper Boats* 120). A remarkably sensitive and nuanced, essentially psychobiographical study of "the real Sheridan" as Butler perceived him, the book nevertheless distracts the reader with breathless prose and a narrative structure so playful it nearly obscures her shrewd observations on Sheridan's life and character.

The theme of "disappearing" dominates the narrative. Butler begins with a survey of "Sheridan's Posthumous Life," summarizing the existing literature and savaging virtually all previous efforts at a biography. "It would indeed be hard," she concludes, "to recall anyone so unfortunate as Sheridan in his biographers; nor would it be easy to find a more dissatisfied set of critics than these same authors on the subject of each others' attempts" (*Sheridan* 26). She then turns on the "anthologists" of Sheridan's *bon mots*, who had reduced him to a crafter of one-liners, arguing that "the squibs, the rockets, the catherine-wheels obscure the figure behind" (119). Butler viewed Sheridan's wit as an increasingly heavy burden on an essentially tragic figure. Haunted by a fear of death after losing his mother while a young child, she argues that he grew steadily unhappier throughout his life (120-22). Finally, Butler insists that existing

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records of parliamentary debate, which contain only summaries of speeches, also fail to yield the "real Sheridan," who delivered some memorable orations during his parliamentary career: "Ghost humour and ghost wit . . . permeate Sheridan's reported speeches" (124).

The problem with Sheridan lay not in a paucity of documents, for in addition to his literary works and unpublished correspondence, many memoirs of his contemporaries existed. But Butler finds that evidence unsatisfactory as well: "The references are fairly numerous and often quite detailed," yet "vaguely uninteresting, uninspiring and flat," suggesting that even "Discriminating and intelligent observers" generally "failed when it came to Sheridan." Butler's most formidable challenge, however, was her subject himself. "Sheridan has spoken," she notes, "He has done what he could." But, "Even in the written monuments he has left, he has proved himself elusive." Butler then declares that "one can only deduce something peculiarly elusive in his essential spirit, which could be felt and labeled 'fascinating', but which was not easy to describe" (57). Or, as she less optimistically concludes, "The real Sheridan has disappeared for ever" (144).

If Butler had really believed that, however, presumably she would have thrown her manuscript into the Newnham incinerator—as she had already done with parts of manuscripts editors deemed extraneous (*Paper Boats* 100). Instead, she reexamined Sheridan's comedies for deeper meanings. Rather than conducting a close textual analysis, she focuses on "the line of his artistic development; for life alters perspectives, producing tell-tale modifications in matter and style which may disclose some fundamental characteristic" (82). While admiring Sheridan's youthful genius as a dramatist, Butler acknowledges that aside from his comedies, little else remained. This, however, would prove enough for her purposes.

Throughout the second section of the biography, Butler marshals evidence of Sheridan's essentially tragic character. She cites a letter in which he muses on the relative merits of public success and private happiness. His conclusion might strike us as strange. Although people "declaim against the pursuits of an ambition, and the expectation of happiness in the scenes of public life," Sheridan "found there a surer foundation to build on" than was available in "private enjoyments." "True ambition

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can never be disappointed," Sheridan argues, because the enjoyments of the public sphere "will ever depend upon ourselves, and our own abilities," while private enjoyments "can exist but on the verge of accident, and others' caprice." Sheridan concludes, "Death cannot touch the object of the one. The other must live a slave to the dread of his dart" (171–72). And Butler concludes, "The fear of what death could do to him in life had entered into his mind and was henceforward a part of it. Sheridan was already prophesying the course he would shape in order to circumvent the foe" (172).

Butler celebrates comedy as humanity's noble attempt to stave off the overwhelming sense of grief that dominates our experience:

> Between the cradle and the grave there will be many occasions for laughter, but the keynote of our existence is grief. . . . We are not responsible for tragedy; we have not created it; but this sombre, heart-shaking glory is the medium in which we live. . . . We can boast that comedy is a purely human product. (78–79)

Applying this insight to Sheridan, Butler compares the "chorus" of *The School for Scandal* to a Greek tragic chorus, suggesting that it evokes a sense of danger. Butler also emphasizes the striking significance of Sheridan's last comedy, *The Critic* (1779), which deals with the antagonism between critic and artist, and which Butler sees as Sheridan's attempt to "annihilate" tragedy "by mirth":

> a piece of recklessness in the manager of Drury Lane, which positively makes one gasp. He must indeed have been the victim of a tormenting "complex" on the subject of tragedy, to dare this savage onslaught on an important source of receipts for a treasury which was never full enough for his needs. (90)

During his brief period of artistic productivity, Sheridan began to achieve his goal of public success, and in this way triumphed over his fear of death. Yet Butler traces the beginnings of his "disappearance" to 1776, when he became manager of the Drury Lane Theatre, "where he reigned as absolute king" (38). Even in this public role, however, he proves to be a shadowy figure, "almost impossible to run to earth and a hopeless person

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to collar" (42). As many memoirs of his contemporaries noted, Sheridan's talent for disappearing dominated his tenure as manager:

> They would besiege his door for hours at a time, only to see him hastening down the stairs, his head beautifully dressed, his fine eyes expressing penitence, his charming voice calling out irresistible apologies for his neglect and promising amendment in the future. Then he vanished, leaving them enchanted for one moment, and in a furious rage the next, since none of their grievances had been settled and the "provoking wretch" had disappeared again. Absence was the main impression he produced on the actors' minds: absence of cash; absence of every quality a manager ought to have; and no possibility of obtaining redress on account of his absence in the flesh. (42)

Small wonder, then, that most actors, when writing about Sheridan, "generally remembered him only to note that he was not there" (43).

Sheridan disappeared even more during the 1780s, when he retreated from art into politics. Butler attributes his flight to a series of deaths in his wife's family. When Elizabeth's siblings, "who stood for poetry, music and laughter" began to die, "Sheridan remembered his early resolves, and turned his thoughts toward ambition." In *The Critic*, "this unorthodox manager made merciless fun of the whole organisation over which he presided, delivering particularly cruel thrusts at tragedy, for tragedy meant death" (185–86). When, however, Elizabeth herself died in 1792, fate in the form of tragedy "entered his life": "he had represented it as utter nonsense, and it turned and rent his heart" (93). His next play, a melodrama entitled *Pizarro*, "had nothing to do with art," and "that he could bring himself to take seriously a play embodying in a most glaring manner all those faults he had scourged in *The Critic* is susceptible of no satisfactory explanation" (93)—except perhaps of penance. Although audiences flocked to performances of *Pizarro*, in Butler's view, with its production in 1799, "aesthetically speaking, Sheridan committed suicide" (257).

Defeated by tragedy despite his heroic efforts, Sheridan at this point severed his ties with the artist and embraced politics. Butler could not forgive him for abandoning art: "the real

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Sheridan had quitted the field, leaving his double in possession" (230). She dismisses his political career, arguing that Parliament did not need him:

> Sheridan's business in life was infinitely more important. He was intended . . . to interpret the life of his age for posterity in terms of undying art. The country is always in danger, but true artists reck little of that; life . . . is their real concern. (197–98)

By "deserting art for business and politics," Sheridan was "tragically rejecting a very unusual gift, evading the spiritual discipline which it would have enforced and which might have conquered his almost irresistible aversion for pain and grief" (305). According to Butler, "that first pain of art" was his downfall: "The real Sheridan began to disappear from that moment onwards" (306). Had he been stronger, he would have realized that "the assaults of grief" were also "the agonies of dissolution which accompany the rending pangs of birth." "Could he but have endured them," Butler was convinced that "the real Sheridan would have re-emerged, however altered, however aged" (229). Instead, Sheridan evaded responsibility for so long and so assiduously that "he became a hunted fugitive, fleeing not only from others, but also from himself" (305–06).[5]

* * * * *

Butler's approach to Sheridan's history bears the imprint of three literary influences. *Sheridan* resonates with Henry James' unfinished novel, *The Sense of the Past*, in which a young American historian, Ralph Pendrel, inherits an old house in London from a distant relative who had read and admired his book, *An Essay in Aid of the Reading of History*. A figure in retreat from the present, Pendrel seeks the past as a lived reality. His desire "to recover the lost moment, to feel the stopped pulse," was driven by a desire "to be again consciously the creature that had been, to breathe as he had breathed and feel the pressure that he had felt." Pendrel "wanted the very tick of the old stopped clocks" (48–49). After claiming his legacy, Pendrel becomes so absorbed by the house's—and his ancestors'—history that he literally steps into the past, changing places with an early nineteenth-century relation. Pendrel initially steps easily into his ancestor's place, but his lack of intimate

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knowledge of a complicated family situation leads him to make mistakes, and the situation grows more sinister as the family's suspicions deepen. At this point, the manuscript ends.

Butler was very familiar with the James novel, even employing selected passages to introduce the sections of the Sheridan biography. The two quotations she chooses both serve to heighten the feeling of something vaguely uncanny in her own "sense of the past." The following exchange between Ralph Pendrel and the American Ambassador in London, whom Pendrel has chosen as his confidante, appears at the beginning of Part I, "Sheridan's Posthumous Life":

> "What it comes to then," the Ambassador considered in all apparent sympathy . . . "is that I and my contemporaries *are* his Future."
>
> Ralph accepted the conclusion. "It would come to that if he could get into relation with you." (104)

To begin Part II, Butler quotes a briefer passage referring to Pendrel's initial uneasiness about his enterprise. Before he travels into the past, he must get acquainted with the house. He explores reluctantly at first. The house dates from the early eighteenth century, and "It was positively as if with the cup so held to his lips, the taste of 1710 might prove too stiff a dose" (69). Both passages focus attention on the eerie elements of the James story rather than on what might be called its meta-historical dimension. Nevertheless Pendrel's ideas about historical research do seem to parallel Butler's own.

Pendrel wonders whether "his taste for 'research,' which was more personally his passion for the past," had perhaps "transmuted" him. His desire was for "evidence of a sort for which there had never been documents enough, or for which documents mainly, however multiplied, would never *be* enough" (49). Such evidence could, however, only be gathered by someone willing "to remount the stream of time, ready to bathe in its upper and more natural waters, to risk even, as he might say, drinking of them" (47–48). Pendrel, in short, wants to experience and understand the past as lived reality, rather than as factual narrative.

It is probable, however, that an adaptation of *The Sense of the Past*, John Balderston's play *Berkeley Square*, was an even more profound influence than James' novel. First performed in

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London in 1925, the play was quickly grabbed up by provincial companies, making the chances that Butler saw or at least heard about the play quite good. The title, *Berkeley Square*, would have either drawn her or sparked her memory, since Sheridan once lived in Bruton Street off Berkeley Square (Sichel 536–37). More condensed and far less cerebral than the novel, Balderston's play dispenses with James' long passages on the emotional lure of the past, and foregrounds the eerier elements of his novel. Even more significantly, the main character is no longer the historian Ralph Pendrel but the architect Peter Standish. Though the house was an eighteenth-century structure, James placed the action in 1820, a time which, Leon Edel persuasively argues, had a great personal resonance for James (*Henry James* 329–31). Balderston instead transports Standish back to the eighteenth century, offering as one of its attractions the opportunity to "see Sheridan at the first night of *The School for Scandal*" (Balderston 30). But unlike Ralph Pendrel, who at least at first blended effortlessly into the past, Peter Standish immediately arouses suspicion by behaving as a twentieth-century person, revealing his contempt for the past.

In her introduction, Butler seeks to clarify her own relation to the past by explicitly drawing on the work of a third, earlier literary figure, Hans Christian Anderson. Butler compares her relation to Sheridan's life to Anderson's tale of the fir tree that wanted to be a Christmas tree. After getting its wish, the tree has one glorious night of admiration, but in reality the family that decorated it was actually delighted only by "the candles, the tinsel, the crackers and the stars." Discarded after Christmas, "No one knew and no one cared about the real tree" (xii). Butler declares that neither "the throng" which knew the tree in its glory, nor "the mice and rats that knew him in his decay" were reliable sources for "insight into the fir-tree's thoughts." Further, those thoughts were never "uttered by the hero of the tale." Our only access therefore is Anderson, the tree's biographer, whose ability as a poet enables him to "search out the secrets of a heart without the aid of documents or confessions" (xii–xiii). Butler then likens her own role to that of Anderson: "the author of the present study has been forced to consult the recollections of the worldly-minded and the memoirs of the rodent tribe in an attempt to build upon a foundation of fact a story whose real significance Hans Christian Anderson unerringly divined"

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(xiii). In short, Sheridan and the tree shared the same tragic, ironic fate, and Butler needed no "documents or confessions" to understand it.

These literary influences, however, do not fully account for Butler's view of Sheridan. Her autobiography contains candid accounts of events in her own life that heightened her identification with him. At the time she began work on the Sheridan biography, she had already written two books on German topics (both published by Cambridge University Press), but was unsure of what to do for her next research project or even whether to stay in the academy. Her great ambivalence about both German studies and an academic career combined with her strong motivation to explore new fields of research, causing her to leap at the chance to write Sheridan's biography.

Her professional dissatisfaction had been long in the making. Then, as now, senior scholars expected junior colleagues to prove their mettle with research, but a meeting with Council members at the time of her final appointment at Newnham in 1921 had raised some formidable obstacles (*Paper Boats* 77). Though a German specialist, she had for complex reasons come to regret that decision. Eager to stay at Newnham, she declared her willingness to teach German but asked to be allowed to submit research on French or Russian topics. The Council refused: "I must either specialise in German (which meant research) or resign myself to dropping out of academic life." As Butler recalls, "That might not have broken my heart, if I could have thought of anything else to do." But unable to "bear the idea of leaving Newnham again, almost at once and this time for ever," she capitulated and devoted herself to German scholarship—though with occasional rebellions (*Paper Boats* 77).

The Sheridan biography in 1931 would be her strangest rebellion of all, but it resulted directly from the hostile reaction at Newnham and Cambridge to her 1929 biography of a colorful eighteenth-century German figure, Prince Puckler-Muskau. Butler attributed the uproar to her candid treatment of her subject's sexual proclivities. In a chapter called "The Rake," she gave a "fairly full account of the erotic side of Puckler's existence." The result was "a wonderful press, respectable plaudits from the *Times* and a flattering poem in *Punch* being particularly gratifying." Some conservative academics, however, reacted differently. A scathing anonymous response in *The*

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*Cambridge Review* was "such a virulent, personal attack, that I shuddered as I read it": "Someone in Cambridge hated me. That thought gave me a sleepless night and disturbed me far more than the sufficiently agitating statement that I was not a fit and proper person to be moulding the undergraduate mind." Even though she doubted that "any of my critics at Newnham ever read the book," what proved most disturbing was that her Newnham colleagues sided with the hostile review:

> Entering the Combination Room the following afternoon . . . I found Miss Sharpley, one of the Senior Fellows, brandishing it before a horrified circle of dons. At first I thought that they were all scandalised because of its spiteful tone, but I was soon undeceived. I was the culprit and I alone for I had brought disrepute on the College.

Butler "fled from this scene of horror," but was "treated like a pariah for the rest of the term." She struggled to take refuge in the glowing reviews from the popular press, but recovered only slowly from the shattering experience (*Paper Boats* 113–14).

At the beginning of the chapter in her autobiography which deals with the Sheridan biography, Butler attributes this attack to current fashion in academia. Though always suspecting her own "fundamental unfitness for academic life," her deep admiration for the early generation of Newnham women such as Jane Ellen Harrison, the great classical scholar (with whom Butler had studied Russian); Pernel Strachey, Newnham's French scholar; and Eleanor Sidgwick, founder and Principal of Newnham, had granted the school a glamour which Butler wished to be part of. By the time her biography of Puckler-Muskau had appeared, however, Sidgwick and Harrison were gone, and Strachey was "removed to principalian seclusion": "Her shining intellect still shed light and lustre all round her; but light and lustre upon whom? Upon my own familiar friends, many of them strangely unfamiliar now, individually valued and valuable, but disheartening in the mass." When Butler saw these later dons clustered together in the Combination Room, she realized she was "an outsider":

> They fitted into their environment, and I did not. Blinded by my great affection for . . . Pernel and for Jane, I had blundered into their charmed circle, and now they and the magic had gone. I had mistaken my vocation; and this *proton pseudos*

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> had resulted in taking the left-hand path of German instead of the right-hand path of French because it had led to Newnham. Professionally, I was committed to German now; but must I go on writing about Germans for the rest of my natural life? (*Paper Boats* 115)

At that point Longmans' proposal of a Sheridan biography seemed like a possible salvation. Butler leaped at the idea, later recognizing that "I was pinning all my hopes on this prince of escapists to help me escape from Newnham. *Sheridan, a Ghost Story* was to decide my fate. If it sold really well, why then. . . ." (*Paper Boats* 120). But there were problems from the start. When Longmans objected to the manuscript's unusual narrative, Butler gave it to Constable, who published it, "with a conspicuously imaginative dust cover illustrating the leitmotiv: 'The real Sheridan has disappeared for ever.'" Then the storm broke:

> But not even that wrapper could save the book. It never caught on, and the press was antagonistic. Deadly, snubbing, wounding little reviews damned it unanimously and squashed it flat. Murderous *mots justes* rained down on it. Just as Longmans had foreseen, the method of presentation maddened the reviewers. (*Paper Boats* 120–21)

In short, the critics proclaimed that "One way and another the book was a complete fiasco."

The most immediate lesson Butler extracted from this experience was "that an author's career would never be mine and that escape was now impossible, even an escape from my wretched present back into someone else's past, for the mental energy was lacking" (*Paper Boats* 121). And yet, though the critical reception suggested that she should give up non-German research for good, Butler found herself increasingly linking her own outsider status as a Newnham Fellow with the fortunes of her biographical subject. Working on Sheridan had brought her face to face with her lack of "English *kultur*." Though she had read a good deal of English literature, and even taught it early in her career at Avery Hill, a teacher training college, "Yet somehow I remained (I always have remained) outside the pale." This realization, "coming on top of the shock about Newnham," led Butler to declare herself guilty of sharing only one characteristic with Sheridan, "deliberate irresponsibility" (*Paper Boats* 117). Rather than recoiling at this discovery,

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also like her subject, Butler decided to revel in it, founding "the *Weinabend Society*, known to the initiates as the WAS":

> A Newnham drinking-society sounded very dashing in those days; but the WAS did not indulge in 'nameless orgies'. . . . It was a secret society formed as a protest against academic attitudes and its patron saint was Sheridan, who was always in opposition and delighted in playing mystifying practical jokes on his more sober colleagues. (*Paper Boats* 117–18)

Butler credits this "small and highly select society" ("It never numbered more than five, and sometimes only three") with helping "to keep my head above the waters of melancholia," as she "tried to turn everything, especially my life at Newnham, into a comedy and treat it as a joke." Butler knew that "I was deliberately imitating my inimitable hero, and a very poor imitation it was." And yet, Butler also held Sheridan practically responsible for her behavior, for "although he held obstinately aloof from me, he imbued me with his ultimately untenable philosophy of life and influenced my conduct directly" (*Paper Boats* 120).

So much Butler perceived and admitted. But her focus here only on those qualities of Sheridan that she criticized his biographers for emphasizing does not erase other, more striking resonances between biographer and subject. For example, Butler accused Sheridan of deliberately abandoning his artistic talent—the core of his real self—for the lesser arenas of business and politics:

> The artist in him, deprived of self-communion, was being suffocated to death. . . . His public life and sentiments, lofty and without blemish, were on so different a plane from his irregular private existence and his whimsical ideas, that the disintegrating process of leading a dual life was undermining his personality. Merged for the most part in his public *role*, the real Sheridan was beginning to disappear, returning during his leisure hours rather feverishly wild. (*Sheridan* 205)

Did Butler feel the same way about her capitulation to Newnham authorities and academic strictures? She certainly confessed to the same kind of "feverishly wild" antics, for WAS activities often "entailed a trek through Newnham in the small hours," during which members were "in duty bound . . . to

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leave on the screens and elsewhere disturbing messages, often in verse, and other signs and tokens of disruptive forces in the background." Though Butler herself calls it "all excessively silly," though "uncommonly risky too," it parallels Sheridan's desire to escape the "public role." As Butler puts it, such antics "certainly relieved the boredom of academic life under which we were groaning" (*Paper Boats* 119). And yet, submitting to such an academic life gave Butler the moral qualifications to judge Sheridan. Somewhat harshly she concluded that Sheridan had made a Faustian bargain, rejecting art and personal happiness to strive for success in public life, but like all who try to beat the devil, he failed. Butler herself had of course also compromised, but she could claim a curious kind of victory. Though she did not support herself solely by writing, an "author's life" was hers as well, for her academic post required her to write, and she produced scholarly works that bore little resemblance to those of her conventional colleagues.[6] Had then Sheridan inspired Butler, or was she simply drawn to a kindred spirit to assuage her own sense of dissolution?

* * * * *

Examining the possibility of such inspiration leads us to another very distinctive quality of Butler as a biographer. *Sheridan* has a narrative structure so unusual that it alienated critics and readers alike, though today her methods would raise few hackles, especially among practitioners of the more confessional and self-consciously engaged style of biography. A closer look at the significance of her biography's subtitle—*A Ghost Story*—indicates that in this instance she was being neither coy nor accidental. Chapter 1, "The Conjurers," a study of Sheridan's previous biographers, opens with a quotation from *Henry IV, Part I*: "I can call the spirits from the vasty deep. . . . But will they come?" Certainly Butler equated her own search for Sheridan with a psychical experiment; in fact, her introduction describes an encounter with Sheridan's ghost in terms which suggest she, at any rate, believed in it. She had researched her subject for some time, but "instead of coming into contact with a vital personality, I found myself grappling with a ghost." This conclusion, however, has results which neither she nor the reader could anticipate:

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> Unversed in the ways of the confraternity of spirits and unacquainted with the methods of psychical research, I came one night to the conclusion that I must perforce accept defeat. "I shall never see Sheridan", I muttered gloomily into the dark; and the surprising nature of life was immediately vindicated by the appearance of Sheridan himself. He was dressed in white as becomes a ghost, with a suggestion of ruffles at his wrists, and stood unconcernedly in mid-air, slightly inclined towards me. More startled than gratified, I went through some flustered moments before I brought myself to face him boldly and meet his brilliant, beautiful eyes. But I never saw them; the atmosphere of the twentieth-century had condensed into dark horn-rimmed spectacles, which created an effect so weird and chilling that, now considerably frightened, I turned to face the wall. (xi–xii)

This episode is not a literary conceit. Butler's autobiography contains many accounts of occult occurrences, and while her responses are derisive when it happens to someone else, her own encounters are always presented quite matter-of-factly.[7] This is the case even when, as in the encounter with Sheridan, the event was frightening. The caricature hovering before her has "brilliant beautiful eyes" which she will never see—perhaps because she is gazing at a vanishing image of herself.

Why is the dominant metaphor of Butler's *Sheridan* a ghost story, and why is its dominant mood one of elusiveness and loss? As I've tried to suggest, perhaps the answers lie in that jumble of contradictions that comprise Butler's divided personality: the German scholar who hated Germans and much in German culture; the don who hated academic life; the outsider who lampooned the group while wanting acceptance; and the critic and debunker of magic and spiritualism who reported her own psychical experiences with a straight face. At the time of writing *Sheridan*, Butler's professional tensions were at their height. A number of the women she had admired as role models had either retired or died. Her current Newnham peers, whom she thought of as their inferiors, had betrayed her by siding with her critics. When this sorrow at personal loss is combined with private regret over paths not taken, Butler's feeling at that time was not surprisingly a sense of loss. Compounding matters was Butler's conviction that by undermining the possibility of a firm foundation for any ethos or belief, the modern era had made not only biography, but any knowledge of another human being, living or dead, impossible:

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> The grim suspicion of the twentieth century, that nothing is positively thus or thus, that there are no absolute values, and that events in the observer's mind are based upon delusions, becomes almost a certainty to those sanguine persons who set out to learn something definite about another human being. They cannot hope to find a fixed standard of comparison within themselves, for the naive belief that we know ourselves accurately or even adequately has long since been exploded. (*Sheridan* 32)[8]

Faced with such arbitrariness, however, Butler veers off in an utterly unexpected direction. First, she extends the argument to claim that those whom we know are in fact unfathomable:

> The appearance and conduct of our familiar friends seem to vouch for their reality; their actions can be traced to comprehensible motives; they remain true to themselves in various circumstances. . . . But time will almost certainly teach us that they too are desperately relative. . . . And they are subject to such fundamental changes that we begin to doubt their very identity. . . . One man becomes old; another has grown cold; we look around—our friends have withdrawn themselves and are gone. Were they ever really there? Old age has overtaken us, and they are numbered with the dead. (32–33)

But then, Butler responds to this atmosphere of flux and dissolution by proclaiming that our only real sense of certainty lies in the past. Though a literary scholar by training, Butler had developed a "sense of the past," of its seductiveness and allure as an escape from the present, out of her own personal need, as J. H. Plumb says of the best historians, "to ease the ache within" (xiii):

> The dead, who have never been seen in the flesh, must be easier to know. They can change no more; they are no longer under the thralldom of relativity to living persons and things. We can approach them fearlessly. They are as they are, we cannot impair their integrity. Their course is run. They can play no more disconcerting pranks. They will stand still while we watch them, indifferently revealing those depths and shallows the living are desirous to conceal. The shifting, kaleidoscopic present, deluding and confusing, no longer swirls round them; they have found sanctuary in the past. (*Sheridan* 33)

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Paradoxically, then, for this biographer it is the dead's stillness which allows her to enliven and even directly encounter her subject. Butler's innovations in form and approach are all efforts to provide "blood for the ghosts." But when Sheridan himself appears before her, she gives personal evidence that such spirits can be even more capricious than the living. For as *Sheridan, A Ghost Story* reveals, in fact, the dead do not stand still, and as Butler watches, Sheridan vanishes once again. The past is no sanctuary for the dead or for those who study them, and the stuff of biography remains elusive. Nevertheless, her scorn of traditional methods led Butler to biographical practices which are not only pioneering, but which prefigure the probing *élan* of the New Biography.

## NOTES

1. To cite only some of the most prominent, see Edel, *Writing Lives*; Nadel; Myers; Epstein; Elms; Batchelor; and Salwak.
2. See Ascher, DeSalvo, and Ruddick; Baron and Pletsch; Zinsser; Ellis; O'Brien; Davis; and Holmes.
3. Nadel provides an excellent example of this approach. After a detailed factual survey of the history of the genre, he proposes reducing the "primacy of facts" in favor of rhetorical strategies to bring biography closer to serious fiction: "In biography, language alters facts and draws on fiction to clarify its form" (209).
4. Most of Butler's work was on German literary figures. The major books are *The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany* (1926), *The Tempestuous Prince* (1929), *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (1935), *Rainer Maria Rilke* (1940), and *Heinrich Heine* (1956). She also wrote on Faust, magic, and occultism.
5. Butler points out that this was also literally true: at the end of his life Sheridan was ignominiously jailed for debt.
6. In 1935 her controversial book *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* was criticized in academic circles and banned in Nazi Germany.
7. In fact, Butler wrote three books dedicated to exposing the occult as fraudulent: *The Myth of the Magus* (1947), *Ritual Magic* (1949), and *The Fortunes of Faust* (1952). However, her own "contact" with the occult provided empirical evidence, as far as she was concerned. Nor is Butler the only biographer or historian to be visited by such spirits. Arnold J. Toynbee believed that on numerous occasions he had literally witnessed events in the past (Africa, especially 110–15); the historian also had religious visions.

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Late on a December afternoon, biographer Gale Christianson glanced up and saw Copernicus sitting in a nearby chair. A "brief and mostly one-sided" conversation in medieval Latin ensued on the problem of spatial infinity, and "I would have testified in a court of law that Copernicus was actually there," though Christianson later explains the episode as a daydream, "a warning not to be so naïve and literal-minded in the pursuit of my subject" (6–7). Nightmares plagued Van Wyck Brooks—"Henry James turned great luminous eyes upon me"—though probably the critic felt guilty over his treatment of his subject in *The Pilgrimage of Henry James* (187; see also Edel, *Writing Lives* 83–91).

8. Though many of Butler's observations are timely in current debates over subjectivity in historical narrative and the enrichment of biography with rhetorical strategies, her views did not arise from literary debates or philosophical considerations of the nature of history; they were rooted in personal regrets and sorrows. Butler would agree with John Halperin's polemic: "Language does not speak; people do" (155).

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# Finding Fate's Father: Some Life History Influences on Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*

*William Todd Schultz*

For Adrienne and Henry

*Necessity and chance*
*Approach not me, and what I will is Fate.*
— Milton, *Paradise Lost* VII: 1.172–73

Roald Dahl thought quite a lot of chocolate. At age nine, Dahl attended school near a sweets shop whose emissions he happily sniffed. An adolescence spent in an otherwise dreary English Public School was at intervals partially redeemed by the nearby Cadbury Company. Dahl and his lucky classmates sometimes got to taste test experimental chocolates, rating them and writing out their reactions. Dahl liked to imagine himself working there, "and suddenly I would come up with something so absolutely unbearably delicious that I would grab it in my hand and go rushing along the corridor and right into the office of the great Mr. Cadbury himself," who after tasting Dahl's discovery would then leap from his chair crying, "'You got it! We'll sweep the world with this one!'" (*Boy* 148–49). Foreshadowings of Willy Wonka's factory appear even in Dahl's first major book for children, *James and the Giant Peach*, when the impossibly massive fruit runs over just such an establishment on its way to thrilling adventures at sea.

When, however, Dahl eventually got around to writing *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, there his fascination with everything chocolate found its fullest expression. Dahl himself traces the novel's origin to the Cadbury experience: "I have no

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doubt at all that, thirty-five years later, when I was looking for a plot for my second book for children, I remembered those little cardboard boxes and the newly-invented chocolates inside them, and I began to write a book called *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*" (*Boy* 149). But what else might have motivated him? What might account for the charisma—and menace—of Willy Wonka, or for the unhappy, almost grisly accidents that befall so many of the children, with the exception of Charlie?

Before suggesting answers to these questions, a brief summary of the book might be helpful, especially since the film *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, so familiar to so many parents, departs in important respects from the highly successful text that inspired it.[1] Two such differences seem particularly significant: the book contains no bewilderingly lurking Slugworth figure, but it does give Charlie a father, albeit a rather feckless and irrelevant one. *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* is a meditation on what Artaud called the "marginality of fate," and on the almost providential intervention of chance. Charlie Bucket is the only child of a desperately poor family. His father works long hours screwing caps on tubes of toothpaste, until he loses his job and resorts to shoveling snow. The father's miserable wages must support not only Charlie and his mother, but also both sets of invalid grandparents. As a result, their house isn't large enough and there isn't enough money to buy proper food, forcing them to eat "bread and margarine for breakfast, boiled potatoes and cabbage for lunch, and cabbage soup for supper," with Sundays a special day because everyone gets a second helping. The family therefore goes "from morning till night with a horrible empty feeling in their tummies," and Charlie's bones bristle beneath the skin of his face (7).

Standing within sight of Charlie's home is an enormous chocolate factory—the biggest in the world, and run by the cleverest chocolate maker in the world. For half a mile in every direction, the factory scents the air with the "heavy rich smell of melting chocolate" (9). The family is bewitched. The factory seems both nemesis and temptation, a symbol of everything dreaded and desired. Grandpa Joe spends many an evening telling Charlie about the factory: How its founder Willy Wonka—always described in superlatives—invented ice cream that doesn't run in the sun, and gum that never loses its taste. How the building—bricks, cement, and all—was constructed

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of light and dark chocolate. How nobody ever seemed to go in and nobody ever seemed to go out, and how the workers, known only by the shadows appearing in the windows at night, are no taller than Grandpa Joe's knee.

One day, Charlie's wish to go inside this most edible of factories becomes at least remotely possible. Inexplicably Wonka decides to admit five children for a visit. These lucky five will be selected by Fate: Wonka has hidden golden tickets inside the wrappings of five ordinary bars of chocolate. For Charlie there isn't much hope, since he gets just one bar a year, for his birthday, and so the family contents itself with following the drama in the papers. Four slightly despicable children find tickets, the wrapping for Charlie's birthday bar reveals no gold, and the family continues to starve. But one day, Charlie discovers a dollar in the gutter, and buys two chocolate bars from a fat shopkeeper. The first bar he eats. The second, a Whipple-Scrumptious Fudgemallow Delight, explodes in a brilliant flash of gold. In an instant, Charlie is lucky ticket holder number five, and feels a "peculiar floating sensation coming over him . . . his heart thumping away loudly somewhere in his throat" (51).

The big day arrives. While the other four children bring both their mothers and fathers to the factory, Charlie brings Grandpa Joe. Even more spectacular than imagined, the factory doesn't disappoint, and neither does Wonka, a kind of troll-like figure with mixed motives. "Please don't wander off by yourselves," he says, "I shouldn't like to lose any of you at *this* stage of the proceedings!" (64). But children do get "lost." Gluttonous Augustus Gloop falls into a chocolate river. Violet Beauregarde eats gum she shouldn't and swells up like a blueberry. Identified as a "bad nut," spoiled Veruca Salt is taken away by squirrels to the garbage chute. Mike Teavee, whose name reveals his vice, is reduced to a tiny video image. Only Charlie escapes doom, thus winning what has been a survival contest all along, for as Wonka explains, "I decided to invite children to the factory, and the one I liked best at the end of the day would be the winner." He stresses: "I have to have a child. I want a good sensible loving child, one to whom I can tell all my most precious candy-making secrets—while I am still alive." Charlie thus becomes heir to the chocolate factory, and Wonka invites his whole family to move in at once. The grandparents refuse at first, but Charlie and Wonka won't take no for an answer.

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"Please don't be frightened," Charlie says. "It's quite safe. And we're going to the most wonderful place in the world!" (161).

The book reads like a morality fable: Charlie, the good child, wins the prize just by being himself, while the bad children meet with terrible ends. Their "accidents" hardly seem "accidental," however, as Fate functions like an externalized superego, meting out appropriate punishments. Even when the bad kids do reemerge in the end, they carry with them enduring stigmata. Though dejuiced, Violet is still purple in the face, while shrunken Mike Teavee is restored but overstretched, "ten feet tall and thin as a wire." On closer examination, however, the text seems far less straightforward. What has Charlie really won? Only the factory, or something more as well? And what about the accident theme? Why does Dahl permanently mark the undeserving children rather than simply humiliating them or condemning their vices in some other way? Finally, the factory's claustral architecture deserves special attention, too. Throughout the book, visitors struggle and shove their way through various tubes, corridors, enclosures, and passageways —the word "push" alone is used three different times between pages 64 and 68. In what follows, I try to answer these questions by examining not only Dahl's life history, but his extra-literary preoccupations at the time he wrote the book.

### What Does Charlie Win?

We know full well what Charlie wins: the chocolate factory and everything else that goes with it, including presumably fame and fortune, and comfort for his dirt-poor, starving family. But even a cursory look at the life of Roald Dahl suggests that Charlie's gain may be more than just material.

Neither in Dahl's life nor his work did expressing sincere, honest emotion come easy. Since his readers are far more accustomed to sarcasm or nonsense, when such emotional expressions appear in his fiction, they come as something of a surprise, and may even represent what Irving Alexander has called "indicators of saliency"—textual markers indicative of psychologically important material. To take an obvious incident, in *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator*, the *Chocolate Factory*'s far less satisfying sequel, the Bucket family finds itself ascending in Wonka's elevator/spacecraft. Charlie's grandparents aren't sure they like the idea, or Wonka himself for that matter. But

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Charlie leans over and whispers, "Please, don't spoil everything. Mr. Wonka is a fantastic man. He's my friend. I love him" (4). The last three words are startling in context. Though Wonka had warmed to Charlie towards the end of the first book, his affection was qualified by his overriding desire for an heir. And yet, while the unexpected "I love him" may not quite fit given what we know about Charlie and Wonka, the depth of devotion *still* rings true: in Wonka, Dahl—as well as Charlie—finds a father.

Harald Dahl died of pneumonia when Roald was three, just two months after the death by appendicitis of Roald's seven-year old sister, Astri. Harald refused to fight the illness. Apparently wishing to join Astri in heaven, he "did not care much whether he lived or died." "So he died," Dahl concludes somewhat tersely, "He was fifty-seven years old" (*Boy* 20). It's hard not to be struck by the incompleteness of this account, which appears in the first volume of Dahl's autobiography. After spending just two paragraphs on this most catastrophic of events, Dahl moves matter-of-factly on, at greater length, to lighter fare. Since Dahl "had always found it impossible to talk to anyone about his feelings," and during difficult times tended to say "nothing of what he was going through" (Treglown 147), it should not be surprising that *Boy* avoids discussing the psychological effects—short- and long-term—of Harald's and Astri's deaths. But those effects may appear elsewhere, and although he is not inclined towards psychobiography, Dahl's biographer Jeremy Treglown does speak of Dahl's search for "surrogate fathers," including Charles Marsh, a self-made multimillionaire oil tycoon and art collector (6).

Treglown, however, sees not Harald, but *Roald* Dahl in Wonka, citing both a similarity "between Dahl's third-person narrative voice and Mr. Wonka's own hectic, exaggerated way of talking," and Wonka's Dahl-like way with dismissive criticism (155). Roald Dahl certainly dreamed of being an inventor—and in fact was one, as I will discuss. He also "longed to be powerful enough to be able to conquer illness" (Treglown 136), and in *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator* actually has Wonka bring Charlie's grandparents back from the dead, a feat which Dahl himself might have envied, given the many losses he endured. And yet, though Wonka does resemble Roald Dahl to a degree, Treglown labels such an identification "naive," and if we look

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beyond the superficial characteristics mentioned, a different, more compelling role for Wonka begins to suggest itself: fictional father.

Though Charlie's actual father appears in both books, he is very nearly irrelevant (the film version drops the character altogether, at no expense to the story). In the *Chocolate Factory* he opens his mouth only to read verbatim newspaper descriptions of each new lucky winner.[2] When Charlie finds the money and later wins the golden ticket, he tells his mother, not his father. And although all the other ticket winners arrive on the big day accompanied by both parents, Charlie's father, unemployed and unable to support the family, agrees that Grandpa Joe is more "deserving." Considering how Joe nightly regaled Charlie with stories of Wonka's factory, he doubtlessly does deserve the honor, but the absence of parents not only makes Charlie out to be something of an orphan, it also seems to mark him as parentless in a metaphoric sense. Wonka therefore responds to Charlie differently, not only because he is the one good kid, but because he lacks—figuratively—a father, and because Wonka's "real purpose is to find an heir," or son (Treglown 151). Wonka in fact really *can't* give the factory to any of the other children, since to do so would presumably make their very present parents the beneficiaries. While relishing the failures and humiliations of the other children and their escorts, then, Wonka treats Charlie with what seems like paternal concern. As they float along the same chocolate river that took Augustus Gloop, for example, Wonka dips a large mug into it and passes it to Charlie. "Drink this," Wonka commands, "It'll do you good! You look starved to death! . . . Hasn't there been anything to eat in your house lately?" (88). This may be Wonka's single expression of unironic kindness and thoughtfulness in the entire book, and Charlie's deeply satisfying response marks the moment as especially important psychologically: "as the rich warm creamy chocolate ran down his throat and into his empty tummy, his whole body from head to toe began to tingle with pleasure, and a feeling of intense happiness spread over him" (89).

When Charlie alone survives the war of attrition, Wonka, who "had a hunch, right from the beginning" that Charlie would win, is ecstatic: "I'm absolutely delighted! It couldn't be better! How wonderful this is!" (149). For as Wonka goes on to explain, the real contest was to secure his affection: "I'm an old

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man. I'm much older than you think. I can't go on forever. I've got no children of my own, no family at all. . . . I decided to invite five children to the factory, and the one I liked best at the end of the day would be the winner" (157). Notice how this cancels the conceit of "chance." Wonka *chose* Charlie (most likely from the very start), and the "accidents" weren't accidents at all, but disqualifications of those children Wonka did not like. The convenient result is that when Wonka picks an "orphan" heir to become the child he needs, Charlie finds a fabulous father—and so too perhaps does Dahl.[3]

But there's more. Immediately after Charlie learns what he's won, Wonka takes Charlie and Grandpa Joe into the great glass elevator, which rises, shudderingly, through a thin corridor, then explodes like a rocket through the factory's glass ceiling. "We're through! We're out!" shouts Wonka. The craft hangs in midair, sunshine pours in, and the town lies spread out below like a picture postcard. Intentional or not, the implications seem unmistakable. Just after being introduced to the kind of father he needs, Charlie is reborn, at least psychologically. He finds himself transported into a different realm, with a different perspective, bathed in light. One half-expects Charlie to be slapped on the bottom.

This interpretation isn't necessarily at odds with Treglown's suggestion that Wonka is Dahl, since Dahl's ideal self—inventor, orchestrator of chance, master of life and death, imp extraordinaire—could coexist with this wonderfully amusing, occasionally even maternal, father image. Above all, Wonka's ability to resurrect the dead, which we learn about in the second book, certainly represents a wish that the loss-plagued Dahl would find compelling. Conjuring up a character who, Orpheus-like, enters the underworld and zaps the unliving back to their original form seems like the best sort of wish-fulfillment. Such speculations, however, remain rather general. Linking Dahl himself to the fortunes of his characters requires a closer look at specific events, since Dahl's life course was directly impacted by a remarkable accumulation of accidents.

## The Fiction of Accident

Roald Dahl's life was so accident-beset that the back cover of the paperback edition of the Treglown biography refers to a surfeit of "shocking personal tragedy." As if to underscore the

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importance of the theme, Dahl's own account of his life begins with an accident that occurred even before he was born. At the age of fourteen, his father Harald fell off a roof, broke his left arm, and then lost that arm, thanks to medical incompetence. When Dahl himself was nine, his older sister took the family on a car ride which proved to be much more eventful than anyone had anticipated: she crashed the car into a hedge, causing Dahl's nose to be "cut almost clean off my face . . . hanging on only by a single thread of skin" (*Boy* 103). As a young RAF fighter pilot, in the fall of 1939 Dahl made a forced landing in the North African desert. When the plane struck a boulder, Dahl's skull was fractured, and his nose, having already been singled out for punishment, was driven back into his face. Crawling from the cockpit, he rolled out of danger, and was "picked up, bleeding profusely, by British soldiers patrolling nearby" (Treglown 43). And in perhaps the most significant disaster of all, his four-month-old son Theo—"to whom Dahl was unambiguously devoted"—was hit by a cab as his nanny pushed his carriage across a street. The child's skull was broken in several places. Doctors did not expect him to live, and though he did, it was with lasting neurological impairments (Treglown 137–38). This accident occurred while Dahl was working on the first Charlie book; in fact, Dahl dedicates it to Theo.

Not surprisingly, then, accidents recur in Dahl's fiction. On the very first page of *James and the Giant Peach* (1961), Dahl's first major work, James's parents get eaten, rather randomly, by a rhino. The first sentence of *Danny the Champion of the World* (1975) informs us that Danny's mother died when he was only four months old, and in *The Witches* (1983), the little hero's parents die in an icy, Christmas-time car crash. Although an entire essay might be devoted to the accident as leitmotif in Dahl's work, I would like to focus here on what has to be his most accident-perfused book of all, *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*. Why do accidents figure so prominently in this story, and what psychological function might they serve?

First, there's the matter of the children's mock gruesome "disappearances." That particular plot detail caused immediate controversy. Dahl's editor at Knopf, Virginia Fowler, had her doubts, calling Veruca Salt's disposal down a garbage shaft especially "crude" and "revolting"—too much on the "adult level" (Treglown 154). But the children's departures are not

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merely gratuitous or unnecessary in context, because Dahl seems, among other things, to be writing a cautionary tale. These children are done in by their own vileness. Their respective fates are not only metaphorically apt, but also display Dahl's moral tendency to *increase* discomfort as a means for disarming and provoking his young readers. Augustus Gloop "drowns" in chocolate, Mike Teavee *becomes* a TV image, and so on. But something more oblique, and undeniably more menacing, is also at work. For apart from whatever social comment Dahl may have intended, the book's tone at times betrays a kind of pervading menace. As Gene Wilder's performance as Wonka in the film version makes clear, something like vengeance lurks behind Wonka's pleasure over each demise. Repeatedly Wilder/Wonka stands by indifferently while each child exits in a way that would have been easily preventable. Although most readers I think would agree that these episodes are among the most entertaining and distinctive in Dahl's book, why are the children, rather than their parents punished? Why does Wonka/Dahl seem so determined to make the children pay, and so excessively, for their moral failings? What did he get out of it?

One answer lies in Dahl's history of loss. He had been forced to watch good children meet with undeserved catastrophe—his sister, dead at age seven; his infant son, suffering brain damage.[4] If as Treglown suggests, Dahl did in fact identify with Wonka, then the candy maker's orchestration of "death" in *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, and his utter mastery over it in *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator* allow Dahl vicariously to turn the tables on loss—to dictate its caprice, rather than be dictated to by it. Dahl's heroes admittedly do lose their parents, thus returning him to the site of his own grief surrounding the loss of his father Harald. But when Roald Dahl actively discards characters, as in the *Chocolate Factory*, he becomes judge and executioner within a created alternate reality in which only bad kids meet with disaster and good kids, who have done nothing wrong, triumph.

But in such a world, Dahl clearly identifies not only with Wonka but with Charlie as well, that boy who "desperately wanted something more filling and satisfying" out of life, who longed "more than anything else" for chocolate—chocolate signifying Wonka/Father. Functioning as both Wonka and Charlie grants Dahl an even headier power, the power to create

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a just world conforming to his will, and naturally he defines the world he prefers, a world in which he, not dumb reality, decides which children triumph, and which meet with bad ends.

And so the departures of Augustus Gloop and his ilk—so gruesome, so bizarre, so easily preventable—thereby provide an outlet for Dahl's anger, resentment, and sense of *in*justice in response to the various losses he had endured. A man who did not talk directly about his feelings thus could express them through the harsh and unusual punishments he metes out to his characters. Because Augustus Gloop is a "repulsive boy," and his mother a "revolting woman," he is doomed. Veruca Salt is "even worse than the fat boy," and in need of "a real good spanking." The "despicable" and "beastly" Violet gets what she deserves, and if Mike Teavee can't be stretched back to his original size, Dahl simply notes, "It serves him right." Such nasty children merit no mercy, and in Wonka's world, they get their just desserts, of the poetic sort he decrees. When loss arrives in reality, survivors are left no option but to wonder why. Why that person, why not someone *else*, someone more *deserving* of death? As an artist, Dahl creates a world in which such questions do not arise.

The battle for Roald Dahl then is not over the elimination of horrible accidents or unforeseen disasters, but rather over who gets to control them. The most detailed account of this struggle appears in *The Witches*, in which five children—including a "Harald"—also disappear or get transformed, but in this case at the hands of nefarious local witches. These powerful creatures despise children, and particularly enjoy turning kids into creatures all grownups hate and therefore destroy—a slug gets smashed, a flea gets powdered, a pheasant gets shot from the sky, plucked and roasted, and eaten for supper. In fact, the witches take special delight in making grownups eat their own offspring—by turning them into hot dogs. The ultimate plan is to change all the children of England into mice by tricking them into eating chocolate laced with a special formula, the "Delayed-Action Mouse-Maker." The witches' strategy for transforming the children actually resembles Willy Wonka's scheme. After opening sweets shops from which to dispense the doctored candies, on a certain day the witches will announce in their shop windows a "Great Gala Opening with free sweets and chocs to every child" (78).

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The orphaned hero and his cigar-smoking, witch-savvy grandmother get wind of the plan, and work to undermine it. The grandmother is an especially interesting hybrid of Willy Wonka and Harald Dahl. Like Wonka, Grandmother thumps around the house with a "gold-topped cane" (46).[5] Her eyes, as "bright as two stars" (123), resemble Wonka's "marvelously bright" eyes "sparkling and twinkling at you all the time" (*Chocolate Factory* 61). But Grandmother also goes through life with a missing thumb, much as Harald Dahl did without his left arm, and while Grandmother only comes down with pneumonia, Harald Dahl died from it. Harald, Wonka, and Grandmother thus seem to spring from shared and deep roots, and their distribution over many years suggests that Dahl continually reworked the same material, consciously or not, in an attempt to make metaphorical sense of it.

Equally present in *The Witches* is Dahl's preoccupation with horrific accidents and the trauma they induce in survivors. In the book's most poignant passage (which Dahl sets off with italics), the hero, transformed into a mouse, meditates on his own lack of despair over the change. "What's so wonderful about being a little boy anyway?" he asks, "I know that mice get hunted and they sometimes get poisoned or caught in traps. But little boys sometimes get killed, too. Little boys can be run over by motorcars or they can die of some awful illness" (112). As already noted, even a short list of unfortunate ends contains the injury and/or death of Dahl's son, daughter, sister, and father. In another paper, I have discussed what I called the "Orpheus Complex," a personality dynamic in which writers stricken by loss also eventually respond to that loss with the creation of literature. In at least one detail Dahl conforms to that prototype, for he too "rewrote" trauma in attempting to discharge lingering grief and to repair fate's damage. *Charlie*'s controlled "accidents" no doubt made for a much more habitable world, however imaginary it may have been. In a review of *The Witches*, Erica Jong insightfully describes the book as "a parable about the fear of death as separation and a child's mourning for the loss of his parents," and goes on to note the book's psychologically beneficial effect: "It's a curious sort of tale but an honest one, which deals with matters of crucial importance to children: smallness, the existence of evil in the world. . . ."

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As we have seen, these "matters" were also crucially important to Dahl himself. To borrow the language of script theorist Silvan Tomkins, the unforeseen trauma motif found in Dahl's writing may be one of his "nuclear" scripts, expressing his "unwillingness to renounce or mourn," an "inability to recover what has become lost," and a disinclination to purify or integrate what had grown intolerably conflicted (197). According to Tomkins's system, we are all self-dramatizers engaged from the earliest weeks of life in a constant dramaturgical process of constructing personal worlds. Certain salient "happenings" get repeatedly edited into one or more core scripts. Apparently few in number and especially complex, these nuclear scripts emerge in the following way: something good turns bad, and negative affects predominate. When the individual tries to reverse, rehearse, avoid, undo, or repair the damage, a process of psychological magnification ensues, in which affect-laden scenes become interconnected as the person half-consciously perceives similarities between seemingly different experiences. The constellating power of the script makes it "nuclear"; it persists as a potent, vexingly recurrent problem, one not only repeatedly expressed, but also growing in scope and form, proliferating much like a cancer metastasizes.[6]

According to Rae Carlson—who has championed script theory perhaps more than any other practicing personologist—to be afflicted with a nuclear script is to be driven by a "demanding psychic agenda." In thrall to problems that can't be solved or let alone, in pursuit of the "ideal" scene, such people resort to "celebrating experiences in memory and imagination, fantasizing punishment of the oppressor, escaping their own sense of punishment, and imagining perfect endings" ("Personology" 5).

For Dahl, the losses of his sister and father could be originating events. Something good—an intact family—had suddenly turned bad, and as an adult writer of fiction, Dahl recurrently scripted and organized the damage via imaginative retellings. Just as he did, his heroes grapple with loss, managing in variously idealized ways to triumph, either by finding substitute parents more potent than the original ones, or by becoming the architects of their own fate. In the process, Dahl exacts revenge upon imagined oppressors, and in so doing concocts relatively perfect endings. But in addition to tending toward over-

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generalization, nuclear scripts also afflict their author, envelop him, and demand his constant attention. Much like Freud's war veteran, dreaming ceaselessly of the same bloody battle, Dahl repeatedly turns to the same theme of loss and its repercussions, underscoring the "nuclear" nature of each of these efforts.

### Claustra

Of course, the form of return most liable to end the repetition once and for all would be a return to a time before birth, before emergence into narrative, and Dahl's universe is certainly filled with spaces which personologist Henry Murray has called "claustral"—enclosed, womb-resembling. To take only one of the more extreme examples, in the early *James and the Giant Peach*, the orphaned hero crawls into a hole in the side of the fruit, which upon further explanation proves to be a "damp and murky" tunnel: "and all around him there was the curious bittersweet smell of fresh peach. . . . The walls were wet and sticky, and the peach juice was dripping from the ceiling" (25). In *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, references to tunnels, corridors, valves, tubes, pipes, and the like, through which the characters continuously get pushed and pulled, are so plentiful that it seems more economical to represent them through a summary rather than a catalog. Though crowds at the gate push to get in, Wonka ushers only the children through, promising that "it's nice and warm inside" (64). The first of many corridors is "so wide that a car could easily have been driven along it." Its walls are "pale pink," the lighting "soft and pleasant" (65). "How lovely and warm," whispers Charlie. All the passages slope downward, deep beneath the surface, leading to rooms larger than football fields. As Wonka explains, "underneath the ground, I've got all the space I want. There's no limit—so long as I hollow it out" (67).

The group hustles and bustles along towards the "nerve center," accompanied by a great deal of pushing and shoving. "Enormous pipes" dangle down from the center's ceiling, draining into the chocolate river. Here Augustus gets stuck in a pipe, and while his father wonders "how that pipe is big enough for him to go through it," the people "could see the chocolate swishing around the boy, and they could see it building up behind him in a solid mass, pushing against the blockage." The terrific pressure meant that "something had to give," and in

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this case "that something was Augustus" (80). Or as Wonka drolly explains: "Augustus has gone on a little journey, that's all. A most interesting little journey" (80).

The group boards a boat made of glistening pink glass, and sails to "some kind of dark tunnel," which turns out to be a "gigantic pipe." After "rocketing along at a furious pace," the group disembarks at the "Inventing Room," where Wonka's ideas are born. Pipes run all over the ceiling and walls. Wonka proudly introduces the gum machine, which rumbles and steams and shakes most frighteningly, then emits "a monstrous mighty groan, and at the same moment a tiny drawer popped out of the side of the machine, and in the drawer there lay something so small and thin and gray that everyone thought it must be a mistake" (98–99). Exit Violet Beauregarde. Shortly thereafter, Veruca Salt disappears down a garbage chute. "Endless pink corridors" follow (110), the claustral imagery building up until the great glass elevator—with its button reading UP AND OUT —signals Charlie's psychological rebirth.

And yet, the overall effect of *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* appeals less to the themes of birth or rebirth than to an effort to seek enclosure, to return to the womb. Characters are constantly pushing and shoving into smaller and smaller spaces, seeking that warmly pink, pleasant containment. As it turns out, the claustral imagery of Dahl's fictional world had a counterpart in life—the garden shed which served as his writing hut. "For much of his life," as Treglown notes, Dahl spent several hours each day "snugly wrapped in a sleeping bag, sitting in an old arm chair, his feet on a trunk which was filled with blocks of wood and tied to the leg of the chair, to prevent it from slipping. Here he transported himself back to his earliest infancy. Even beyond" (111). Dahl agreed with this interpretation of his shed: "It's small and tight and dark and the curtains are always drawn and it's a kind of womb—you go up here and you disappear and get lost" (qtd. in Treglown 111). In fact, Dahl elevates the imagery of the shed into the necessary condition for a writer of fiction, for that "secret side" of the artist, "which comes out in him only after he has closed the door of his workroom and is completely alone. It is then that he slips into another world altogether, a world where his imagination takes over and he finds himself actually living in the places he is writing about at that moment. I myself, if you want to know, fall into a kind of

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trance, and everyone around me disappears" ("Lucky" 196). When confronted with tragedy, Dahl turned to the shed as a place of refuge. Following Theo's accident in America, Dahl insisted that the family return to England, "where he could escape into the security of his shed" (Treglown 141). In that shed, that womb, "after nine months of hard work," Dahl wrote much of the Charlie story (*Charlie's Secret* 3). The book's claustral imagery, then, can be seen as a kind of recapitulation of Dahl's working environment. He writes of the womb from a womb.

Murray described various claustral complexes. The simple claustral complex, for instance, is "constellated about the wish to reinstate the conditions similar to those prevailing before birth," and is "organized by an unconscious desire to re-experience the state of being that existed before birth" (363). Typically small, warm, dark, secluded, safe, private, or concealing, claustral spaces, according to Murray, are often huts, soundproof dens, or even tunnels—one of his subjects declares "I loved to build tunnels" (366). As a child Dahl used to hide in a tree to write his diary, and when he went to Repton, his English Public School, he found isolation in a photography darkroom (Treglown 111). Murray's description of desirable locations seems to echo Dahl's description of his shed: "a subject with this complex is attracted to, seeks, or if not found, builds such objects, and is inclined to enter them and remain in them for some time, secluded from others" (366). Once fixated on such "habitation or sanctuary," the subject "hates to leave it or to move to another house" (364). Dahl had adapted his "marvelous, isolated, quiet" shed to write in; he was rarely disturbed there, and returned to it in times of particular stress.

Murray notes that claustral complexes also express themselves through the cathection—the strong attraction—of both death and the past, prominent topics in much of Dahl's writing. Dahl certainly used his shed in order to "commemorate, and fantasize about, his past" (Treglown 111), assembling on a side table his father's paper knife, souvenirs from North Africa, a heavy ball made out of wrappings of chocolate bars, and even shards of himself—his own femur and fragments of his spine, saved from operations. Dahl valued the hut because it afforded him the chance to "disappear" and "get lost," to slip into another world, leading to the trancelike state of the writer's "secret side" and beyond, for those who seek claustra often desire to lose

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individual identity by separating from others and merging with the infinite—what Murray terms the "cathection of Nirvana."

I believe, therefore, that a good case can be made for rooting the Charlie books' profusion of womb metaphors in features of Dahl's personality: his tendency, perhaps born of trauma, to seek succor, to avoid harm, and effectively to lose himself in claustral spaces like the writing hut. Just as in the act of creation, the metaphor of the womb encircled his imagination, so too did the hut enclose him physically, entrancing him. But another, still more immediate variable may also have focused his attention upon tubes, valves, tunnels, and the like. Dating the composition of *Chocolate and the Chocolate Factory* is a difficult task, but according to Treglown's estimates, Dahl had finished the first draft of a story called "Charlie's Chocolate Boy" toward the end of August 1960. Available biographical materials shed very little light on this work, although judging from the title alone, it must have differed significantly from the eventual book. We do know that Dahl sent a revised draft of *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* off to Knopf more than two years after Theo's accident, which occurred in the Fall of 1960. Therefore, although we don't know how much of the *specific* content of the *Charlie* book took form after the accident to Dahl's son, we are safe in asserting that Dahl worked on a significant portion of the book *after* the traumatic incident occurred. And so the question arises: How might Theo's misfortune have influenced Dahl's use of claustral imagery?

One result of Theo's injuries was that he developed hydrocephalus. To drain the buildup of cerebrospinal fluid, surgeons ran a thin tube with a one-way valve from his head into a vein, from which the fluid got dispersed into the bloodstream (Treglown 138). But this tube constantly clogged, each time at great threat to Theo's life, and each time requiring another operation to change the tube and valve. According to Treglown, Dahl "studied the problem incessantly," and eventually, in cooperation with Kenneth Till, a neurosurgical consultant, designed a prototype device. An engineering firm with which a friend of Dahl's had connections carried out free experiments, and in June 1962—several months before Dahl delivered his revised draft of *Charlie*—a Dahl-Till Valve was inserted into a child's head. As Treglown notes, "Some people still have it in their heads today" (144).

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Theo's clogged valve therefore became a source of extreme anxiety for Dahl, and it pushed him into finding a solution for the problem—a solution which required constant thought about valves, tubes, tunnels, and passageways. For much of his life, Dahl had dreamed of being an inventor, and of glorious inventions and inventing rooms. At the most propitious time imaginable, then, Dahl both *became* an inventor and *invented* one, in the figure of Willy Wonka. Given Theo's condition, all the claustral imagery, all the tight spaces and clogged passageways, take on a new meaning. Even Augustus Gloop's predicament seems weirdly poignant in context. "He's blocked the whole pipe," Grandpa Joe exclaims; "Smash the pipe," implores Mrs. Gloop. Claustral themes, therefore, seem perfectly appropriate for two very different reasons—one deeply unconscious and personological, and the other immediate, situational, and to a greater degree conscious. The womb offered relief, as a constellating nuclear script, a palliative for presently felt fear, and a source of study for making things better.

* * * * *

From a psychobiographical perspective, then, *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* is a kind of allegorical summary of many of the topics Dahl returned to throughout his writing life—the search for a father replacement, the effort to master fate, and the need to find succor and avoid harm through the pursuit of claustral spaces (perhaps nuclear scripts all). Whether he knew it or not, Dahl must have felt compelled to revisit the same territory over and over again, at times for the sake of simple repetition—that is, neurotically, to no benefit—at other times as part of an unconsciously rooted effort to master turbulent emotions or repair psychological damage. The fact that Dahl wrote a sequel to *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*—something he did not do for any other book, despite various financial incentives—suggests that he may have had unfinished business to attend to.

Freud apparently told H.D. that dreams sometimes revealed a "corner," a point of convergence between vectors (Lohser and Newton 43), and of course, for Freud, writing was a kind of day-dreaming and the written work a dream, condensed and displaced. In *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* Dahl dreamed of a father who made a world that was fair and wonderful.

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Wonka's fervid inventiveness rendered loss unimaginable, or at least easily overcome. For once, reality made sense; chance only masqueraded as chance, and accidents were all well rehearsed. "Shocking" as they are, the disappearances point not towards a world unrestrained, but towards a just universe watchfully maintained. Predictability, not inscrutability, thus ultimately reigns supreme. Because Dahl creates in Wonka an authorial double who scripts events that Dahl invents, chance doesn't stand a chance, pulverized by both a fictional author and by an author of a fictional author. If Dahl ever lost control, then Wonka would not, and vice versa.

It's hard to imagine a less capricious universe.

## NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Thanks to the Winter 1997 Psychobiography Seminar at Pacific University, before which many of these ideas found their initial form; to Selene Crompton, for the long conversation; and to Rae Carlson, for supplying me with additional material on nuclear scripts. And as always, I am grateful for Alan Elms' predictably judicious reading of an early draft.

1. The departures are all the more significant because Dahl himself wrote the screenplay, apparently along with much rewriting by uncredited others (Treglown 188–90).
2. Dahl seems aware of Mr. Bucket's meager role. In the *Glass Elevator*, after Mr. Bucket asks a question of no one in particular, Dahl-as-author intrudes to note that Mr. Bucket is speaking for the first time.
3. Another father connection might have sneaked into the screenplay of *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*. In a peripheral subplot, a minor character whose wealthy husband has been kidnapped, urges investigators, "All I want is to have *Harald* back!" It's impossible to imagine Dahl writing such a line without thinking of his father.
4. Later, only days after Dahl had sent off a revised draft of *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*, his daughter Olivia died of measles, leaving him almost mad with grief. She was seven, the same age his sister Astri had been when she died.
5. That he puts canes in the hands of such deeply loved characters is worth noting, for both in *Boy* and "Lucky Break," his story of how he came to be a writer, Dahl goes on at great length about his and his friends' canings at the hands of assorted Headmasters. "The fear of the dreaded cane hung over us like the fear of death

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all the time," he explains, "That cruel cane ruled our lives." Absorbing the cane into the characters of Wonka and Grandmother would appear to strip it of some of its fearsomeness.

6. For detailed discussion of these and additional criteria of nuclear scripts, see Carlson " Exemplary" and "Studies."

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# Annual Bibliography of Works about Lifewriting, 1997–1998

*Phyllis E. Wachter*

With social science entries by *William Todd Schultz*

*It thus follows that even though it is possible to design, manipulate, and orchestrate one's immortality in advance, it never comes to pass the way it has been intended.*

— Milan Kundera

*And all men kill the thing they love,*
*By all let this be heard,*
*Some do it with a bitter look,*
*Some with a flattering word.*

— Oscar Wilde

*The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,*
*But in ourselves. . . .*

— William Shakespeare

A recent film on the life of Oscar Wilde depicts the writer's trials and two-year imprisonment, but it wasn't only a court of law which sentenced Wilde in 1895. The fickle court of public opinion and the nineteenth-century periodical press stripped him of his privacy and denied him the autonomy to be openly himself.

Now more than a hundred years later, any person elevated to celebrity status is still liable to be defamed at any time by individuals intent on killing through word or deed the very "thing they love." Entire life stories are being reduced to image, caricature, or sound bite, and then fed as fodder for public consumption on the evening news. Given the public's almost addictive craving for hero worship and the mass media's penchant for hype, it is not surprising that the lives of the rich and infamous have become big business. In the meantime, for some people the pursuit of celebrity is becoming a substitute for life itself.

Carol Rambo Ronai's and Rebecca Cross's article on strippers, and Janna Malamud Smith's introduction to her book *Private Matters: In Defense of the Personal Life* are just two of many entries which address the problems of public exposure of the private self. Are we gradually

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losing control over how we want ourselves to be perceived publicly? If so, to what extent are we willing to ignore and endure the invasion of our personal lives?

We cannot afford to allow our wish to be passive voyeurs into the lives of others to supersede our desire to express feelings of intimacy and compassion for our fellow human beings. And as for the harbingers of gossip and hypocrisy? They should go and get a life—their own, that is!

## Books

Anderson, Linda. *Women and Autobiography in the Twentieth Century: Remembered Futures*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1997.

Explores the genre of autobiography as developed by modern English and American women writers, focusing on works by Alice James, Virginia Woolf, Vera Brittain, and Sylvia Plath.

Baisnée, Valérie. *Gendered Resistance: The Autobiographies of Simone de Beauvoir, Maya Angelou, Janet Frame, and Marguerite Duras*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997.

A feminist analysis of autobiography by women writers as political resistance, focusing on mother-daughter relations and resistance to conservative social orders.

Barros, Carolyn A. *Autobiography: Narrative of Transformation*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1998.

A rhetorical study of autobiography as a narrative that presents the "before" and "after" of an individual's life, using the works of Newman, Mill, Darwin, and Oliphant to argue that change is the operative metaphor in autobiographical discourse. [Reviewed in this issue.]

Bion, Wilfred Ruprecht. *War Memoirs: 1917–1919*. London: Karnac, 1997.

Combines the psychoanalyst's diaries of his service on the Western Front from 1917 to 1919 with later essays, from his mature psychoanalytic perspective, on those diaries and on memoirs and war literature.

Bloom, Leslie Rebecca. *Under the Sign of Hope: Feminist Methodology and Narrative Interpretation*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1998.

Examines the practices of life history and ethnography in relation to understanding women's narratives, emphasizing the complexities of researcher-participant relationships, the limitations of narrative interpretation, and the importance of self-reflexivity for feminist inquiry.

Brenner, Rachel Feldhay. *Writing as Resistance: Four Women Confronting the Holocaust*. University Park: Penn State UP, 1997.

Focuses on the autobiographical work by Edith Stein, Simone Weil, Anne Frank, and Etty Hillesum to argue that autobiographical self-

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assertion becomes an act of resistance and defiance in a dehumanized and dehumanizing world.

Buckton, Oliver. *Secret Selves: Confession and Same-Sex Desire in Victorian Autobiography.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1997.

Analyzes the "confessional" elements relating to the representation of same-sex desire in such Victorian autobiographical narratives as those by Newman, Symonds, and Wilde.

Citron, Michelle. *Home Movies and Other Necessary Fictions.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998.

Uses essays, memoirs, fiction, and images drawn from her family's home movies to explore the ethics of autobiographical work and to challenge accepted understandings of the genre of memoir.

Cixous, Hélène. *Rootprints: Memory and Life-Writing.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

A theoretical autobiography telling Cixous' life story while theorizing about the genre of autobiography.

Conway, Jill Ker. *When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography.* New York: Knopf, 1998.

Analyzes the forms and styles of the modern memoir, and the traditions behind the differing ways men and women understand and present their lives.

Couser, G. Thomas. *Recovering Bodies: Illness, Disability, and Life Writing.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1997.

Explores the growing genre of narratives of illness and disability, by surveying autobiographical books dealing with HIV/AIDS, breast cancer, paralysis, and deafness. [Reviewed in *Biography* 21.3; see also Couser's essay in this issue.]

Cresswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998.

Contrasts biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study traditions of qualitative inquiry in six phases of research design, and as an example turns a case study into a biography, phenomenology, grounded theory study, and an ethnography.

Davidson, Miles H. *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Re-examined.* Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1997.

Critiques recent versions of Columbus biography by comparing them to the original sources and documentation. [Reviewed in *Biography* 21.2.]

De Looze, Laurence. *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century: Juan Ruiz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Geoffrey Chaucer.* Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1997.

Pseudo-autobiographies—works that insist they are autobiographical

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but are usually read as fictional—are assessed in both historical and theoretical terms.

Ellis, Robert Richmond. *The Hispanic Homograph: Gay Self-Representation in Contemporary Spanish Autobiography.* Champaign: U of Illinois P, 1997.

Focuses on the treatment of sexuality and gender in the works of Antonio Roig, Juan Goytisolo, Jaime Gil de Biedma, Luis Antonio De Villena, Terenci Moix, and Pedro Almodovar.

Fleischner, Jennifer. *Mastering Slavery: Memory, Family and Identity in Women's Slave Narratives.* New York: NYU Press, 1997.

Uses psychoanalytic theories to analyze narrative self-representations and uncover common thematic and rhetorical constructions in the autobiographical narratives of Harriet Jacobs, Elizabeth Keckley, Kate Drumgoold, and Julia A. J. Foote. [Reviewed in *Biography* 21.3.]

Gazzaniga, Michael S. *The Mind's Past.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.

Explores how mind and brain construct narratives of the past and of who we are.

Green, Barbara. *Spectacular Confessions: Autobiography, Performative Activism, and the Sites of Suffrage, 1905–1938.* New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Investigates the cultural functions of prison diaries, letters, pamphlets, journalism, and histories by militant suffragettes in Edwardian England, as they attempted to make the feminist body visible.

Grossman, Marshall. *Writing the Self in English Renaissance Narrative Poetry.* Durham: Duke UP, 1998.

Challenges New Historicist conceptions of the self by proposing a structural theory of narrative characterizations of the self in relation to historical action, using as examples English narrative poetry from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Hazlett, John Downton. *My Generation: Collective Autobiography and Identity Politics.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1998.

Focusing on a wide range of autobiographical texts from the 1960s, explores how the idea of the generation has affected autobiographical writing in this century.

Herrmann, Anne. *A Menopausal Memoir: Letters from Another Climate.* New York: Harington Park/Haworth, 1998.

In the form of nine letters written as a scholar engaged in personal narrative and feminist theory, examines how changes in the body affect identity, and the connections among memory, menopause, and mourning.

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Hesford, Wendy S. *Framing Identities: Autobiography and the Politics of Pedagogy*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998.

Interrogates the political dynamics of autobiography in education, and how autobiographical acts are used to expose the partiality and presumptions of educational institutions as well as to justify resistance to change and institutional complacency.

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997.

Explores the photographic conventions for constructing family relationships, and how to subvert those conventions, as family photos prove a powerful means for shaping personal and cultural memory.

Hoskins, Janet. *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

This ethnographic analysis of how Kodi women and men from Eastern Indonesia narrate their own lives and construct coherent identities by talking about their possessions shows how objects are tools for self-knowledge and autobiographical reflection.

Hynes, Samuel. *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1997.

Analyzes memoirs by British and American soldiers of World War I, World War II, and the Vietnam War to fashion a consistent genre, a single "tale." [Reviewed in *Biography* 21.1.]

Kanner, Penny. *Women in Context*. Weston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1997.

A critical, biographical, and bibliographical guide to 1,040 published narrative autobiographies by 812 British women from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries.

Klumpke, Anna. *Rosa Bonheur: The Artist's (Auto)biography*. Trans. Gretchen Van Slyke. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1997.

An Alice B. Toklas-type of text, which reveals volumes about both author and subject alike.

Lejeune, Philippe. *Pour L'Autobiographie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998.

Lejeune's collected essays from the 1990s.

Lieblich, Amia. *Conversations with Dvora: An Experimental Biography of the First Modern Hebrew Woman Writer*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. [Reviewed in *Biography* 21.3.]

Invents a hybrid genre for biographical narrative by creating a persona for Dvora Baron through twenty-four imagined conversations.

Linville, Susan E. *Feminism, Film, Fascism: Women's Autobiographical Film in Postwar Germany*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1998.

Examines the self images and retrieval of history in German women's

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auto/biographical films of the 1970s and 1980s to challenge accepted theories of German culture.

Liss, Andrea. *Trespassing through Shadows: Memory, Photography, and the Holocaust.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998.
Examines the difficulties and possibilities of using photographs and films to bear witness, to represent personal memory and history.

Ludwig, Arnold M. *How Do We Know Who We Are? A Biography of the Self.* New York: Oxford UP, 1997.
By interviewing twenty-one biographers and comparing their narrative structures with those used by psychotherapists, examines the genre of biography for insights into the construction of the self.

Ma, Sheng-mei. *Immigrant Subjectivities in Asian American and Asian Diaspora Literatures.* Albany: SUNY Press, 1998.
Interrogates the representation of immigrants in Asian American and Asian diaspora literature, focusing on the work of Frank Chin, Maxine Hong Kingston, Bharati Mukherjee, and Ang Lee.

von Marienwerder, Johannes. *The Life of Dorothea von Montau: A Fourteenth-Century Recluse.* Trans. Ute Stargardt. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1997.
This translation of the 1404 text by the Prussian theologian in service of the canonization of Dorothea von Montau conflates the genres of political polemic, idealized saint's life, mystical tract, and realistic biography in a way characteristic of the late Middle Ages.

McNairn, Alan. *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century.* Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 1997.
Analyzes representations of James Wolfe in popular culture and high art, in literature, music, and visual arts, to trace the development of a mythic, politically persuasive character.

Melnick, Ralph. *The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellmann, and the Staging of the "Diary."* New Haven: Yale UP, 1997.
Documents the struggle which ensued as to whether the "Jewishness" of the *Diary* should be emphasized.

Miedzian, Myriam, and Alisa Malinovich. *Generations: A Century of Women Speak about Their Lives.* New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1997.
Life stories of three generations of twentieth-century women explore issues of growing up, family, and work.

Mullen, Harryette. *Freeing the Soul: Race, Subjectivity, and Difference in Slave Narratives.* New York: Cambridge UP, 1998.
Contrasts the works of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs to identify differences in conceptualizations of gender, literacy, and freedom in slave narratives.

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Nádas, Péter. *A Book of Memories*. Trans. Ivan Sanders. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997.

Author notes that this is a novel dealing with the "recollections of several people separated by time, somewhat in the manner of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*."

Ostwald, Peter. *Glenn Gould: The Ecstasy and Tragedy of Genius*. New York: Norton, 1997.

Psychobiographically-informed examination of Gould's eccentric genius.

Otto, Whitney. *The Passion Dream Book*. New York: HarperCollins, 1997.

Mid-section of this novel contains "a bridge of biographies" on selected American expatriates who had lived in France.

Painter, John. *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition*. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1997.

Explores issues of historical credibility and reconstruction, in rehabilitating James from diverse legends and traditions.

Panzer, Mary. *Mathew Brady and the Image of History*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1997.

Describes how Brady used the documentary medium of photography to portray a stable identity for a fragmenting republic, constructing an idealized history from fact and memory.

Pillemer, David B. *Momentous Events, Vivid Memories*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998.

Extends the study of narrative and memory to explore how public memories and personal moments shape individual lives, how children learn to construct and share personal memories, how individual and group memory function, and how unique events linger in memory.

Plimpton, George. *Truman Capote: In Which Various Friends, Enemies, Acquaintances, and Detractors Recall His Turbulent Career*. New York: Doubleday, 1997.

Oral biography which spans Capote's entire life, from his Southern childhood to his final days of flagging inspiration, pill popping, and isolation.

Quinney, Richard. *For the Time Being: Ethnography of Everyday Life*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1998.

Combines autobiographical meditations, photographs, and sociological and literary analysis to create and exhibit a methodology for autobiographical ethnography.

Rosenbaum, Ron. *Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of His Evil*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1998.

A psychobiographical approach to Hitler, focusing on his family background and development.

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Rugg, Linda Haverty. *Picturing Ourselves: Photography and Autobiography*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997.

Uses Mark Twain, August Strindberg, Walter Benjamin, and Christa Wolf to argue that photography's double take on self-image—establishing our existence at a given point in time, while demonstrating the impossibility of framing our multiple and fragmented selves—mirrors the concerns of autobiographers. [Reviewed in *Biography* 21.3.]

Sartwell, Crispin. *Act Like You Know: African-American Autobiography and White Identity*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Uses the confrontations between African-American autobiographical discourses and white society to gain access to the contents and core of white identity.

Schmidgall, Gary. *Walt Whitman: A Gay Life*. New York: Dutton, 1997.

Traces the influence of Whitman's homosexuality on his poetry.

Seltzer, Mark. *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Argues that the instability of identity and fascination with technology in contemporary culture makes the serial killer possible as a uniquely modern phenomenon.

Smith, Janna Malamud. *Private Matters: In Defense of the Personal Life*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1997.

Bernard Malamud's daughter tackles the slippery issue of privacy as a subtle, complex, continually shifting, subjective, and partly circumstantial problem for moderns.

Smith, Roger. *Biographies of Scientists: An Annotated Bibliography*. Magill Bibliographies Series. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1998.

Evaluates over five hundred sources of information on scientists, and includes a survey of the history and themes of scientific biography.

Spence, Linda. *Legacy: A Step-by-Step Guide to Writing Personal History*. Athens: Ohio UP, 1997.

A practical guide to producing personal and family histories.

Sutton, David E. *Memories Cast in Stone: The Relevance of the Past in Everyday Life*. New York: Berg, 1998.

Through ethnographic fieldwork on the Greek island of Kalymnos, explores how a feeling of ownership of the past is expressed in people's everyday lives and informs present consciousness.

Tachibana, Reiko. *Narrative as Counter-Memory: A Half-Century of Writing in Germany and Japan*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1998.

Explores personal narratives and memoirs from postwar Germany and Japan as providing alternatives to official, comprehensive, and "objective" accounts of that period.

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Tithecott, Richard. *Of Men and Monsters: Jeffrey Dahmer and the Construction of the Serial Killer.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1997.

Explores the serial killer as an American cultural icon, whose stories and images reveal as much about mainstream American culture as about the killers themselves.

Tolley, Christopher. *Domestic Biography: The Legacy of Evangelicalism in Four Nineteenth-Century Families.* New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Analyzes the biographical tradition and its lasting effect on "family values" by tracing the development of the subgenre of domestic biography to Victorian habits of recording family life.

Vinitzky-Seroussi, Vered. *After Pomp and Circumstance: High School Reunion as an Autobiographical Occasion.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

Examines the high school reunion as an ideal forum for exploring the construction of identity in American society, and as unavoidably forcing biographical confrontations, as people construct their own life narratives imperiled by the tensions of competing histories.

Volkan, Vamik, Norman Itzkowitz, and Andrew Dod. *Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography.* New York: Columbia UP, 1997.

A psychoanalytic interpretation of Nixon's presidency.

Waxman, Barbara Frey. *To Live in the Center of the Moment: Literary Autobiography of Aging.* Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1997.

An exploration of how to read contemporary literary autobiographies that focus on aging, with chapters on the relationship between elderly parents and middle-aged children, on turning seventy, on race as a factor in aging, and on the philosophical elements of autobiographies of aging.

Wills, Garry. *John Wayne's America: The Politics of Celebrity.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.

Views Wayne's screen image as a political emblem of gender, ideology, character, and responsibility.

Winstead, Karen A. *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997.

Examines the seemingly static plot and form of the virgin martyr narrative, discovering subtle shifts in representation as the audience changed.

Zweers, Alexander F. *The Narratology of the Autobiography: An Analysis of the Literary Devices Employed in Ivan Bunin's* The Life of Arsen'ev. New York: Peter Lang, 1997.

Examines narrative strategies in turn-of-the-century Russian autobiographical fiction, with a focus on Bunin.

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## Collections

*Volume titles appear in bold; contents are listed in order of appearance.*

Broughton, Trev Lynn, and Linda Anderson, eds. ***Women's Lives/Women's Times: New Essays on Auto/Biography.*** Albany: SUNY Press, 1997.

Thirteen essays exploring the contributions the study of autobiography can contribute to the theory, practice, and politics of women's studies and feminism.

Jolly, Margaretta. "'Life Has Done Almost as Well as Art': Deconstructing *The Maimie Papers*." 9–29.

Evaluates deconstructive methods of interpretation by applying them to the life and writing of Maimie Pinzer, establishing a tension between deconstructing a self and reconstructing a past.

Rendall, Jane. "'A Short Account of My Unprofitable Life': Autobiographies of Working Class Women in Britain c. 1775–1845." 31–50.

Reconstructs frameworks for multiple, intersecting genres, within which marginalized self-historians, such as working women, have made sense of their lives.

Graham, Elspeth, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox. "'Pondering All These Things in Her Heart': Aspects of Secrecy in the Autobiographical Writings of Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen." 51–71.

Uses the works of Alice Thornton, Anne Wentworth, Katherine Philips, and Elizabeth Delaval to suggest that the interplay of revelation and secrecy is essential to the autobiographical act.

Alberti, Johanna. "Striking Rock: The Letters of Ray Strachey to Her Family, 1929–1935." 73–93.

Reconstructs Strachey's relationship with the domestic within the public arena, seeing her letter writing as a practice and a genre for constituting the self first in family and then in public spheres.

Khanna, Ranjanna. "In Search of a Voice for Dopdi/Draupadi: Writing the Other Woman's Story Out of the 'Dark Continent.'" 103–20.

Questions how one can speak in a voice reflecting an "infinity of traces," existing between discourses in inherited languages.

Broughton, Trev Lynn. "Leslie Stephen, Anny Thackeray Ritchie, and the Sexual Politics of Genre: Missing Her." 121–41.

Traces the patterns of association in the *Mausoleum Book*, connecting professional, sexual, and generic isues in Stephen's self-representation.

Griffin, Gabriele. "*What Is [Not] Remembered*: The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas." 143–56.

Explains Toklas's work as offering a female protaganist focused on

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an other rather than a self, thus resisting Lejeune's autobiographical pact, and opening gaps between signifier, signified, and referent.

Durakbasa, Ayse. "*The Memoirs* of Halidé Edib: A Turkish Woman Writer in Exile." 157–71.

Describes Edib's memoirs as shadowing a traditional political autobiography with a domestic narrative, as she presents her individual story as inseparable from the history of her nation.

Vanacker, Sabine. "Autobiography and Orality: The Work of Modernist Women Writers." 179–202.

Explores the differences between texts of high modernism by men and by women, contrasting the men's textual accomplishment of coherence with the women's autobiographical desire to be present in and through their writing.

Woolf, Judith. "Silent Witness: Memory and Omission in Natalia Ginzburg's *Family Sayings*." 203–24.

Argues for the silences in women's testimony as being necessary—not signs of oppression, but an eloquent form of truth telling about trauma that refuses the consolations of narrative.

Jouve, Nicole Ward. "Their Wars." 231–41.

In reconstructing family history during World War I, interrogates the binary opposition between public and private history.

Shaw, Marion. "'Invisible Presence': Life-Writing and Vera Brittain's Testament of Friendship." 243–57.

In contemplating her own biography of Winifred Holtby, in light of the one by Vera Brittain some forty years before, explores how the biographical act displaces the uncertainties of autobiography into the completeness of biography.

Bertram, Vicki. "'Tidal Edges' in Contemporary Women's Poetry: Towards a Model of Critical Empathy." 259–82.

Noting that the subjectivity of the reading process makes every critic an autobiographer, calls for a personal criticism endowed with detachment and empathy, and which recognizes the provisionality of critical engagement.

Couser, G. Thomas, and Joseph Fichtelberg, eds. ***True Relations: Essays on Autobiography and the Postmodern.*** Westport: Greenwood, 1998.

Ten essays exploring the dialectics of postmodern self-fashioning, focusing on questions of authority, alternate visions of the self, and the ability of the autobiographical act to mirror communal concerns.

Fichtelberg, Joseph. "Introduction." 1–9.

Sets the context for ten essays exploring the postmodern dialectics of self-fashioning.

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Adams, Timothy Dow. "Photography and Ventriloquy in Paul Auster's *The Invention of Solitude*." 11–22.

Explores biographical relationality by showing how Paul Auster's attempt to remember his father by reassembling the fragments of his life put Auster's own life at risk.

Lovrod, Marie. "Art/i/fact: Rereading Culture and Subjectivity through Sexual Abuse Survivor Narratives." 23–32.

Examines child abuse narratives to show how the narrator's attempt to name the unnameable causes fragmentation, an experience of dismemberment that can be a means toward a revised, elliptical self-expression.

Sanderson, Richard K. "Relational Deaths: Narratives of Suicide Survivorship." 33–50.

Shows how the death of family members forces survivors to refashion their own lives through compensating relationships.

Newtown, George. "From St. Augustine to Paul Monette: Sex and Salvation in the Age of AIDS." 51–61.

Reflects on how the Augustinian conversion narrative has been deformed in AIDS narratives, as the self shattered by AIDS is reconstituted as a weave of associations.

Eakin, Paul John. "Relational Selves, Relational Lives: The Story of the Story." 63–81.

Explores how the self is re-membered through its relations with others, as telling the other's story extends the self.

Hogan, Joseph, and Rebecca Hogan. "Autobiography in the Contact Zone: Cross-cultural Identity in Jane Tapsubei Creider's *Two Lives*." 83–95.

Traces the multivalent persona of Jane Tapsubei Creider to explore the contact zones where cultures merge and clash.

Sisson, Larry. "The Art and Illusion of Spiritual Autobiography." 97–108.

Shows how subjectivity in conversion narratives can yield an ever-widening array of references, until the distinction between private and relational self is lost.

Gerstenberger, Katharina. "Multiple Crossings: Cross-Dressing, Cross-Gender Identification, and the Passion of Collecting in Charlotte von Mahlsdorf's Autobiography *I Am My Own Woman: A Life*." 109–23.

Shows how manipulating cultural signs can reveal the intimate link between ideology and personal accident.

Coullie, Judith Lütge. "Crazed New World: Reflections on Godfrey Moloi's *My Life: Volume One*." 125–36.

Argues that Moloi's textual pastiche of Hollywood and gangster scenes is presented as a metaphor for South Africa's social collapse.

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Silk, Gerald. "All by Myself: Piero Manzoni's Autobiographical Use of His Body, Its Parts, and Its Products." 137–58.

Suggests the ultimate relationship of all identity, by examining Manzoni's deliberate confusion of art and autobiography, and his attempt to make all art personal and everyone a work of art.

Edwards, M. J. and Simon Swain, eds. ***Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire.*** Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.

Seven essays examining biographical representation in the Greek and Latin literature of the Roman imperial period and later antiquity.

Swain, Simon. "Biography and Biographic in the Literature of the Roman Empire." 1–37.

Presents a sociohistorical perspective on the study of biographic elements in Roman and Greek texts against historical trends of the times.

Rajak, Tessa. "Dying for the Law: The Martyr's Portrait in Jewish-Greek Literature." 39–67.

Explores the Jewish-Greek tradition of martyrology as a fusion of traditions, not an independent genre, using the Maccabees as an example.

Edwards, Mark. "Simon Magus, the Bad Samaritan." 69–91.

Traces the development of Simon through the ages, across time and traditions, down to contemporary works of fiction.

Holford-Strevens, Leofranc. "Aulus Gellius: The Non-Visual Portraitist." 93–116.

Analyzes portraiture in Gellius's *Attic Nights*.

Pelling, Christopher. "Biographical History? Cassius Dio on the Early Principate." 117–44.

Argues for a change in Dio's work from annalistic to biographic structuring, even though the resulting characters are uninteresting and lack individuation.

Cameron, Averil. "Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of Constantine." 145–74.

Calls for an analysis of Eusebius' work as text and narrative, rather than simply for its historical accuracy, suggesting that its apologetic features make it a prototype for a saint's life.

Fox, Robin Lane. "The *Life of Daniel*." 175–225.

Places the *lives* of stylites in the context of Christian asceticism, reading them for historical accuracy and for their authors' shaping.

Edwards, Mark. "Epilogue." 227–34.

Defines biographic, in the Greek and Roman context, as an indispensable concept irreducible to the formal genre of biography.

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Gates, Barbara T., and Ann B. Shteir, eds. *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1997.

Fourteen essays exploring how women have contributed to the dissemination of scientific knowledge.

Gates, Barbara T., and Ann B. Shteir. "Introduction: Charting the Tradition." 3–24.

Sets out the historical context for the study of women as disseminators, popularizers, and teachers of science.

Gould, Stephen Jay. "The Invisible Woman." 27–39.

Recuperates the work of Mary Roberts, a nineteenth-century conchologist and natural historian.

Myers, Greg. "Fictionality, Demonstration, and a Forum for Popular Science: Jane Marcet's Conversations on Chemistry." 43–60.

Analyzes Marcet's dialogues as a new forum which both popularized chemistry and prepared women for study at the Royal Institution.

Lightman, Bernard. "Constructing Victorian Heavens: Agnes Clerke and the 'New Astronomy.'" 61–75.

Presents Clerke as a border crosser, creating works of value to both the general public and professionals.

Ainsley, Marianne Gosztonyi. "Science in Canada's Backwoods: Catharine Parr Traill." 79–97.

Shows how Traill transformed her field experience for presentation to American and English general readers.

Johnston, Judith. "The 'Very Poetry of Frogs': Louisa Anne Meredith in Australia." 98–115.

Shows how Meredith interprets colonial natural history as both an exotic (Britisher) and an insider (Australian), but has less success with her presentations of native peoples.

Hensen, Pamela M. "'Through Books to Nature': Anna Botsford Comstock and the Nature Study Movement." 116–43.

Resurrects Comstock's pioneering use of study guides, illustrations, visual aids, and books specifically for children to popularize science.

Jann, Rosemary. "Revising the Descent of Woman: Eliza Burt Gamble." 147–63.

Presents the American suffragette's counternarration to Darwin, emphasizing cultural evolution.

Gates, Barbara T. "Revisioning Darwin with Sympathy: Arabella Buckley." 164–76.

Analyzes Buckley's works, particularly for children, which stressed species cooperation as well as survival of the fittest.

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Squier, Susan. "Conflicting Scientific Feminisms: Charlotte Haldane and Naomi Mitchison." 179–95.

Contrasts two twentieth-century representatives of divergent feminist views of women as reproductive/sexual bodies.

Raglon, Rebecca. "Rachel Carson and Her Legacy." 196–211.

Sets out the poetics of Carson's science writing in the context of nature writing.

Early, Julia English. "The Spectacle of Science and Self: Mary Kingsley." 215–36.

Reveals the constructed stage persona Kingsley used to create a voice of authority for imparting information from her trips to West Africa.

Krasner, James. "'Ape Ladies' and Cultural Politics: Dian Fossey and Biruté Galdikas." 237–51.

Examines the representations of Fossey and Galdikas in *National Geographic*, focusing on its use of popular narrative plots about women, nature, and scientists.

Gates, Barbara T., and Ann B. Shteir. "Interview with Diane Ackerman, 18 July 1994." 255–64.

Discourse on popularizing science, both historically and today.

Gould, Warwick, and Thomas F. Staley, eds. ***Writing the Lives of Writers.*** New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Twenty-two essays from a 1995 conference on the theory and practice of literary biography.

Stannard, Martin. "A Matter of Life and Death." 1–18.

Focuses on the concept of the text's speaking voice, while suggesting that biography serve as a site for the new historicism.

Haffenden, John. "Life over Literature; or, Whatever Happened to Critical Biography?" 19–35.

Argues for biographers as critics who should pay more attention to unfolding the works of their subjects.

Lipking, Lawrence. "The Birth of the Author." 36–53.

Situates authorship in the disparity between specific material conditions and the timeless ideal of an author.

Kennedy, Ruth. "Re-creating Chaucer." 54–67.

Examines biographies of Chaucer from different periods to show how how he is recreated in light of contemporary and personal images.

Daniel, David. "William Tyndale: Bricks without Straw." 68–78.

Describes how to write a biography with scant and problematic source material.

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Robson, Mark. "Writing Contexts in William Roper's *Life of Thomas More*." 79–89.

Reads a sixteenth-century biography of More by his son-in-law, in light of the traditions and contexts of other lives of More.

Battestin, Martin C. "Life-Writing without Letters: Fielding and the Problem of Evidence." 90–106.

Advocates a "cumulative sum technique" of authorship attribution to overcome the difficulties of writing about an author who left few letters.

Grundy, Isobel. "'Acquainted with all the Modes of Life': The Difficulty of Biography." 107–24.

Disscusses the biographer's attempt to "find a story in the muddle" of a subject's life, which requires a large vision, the mediation of positions and voices, and the anchoring of speculation to data.

Williams, John. "*The White Doe of Rylstone*: An Exercise in Autobiographical Displacement." 125–34.

Reads *The White Doe* as Wordsworth's attempt to hold to nonconformist ideas of modernity and democracy.

Salmon, Richard. "The Right to Privacy/The Will to Knowledge: Henry James and the Ethics of Biographical Enquiry." 135–49.

Explores James's ambivalent attitudes and writings about biography.

Saunders, Max. "Ford, Eliot, Joyce, and the Problems of Literary Biography." 150–72.

Details the challenges by modernist authors to received notions of literary biography.

Gould, Warwick. "'Witch' or 'Bitch'—Which? Yeats, Archives, and the Profession of Authorship." 173–90.

Traces Yeats's authorial intentions by surveying his dealings with his publishers, particulary as detailed in the Macmillan archives.

Worthen, John. "The Biographer and Perspective." 191–203.

By focusing on how biographers discuss their subjects' marriages and partnerships, emphasizes the need to find alternate perspectives.

Ellis, David. "Explaining the Abnormal: D. H. Lawrence and Tuberculosis." 204–11.

Addresses the explanatory codes of biographers, and in particular the problems involved in using illness as an explanation.

Winning, Joanne. "'"The Past" is with me, seen anew': Biography's End in Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage*." 212–23.

Given the hybrid nature of the genre, questions the use of autobiographical fiction by biographers and literary critics.

Lee, Hermione. "Am I Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" 224–38.

A meditation on the various kinds of fear and fearlessness experienced by biographers and their subjects.

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Monk, Ray. "Devilish Repressions: Bertrand Russell's Use of Fiction as Autobiography." 239–65.

Explores the unrecognzied confessional elements in Russell's fiction.

Bowker, Gordon. "Constructing the Biographical Subject: The Case of Malcolm Lowry." 266–76.

Argues that composing a biographical subject is a social process involving negotiation and revision, and resulting in a multifaceted image.

Atkins, Antony. "Textual Biography: Writing the Lives of Books." 277–92.

Calls for more attention to be paid to the practical and theoretical implications of literary work as property and commodity.

MacKillop, Ian. "Vignettes: Leavis, Biography and the Body." 293–301.

Recommends the use of vignettes to vitalize biographies by increasing their subjects' material and bodily presences.

Rowley, Hazel. "Richard Wright: Intellectual Exile." 302–12.

Argues that Wright biographies require a global perspective, because his hybrid identity transcends national, cultural, and ethnic bounds.

Buckridge, Patrick. "Private Scandals and Public Actions: The Politics of Reputation in the Career of Brian Penton." 313–19.

Explores the ambivalent relationship of biography to scandal.

Ostle, Robin, Ed de Moor, and Stefan Wild, eds. ***Writing the Self: Autobiographical Writing in Modern Arabic Literature.*** London: Saqi Books, 1998.

Twenty-four essays evaluating the theory and practice of autobiography in Arabic literature from the seventeenth century to the present.

al-Kharrāt, Edwār. "Foreword: Random Variations on an Autobiographical Theme." 9–17.

The Egyptian novelist explores the play of fiction and autobiography in his own writings.

Ostle, Robin. "Introduction." 18–24.

Introduction to autobiographical theory as applied to a modern Arabic context.

van Leeuwen, Richard. "Autobiography, Travelogue and Identity." 27–29.

Explores the complexities of the relationship between autobiography and identity, as found in travelogues.

Starkey, Paul. "Fact and Fiction in *al-Sāq 'alā al-sāq*." 30–38.

Shows how the fictionalization of autobiographical elements in the nineteenth-century work by Fāris al-Shidyāq created a frame for social and literary criticism.

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van Leeuwen, Richard. "Two Egyptians at the World Exhibition in Paris." 39–50.

Describes the reactions of Muhammad Amīn Fikrī and Ahmad Zakī respectively to the 1889 and 1900 Paris exhibitions, and to European images of Egypt and Europe's developing Orientalism.

Ceccato, Rosella Dorigo. "Autobiographical Features in the Works of Ya'qūb Sānu'." 51–60.

Shows how the pioneering nineteenth-century dramatist's work was the genesis for modern dramaturgy in Egypt.

el-Enany, Rasheed. "The Promethean Quest in Louis 'Awad's *Memoirs of an Overseas Student*." 61–71.

Compares the selves presented in 'Awad's 1942 and 1989 memoirs.

Enderwitz, Susanne. "Public Role and Private Self." 75–81.

Connects the beginnings of Arabic autobiography with European contact and the development of new national histories.

Wild, Stefan. "Searching for Beginnings in Modern Arabic Autobiography." 82–99.

Establishes a context for the development of self-representation in Arabic autobiography.

Rooke, Tetz. "The Arabic Autobiography of Childhood." 100–14.

Discusses why Arabic autobiographies tend to have extensive narratives of childhood.

Neuwirth, Angelika. "Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā's Autobiography, *al-Bi'r al-ūlā*, and his Concept of a Celebration of Life." 115–27.

Shows how Jabrā's 1987 work combines individual and collective memory to create a self as artist.

de Moor, Ed. "Autobiography, Theory and Practice: The Case of *al-Ayyām*." 128–38.

In addressing the scarcity of canonical autobiographical texts, discusses the impact of Tahā Husayn's work.

Guth, Stephan. "Why Novels—Not Autobiographies?" 139–47.

Explores why Arabic authors choose to tell their lives in novels, as they can better link individual and collective realities to create meaning not inherent in a life itself.

Camera d'Afflito, Isabella. "Prison Narratives: Autobiography and Fiction." 148–56.

Surveys prison narratives in Arabic, linking them to the life experiences of the authors.

al-'Īd, Yumnā. "The Autobiographical Novel and the Dual Function." 157–77.

Using Hannā Mīnā's trilogy as an example, argues that fiction allows

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Arabic authors to be more daring, invoking a collective consciousness that possesses an authority lacking in autobiography.

Fähndrich, Hartmut. "The Big House." 178–82.

Explores the use of "the big house" as metaphor and mythical topic in contemporary Arabic autobiography and autobiographical novels.

Gonzalez-Quijano, Yves. "The Territory of Autobiography: Mahmūd Darwīsh's *Memory for Forgetfulness*." 183–91.

Presents Darwīsh's text as transgressing the autobiographical pact, fragmenting the unity of the subject, and calling on memory to fulfill two functions: mourning and forgetting, and giving memory to others.

Hallaq, Boutros. "Autobiography and Polyphony." 192–206.

Argues that the internal structures in the works of Darwīsh and al-Kharrāt come from consciousness of death, presented via a fragmented polyphony which relates individual to collective consciousnesses.

Allen, Roger. "Autobiography and Memory." 207–16.

Explores the linkages among writer, text, and autobiography in the works of Najīb Mahfūz.

Aghacy, Samira. "The Use of Autobiography in Rashīd al-Da'īf's *Dear Mr Kawabata*." 217–28.

Highlights al-Da'īf's use of prefaces to present the self as a public figure, incorporating a blending of genres that erase themselves.

Cox, Debbie. "Autobiography and Intertextuality: Rashīd Būjadra." 229–40.

Explores the process of writing and its relationship to language, identity, and the nature of the self being projected.

Corrao, Francesca Maria. "*The Autobiography of the Thief of Fire* by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī." 241–48.

Analyzes al-Bayyātī's poetry, highlighting the theme of revolution and its role in his life.

Walther, Wiebke. "My Hands Assisted the Hands of Events." 249–59.

Analyzes the memoirs of Muhammad Mahdī al-Jawāharī.

Odeh, Nadja. "Coded Emotions: The Description of Nature in Arab Women's Autobiographies." 263–71.

Shows how Arab women use nature as a code for emotions, since writing autobiography requires violating privacy and moving into public space.

Manisty, Dinah. "Negotiating the Space between Private and Public: Women's Autobiographical Writing in Egypt." 272–82.

Resistance in Egyptian women's autobiographical writing from the 1950s to the 1980s suggests multiple possibilities of selfhood, while also destabilizing the genre.

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Bennett, Sophie. "A Life of One's Own." 283–91.
Explores women's loss of sense of self, and the identification of personal and political and particular and general, in the works of Latīfa al-Zayyāt.

Penn, William S., ed. *As We Are Now: Mixblood Essays on Race and Identity.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1997.
Thirteen essays suggesting the complexity of Native American experience by expressing autobiographical, historical, intellectual, cross-cultural, and artistic visions of mixblood Americans.

Penn, William S. "Introduction." 1–11.
Sets a context for negotiating patterns of identity and survival in narratives by mixbloods.

Aigner-Varoz, Erika. "Cutting and Pinning Patterns." 12–27.
Describes the development of a quilted identity by a German-Mexican mixblood from El Paso.

Womack, Craig. "Howling at the Moon: The Queer but True Story of My Life as a Hank Williams Song." 28–49.
Explores the author's reactions to public expectations of him as a Native American story teller, erasing his reality as a mixblood gay man.

Rodriguez, Alfonso. "Crossing Borders from the Beginning." 50–66.
Highlights the diversity of Chicano/a experience, in light of the development of the homogenized academic discipline of ethnic studies.

Kalafatic, Carol. "Knots." 67–81.
Describes the negotiation of a Quechua, Spanish, Yugoslavian mixblood identity.

Petersen, Inez. "What Part Moon." 82–86.
Problematizes the identity formation for mixblood Native Americans who did not have a traditional upbringing.

Penn, William S. "Tradition and the Individual Imitation." 87–114.
Describes the difference between revisionist history and allowing history to reveal itself.

Blaeser, Kimberly. "On Mapping and Urban Shamans." 115–25.
Presents a mapping metaphor for the negotiation between rural and urban experience.

Spencer, Rainier. "Race and Mixed-Race: A Personal Tour." 126–39.
Advocates an understanding of human difference that does not include race as a meaningful category.

Aldama, Arturo. "Visions in the Four Directions: Five Hundred Years of Resistance and Beyond." 140–67.
Situates the struggle for identity against the violence of colonialism, internalized colonialism, and colonial representations.

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Brunner, Diane DuBose. "Between the Masques." 168–80.

Describes the formation of an identity that includes self and other.

Huhndorf, Shari. "From the Turn of the Century to the New Age: Playing Indian, Past and Present." 181–98.

Explores changing definitions and stereotypes of Indians since the late 1800s.

Romero, Rolando. "Troublemakers." 199–218.

Discusses academic strategies practiced in Chicano and Latino studies and Spanish departments.

Hilden, Patricia Penn. "Ritchie Valens Is Dead: *E Pluribus Unum.*" 219–52.

Situates mixblood struggle for identity and resistance to the overculture in the context of contemporary California politics.

Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. ***Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader.*** Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1998.

A comprehensive critical guide to women's autobiography, containing excerpts from classic publications in the field. The entries are divided into eight sections: experience and agency, subjectivities, modes and genres, histories, voice and memory, bodies and sexualities, and politics and pedagogy. Original dates of publication appear in parentheses.

Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. "Introduction: Situating Subjectivity in Women's Autobiographical Practices." 3–52.

A guide to the field of women's autobiography as it has evolved.

Scott, Joan. "Experience." (1993.) 57–71.

Describes how the subjects of women's autobiographies are simultaneously implicated in conflicting discourses, needing to discover spaces to maneuver, spaces for resistance and change.

Friedman, Susan Stanford. (1988.) "Women's Autobiographical Selves: Theory and Practice." 72–82.

Explains the relationality and community involved in women's autobiographical selves.

Felski, Rita. "On Confession." (1989.) 83–95.

Explains confession as a way to create a new feminist audience to validate female experience narrated in that genre.

McKay, Nellie Y. "The Narrative Self: Race, Politics, and Culture in Black American Women's Autobiography." (1995.) 96–107.

Suggests that Black American women writers need to be read within historically inflected paradigms with distinct processes of selfhood.

Smith, Sidonie. "Performativity, Autobiographical Practice, Resistance." (1995.) 108–115.

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Argues for the autobiographical speaker as a performative subject, whose self is an effect of the autobiographical storytelling.

Suleri, Sara. "Woman Skin Deep: Feminism and the Postcolonial Condition." (1992.) 116–25.

Seeks to dismantle the identity politics of postcolonial feminism which erases the autobiographical subjects' specific historical contexts.

Stanton, Domna C. "Autogynography: Is the Subject Different?" (1984.) 131–44.

Questions the autobiographical practices of the writing woman, suggesting that the splitting of woman's subjectivity must be placed in the context of women's status in the symbolic order.

Benstock, Shari. "Authoring the Autobiographical." (1988.) 145–55.

Uses Lacan's mirror stage as a figure to trace the loosening of the definition of writing from self-consciousness toward the unconscious, as for women the autobiographical leads to a decentered or elided self.

Brodzki, Bella. "Mothers, Displacement, and Language." (1988.) 156–59.

Explores the political and cultural implications of displacement, and their bearing on diverse literary strategies in literary autobiography.

Nussbaum, Felicity A. "The Politics of Subjectivity *and* The Ideology of Genre." (1989.) 160–67.

Explores how conflicting concepts of identity are played out as writing subjects, negotiating subjectivities through generic expectations.

Wong, Hertha D. Sweet. "First-Person Plural Subjectivity and Community in Native American Women's Autobiography." (1996.) 168–78.

Sets out a double map for Native women, as relationality and community signify different practices and values in Native American and feminist contexts.

Gilmore, Leigh. "Autobiographics." (1994.) 183–89.

Locates women's autobiography as a place of resistance, involving the writing of multiple, contradictory, experimental identities.

Perreault, Jeanne. "Autography/Transformation/Asymmetry." (1995.) 190–196.

Suggests autography, rather than autobiography, as a term for life-writing that continually questions its own boundaries and activity.

Sommer, Doris. "Sacred Secrets: A Strategy for Survival." (1995.) 197–207.

Using Rigoberta Menchú's work as an example, explores a rhetoric whose narrative makes its audience read cautiously and resists the autobiographical genre's illusion of narrator-reader intimacy.

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Kaplan, Caren. "Resisting Autobiography: Out-Law Genres and Transnational Feminist Subjects." (1992.) 208-16.

Sketches several alternative narrative practices through which women negotiate and reform generic models.

Culley, Margo. "Introduction to *A Day at a Time: Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to 1985.*" (1985.) 217–21.

Explores narrative and temporal structures and strategies for constructions of the self in diaries and journals.

Buss, Helen M. "A Feminist Revision of New Historicism to Give Fuller Readings of Women's Private Writing." (1996.) 222–31.

Uses reading strategies of New Historicism to make more complex her approach to reading women's diaries.

Spacks, Patricia Meyer. "Female Rhetorics." (1988.) 232–38.

Using letters of eighteenth-century women, shows how self-revelation conflicts with norms of femininity as self-effacing, leading the writers to develop strategies to engage in the self-assertion of letter writing.

Steedman, Carolyn Kay. "Stories." (1986.) 243–54.

Positions autobiographical subjects as classed, offering a materialist reading of her own and her mother's lives against the norms of British working-class autobiography.

Corbett, Mary Jean. "Literary Domesticity and Women Writers' Subjectivities." (1992.) 255–63.

Offers a class analysis of how women autobiographers subordinate their own histories to those of others.

Gagnier, Regenia. "The Literary Standard, Working-Class Autobiography, and Gender." (1990.) 264–75.

Points out the importance of socioeconomic status and mobility in nineteenth-century working-class autobiographies.

Torres, Lourdes. "The Construction of the Self in U.S. Latina Autobiographies." (1991.) 276–87.

Reads Latina autobiographical writing as revolutionary, subversive appropriations of a new space to assert mestiza identity and to write the contradictions of multiple selves.

Goldman, Anne E. "Autobiography, Ethnography, and History: A Model for Reading." (1995.) 288–98.

Looks at the narrators of working-class women's autobiographies to understand how they present a self while representing a collective.

Wong, Sau-ling Cynthia. "Immigrant Autobiography: Some Questions of Definition and Approach." (1991.) 299–315.

Calls for more historicized and ethnically specific approaches to reading autobiographies of Americanization.

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Mason, Mary G. "The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers." (1980.) 321–24.

Stressing that female identity is grounded in relationship, provides textual female self-presentations that contrast with masculine ones.

Lionnet, Françoise. "The Politics and Aesthetics of *Métissage*." (1989.) 325–36.

Shows how the braiding of voices in *métissage* addresses issues of agency in postcolonial women writers who use both indigenous and colonial languages.

Djebar, Assia. "Forbidden Gaze, Severed Sound." (1980.) 337–42.

By speaking the sites of Algerian women's lives in resistance struggles, Djebar writes her own identity as a subject under erasure.

Henderson, Mae Gwendolyn. "Speaking in Tongues: Dialogics, Dialectics, and the Black Woman Writer's Literary Tradition." (1989.) 343–52.

Explores heteroglossia as a means to join theories of consciousness and culture, since an individual's language is always permeated by the voices of others.

Haaken, Janice. "The Recovery of Memory, Fantasy, and Desire in Women's Trauma Stories: Feminist Approaches to Sexual Abuse and Psychotherapy." (1996.) 352–61.

Critiques the stakes involved in debates on recovering memory, and the implications of theories of memory for reading narratives of victimization and survival.

Butler, Judith. "Introduction to *Bodies That Matter*." (1993.)367–79.

Links the questioning of the materiality of the body to a reformulated performativity of gender, with "sex" as a regulatory ideal.

Martin, Biddy. "Lesbian Identity and Autobiographical Difference(s)." (1988.) 380–92.

Argues that lesbian identity must no longer be theorized as a predictable identity, but as a position from which to speak in a way that unsettles identity boundaries.

Watson, Julia. "Unspeakable Differences: The Politics of Gender in Lesbian and Heterosexual Women's Autobiographies." (1992.) 393–402.

Interrogates the unspeakable as a category for unspoken differences, including both lesbian and heterosexual desire.

Finke, Laurie A. "Mystical Bodies and the Dialogics of Vision." (1993.) 403–14.

Historicizes medieval mystical bodies to provide frameworks for reading how women writers negotiate their devalued body status to give themselves agency as visionaries.

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Neuman, Shirley. "Autobiography, Bodies, Manhood." (1991.) 415–24.
Explores the phantasmatic male body, insisting that all texts, by both men and women, be read as sites of bodily inscription and all bodies as material and cultural sites.

hooks, bell. "writing autobiography." (1989.) 429–32.
Presents essay writing as a way of both talking back and talking to oneself, as the move between the personal "I" and the collective "we" infuses cultural criticism with personal responses and politics.

Smith, Sidonie. "Autobiographical Manifesto." (1993.) 433–40.
Women's autobiographical practices revise the meaning of "theorizing" about subjectivity, as their new, personal autobiographical manifestos call forth new subjects while critically observing past sources of oppression and conflictual identities.

Lim, Shirley Geok-lin. "Semiotics, Experience, and the Material Self: An Inquiry into the Subject of the Contemporary Asian Woman Writer." (1998.) 441–52.
Points to the importance of the multiple marginalities of gender, ethnicity, nationality, and linguistic community found in Asian women's lifewriting.

Harlow, Barbara. "From the Women's Prison: Third Worlds Women's Narratives of Prison." (1986.) 453–60.
Shows how the collective voicings of resistance by imprisoned women transform narrative paradigms and urge both resistance and social reorganization.

Miller, Nancy K. "Teaching Autobiography." (1991.) 461–70.
Addresses a variety of questions relating to the teaching of autobiography, to produce in the public space of the classroom a recognition of the separateness, but not otherness, of an other's voice.

Mairs, Nancy. "The Way In." (1989.) 471–73.
Argues for the contextualizing of life narratives as personal criticism, attentive to the norms of narrative self-disclosure.

Walker, Julia M., ed. ***Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana.*** Durham: Duke UP, 1998.
Essays revealing the surprisingly wide-ranging criticism of Elizabeth I throughout her life, countering the celebratory traditions of her reign.

Walker, Julia M. "Introduction: The Dark Side of the Cult of Elizabeth." 1–8.
Sets the context for eleven essays covering the less well-known rhetoric of dissent, criticism, and disrespect which permeated all aspects of Elizabeth's life, reign, and posthumous reputation.

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Cavanagh, Sheila. "The Bad Seed: Princess Elizabeth and the Seymour Incident." 9–29.

Explores the ephemeral nature of spoken disrespect by analyzing the gossip relating to the Seymour incident.

Doran, Susan. "Why Did Elizabeth Not Marry?" 30–59.

In tracking the question through most of Elizabeth's adult life, Doran suggests the answer lies in the powers of the queen's various advisors.

Highley, Christopher. "The Royal Image in Elizabethan Ireland." 60–76.

Discusses anti-Elizabeth discourse in Ireland over two decades, focusing on the ritual destruction of a statue of the queen.

Levin, Carole. "'We shall never have a merry world while the Queene lyveth': Gender, Monarchy and the Power of Seditious Words." 77–98.

Explores what constituted seditious language in Elizabeth's reign.

Bell, Ilona. "'Souereaigne Lord of lordly Lady of this land': Elizabeth, Stubbs, and the *Gaping Gulf*." 99–117.

Offers a close reading of the negative discourse in Stubbs' pamphlet.

McCullough, Peter E. "Out of Egypt: Richard Fletcher's Sermon before Elizabeth I after the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots." 118–52.

Provides a political contextualization of the sermon preached at Elizabeth after the execution of Mary Stuart.

Betts, Hannah. "'The Image of this Queene so quaynt': The Pornographic Blazon 1588–1603." 153–84.

Suggests that the blazon in poetry from 1588 to 1603 served as a pornographic representation of the queen's body.

North, Marcy L. "Queen Elizabeth Compiled: Henry Stanford's Private Anthology and the Question of Accountability." 185–208.

Offers a reading of Henry Stanford's anthology, a private collection of decades of seditious texts.

Villeponteaux, Mary. "'Not as women wonted be': Spenser's Amazon Queen." 209–28.

Unravels the nexus of Elizabeth figures in the *Faerie Queene*, arguing that the rule-usurping Amazon Radigund is the primary representation.

Content, Rob. "Fair Is Fowle: Interpreting Anti-Elizabethan Composite Portraiture." 229–51.

Links allusions to Elizabeth as monstrous in Sidney's *Old Arcadia* to a 1590s cartoon representing her as a giant bird of prey.

Walker, Julia M. "Bones of Contention: Posthumous Images of Elizabeth and Stuart Politics." 252–76.

Compares James' tomb for Elizabeth to her memorials in London parish churches, finding an opposition between royal disrespect and populist praise also seen in 1620s prints and portraits of Elizabeth.

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## Special Issues and Annuals

*Volume titles appear in bold; contents are listed in order of appearance.*

***a/b: Auto/Biography Studies*** 12.2 (Fall 1997). "Cross-Cultural Autobiography." Ed. Rebecca Hogan and Joseph Hogan.

Browdy de Hernandez, Jennifer. "Postcolonial Blues: Ambivalence and Alienation in the Autobiographies of Richard Rodriguez and V. S. Naipaul." 151–65.

Argues that autobiographical texts by marginal postcolonial subjects are double-voiced, celebrating assimilationist success while mourning for lost ethnic heritages.

Bunkers, Suzanne. "Illegitimacy and Intercultural Lifewriting." 188–202.

Meta-autobiographical meditation on the influence of the author's Luxembourg-American heritage on both her life and scholarship.

Kim, Elizabeth S. "Complicating 'Complicity/Resistance' in Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality*." 166–87.

Analyzes how cultural contradictions and conflicting alliances from the pressure of travel and contact destabilize Schaw's national, colonial, and gender identity.

*American Imago* 54.4 (Winter 1997). "Biography." Ed. David Hoddeson.

Belford, Barbara. "On Becoming Oscar Wilde: Transformations Seen in a Biographer's Journal." 333–45.

Author reveals personal responses to her subject's life and personality.

Munker, Dona. "Enchantment and the Biographical Passion." 377–97.

Suggests that writing lives is the product of enchantment, an "intense, curious, insidious form of possession," and describes her self-analysis while writing the biography of Sattarah Farman-Farmaian.

Feder, Stuart. "Transference Attended the Birth of Modern Biography." 399–415.

Examines transference reactions in Johnson's *Life* of Savage, arguing that an unconscious sense of maternal neglect, betrayal, and abandonment drew Johnson to Savage.

Harlan, Elizabeth. "Ghosts in the Nursery: My Mother, My Subject, Myself." 417–36.

Author explores subjective influences on the writing of her biography of George Sand.

Wineapple, Brenda. "Mourning Becomes Biography." 437–51.

Shows how the biographical project, as a form of public mourning, is suffused with the sadness of loss, as the trajectory of biography is sorrow and coming to some sort of acceptance.

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*American Imago* 55.2 (Summer 1998). "Biography II." Ed. David Hoddeson.

Karl, Frederick R. "In The Struggle Between You and Kafka, Back Yourself." 189–204.

Describes how countertransference reactions led to new ideas about his biographical subject, Franz Kafka.

Zubin, Nancy. "The Convex Mirror: A Queen, An Heiress, and Biographical Blindness." 205–13.

Details how immersion in the life of a biographical subject can lead to unexpected changes in the biographer's life.

Hoddeson, David. "Blowback." 215–33.

Tells about reestablishing his own family constellation in the family of his biographical subject.

Young-Bruehl, Elisabeth. "Profile of a Latency Woman: Development for Biographers." 235–53.

Writes about the further contributions psychoanalysis might make to the discipline of biography.

Harris, Adrienne. "The Analyst as (Auto)biographer." 255–75.

Looks at how conventions of biographical writing have entered and shaped psychoanalytic narratives.

Gilmore, Leigh. "Last Words: Transference and the Auto/biographical Demand in Mikal Gilmore's *Shot in the Heart*." 277–98.

Explores how the demands of autobiography and biography sometimes coincide in Mikal Gilmore's account of his brother Gary's execution, causing different narrative dilemmas.

*Biography and Source Studies* 3 (1997). Ed. Frederick Karl.

Lockridge, Larry. "Biography and Enigma: The Case of Ross Lockridge, Jr." 1–18.

Argues that biographers can still reach for "facts" and verifiable narratives, that the story of the subject's life is still more significant than the subjective narrative achieved by the biographer.

Karl, Frederick R. "Writing Kafka's Biography." 19–38.

Emphasizes the need for documentation and source studies, particularly when dealing with a writer like Kafka, with whom it is particularly difficult for a biographer to achieve any objective distance.

Alliston, April, and Pamela Schirmeister. "Taking Precautions: Gender Masquerade and Authorial Persona in James Fenimore Cooper." 39–54.

Traces influences and presences in Cooper's first novel, *Precaution*.

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Polizzotti, Mark. "What Lies on the Cutting Room Floor: Some Scenes Not from the Life of André Breton." 55–68.

Highlights the role of selection in writing a biography, by focusing on material the author ultimately left out of his biography of Breton.

Reynolds, David S. "Writing Cultural Biography: In Pursuit of Walt Whitman." 69–92.

Calls for a broadening of the biographical process to include historical and cultural contextualization.

Carbonell, Bettina M. "Literary Biography and Theory: Alone with Hawthorne." 93–116.

Explores how biographers use documents which have a particular temporality and spatiality in the subject's world, and how they fill in the narrative gaps of a subject's life when documentation is lacking.

Harris-Seares, Lin. "Latter-Life Traumatology and the Search for a Hidden Author." 117–36.

Explains her development of a genre called "psychography," exemplified by her reading of Jerzy Kosinski's life not through chronological sequencing but through a traumatic event that occurred late in his career.

Rollyson, Carl, and Lisa Paddock. "'Fair Use' and the Unauthorized Biography: Dealing with the Dilemma." 137–50.

Suggests strategies and methods open to biographers in legal matters relating to copyright and to use of published and unpublished material.

Mellen, Joan. "Confessions of an ex-Biographer." 151–64.

Questions the legitimacy of the conventional literary biography, making a case for shorter sketches, focusing on singular dimensions of a subject as a mode for biographies.

*Journal of Personality* 65.4 (Dec. 1997). "The Life Voyage of a Solo Circumnavigator: Integrating Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives." Ed. William Nasby and Nancy Read.

The *Journal of Personality* devotes an entire issue to this uniquely comprehensive and pathbreaking examination of the life voyage of Dodge Morgan, who in 1986 at the age of 54 sailed solo around the world in 150 days.

McAdams, Dan P. "Introduction: Personality, Psychology, and the Case Study." 757–84.

Nasby, William. "The Life Voyage of a Solo Circumnavigation: Integrating Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives." 785–94.

"Models Presented." 795–822.

"The Voyager and the Voyage." 823–52.

"Personality Profiles." 853–904.

"Quantitative Analysis." 905–58.

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"The Life Voyage." 959–1012.
"The Hero's Return." 1013–42.
"Reflections on the Journey." 1043–68.
Wiggins, Jerry S. "Circumnavigating Dodge Morgan's Interpersonal Style." 1069–86.
Craik, Kenneth H. "Circumnavigating the Personality as a Whole: The Challenges of Integrative Methodological Patterns." 1087–98.

*Journal of Personality* 66.3 (Sept. 1998). "How Are the Mighty Fallen: Controversy Over a Classic Problem in Psychobiographical Diagnosis." Forum, including two responses and a reply. 443–93.

Simonton, Dean. "Mad King George: The Impact of Personal and Political Stress on Mental and Physical Health." 443–66.
Reevaluates the porphyria explanation for the King's madness, using quantitative methods of the "historiometric" approach, and finding a significant relationship between episodes of madness and stress.
Read, Nancy, and William Nasby. "In Search of Personality: Reflections on the Case of King George." 467–76.
Velicer, Wayne, and Brett Plummer. "Time Series Analysis in Historiometry: A Comment on Simonton." 477–86.
Simonton, Dean. "Historiometry and a Historic Life." 487–93.

*Magazine of History* 12.1 (Fall 1997).
Historical sites as doorways into the life stories of their famous past women occupants.
Rose, Vivian Ellen. "'Men Make No Mention of Her Heroism': Natural and Cultural Resources and Women's Place." 3–5.
Lee, Antoinette J. "Supporting Working Women: YWCA Buildings in the National Register of Historic Places." 5–7.
Huyck, Heather. "Beyond John Wayne: Using Historic Sites to Interpret Western Women's History." 7–9.
Stetz, Debbie. "Maria Israel and the Old Loma Point Lighthouse." 10–12.
Bales, Rebecca. "Native American Women: Living with Landscape." 13–14.
Travis, Tara. "Captured in Stone: Women in the Rock Art of Canyon de Chelly." 14–17.
Tagger, Barbara A. "Interpreting African American Women's History." 17–18.
Hanson, Jill K. "The Modjeska Monteith Simkins Home." 18–21.
Boland, Beth. "Keeping Women in Their Historic Places: Bringing Women's Stories to the Classroom." 21–26.
Levin, Ruth. "Splendid Possibilities: Isabella Bird Visits Hawaii." 27–35.

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Tilford, Kathy. "Anna Kingsley: A Free Woman." 35–38.

Stearns, Liza. "The World of Barilla Taylor: Bringing History to Life through Primary Sources." 38–44.

*Peace and Change* 23.2 (Apr. 1998). "Relocation of Japanese Americans During World War II: The Heart Mountain Experience." Ed. Mike Mackey and Steven D. Thulin.

Daniels, Roger. "Incarcerating Japanese-Americans: An Atrocity Revisited." 117–34.

Describes how the relocation was allowed to occur, the processes by which it was carried out, and the redress movement.

Hosokawa, Bill. "*The Sentinel* Story." 135–47.

Explains the operation and goals of the camp newspaper, *The Sentinel*.

Inouye, Frank T. "Immediate Origins of the Heart Mountain Draft Resistance Movement." 148–66.

Explores the creation and role of the Heart Mountain Congress.

Hirabayashi, Lane Ryo. "Re-Reading the Archives: Intersections of Ethnography, Biography, and Autobiography in Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement." 167–82.

Explores how to study the lived experience of mass incarceration and relocation, emphasizing the need to reread and interrogate the archives.

Bills, Scott L. "Public Memory, Commemoration, and the 'Regime of Truth.'" 183–92.

Validates the struggle to change the narratives of history through self-conscious efforts to correct official histories, and points toward a new type of public memory, an open-ended commemoration.

*Western American Literature* 32.1 (Spring 1997). "Autobiography as Cultural Record."

McAllister, Mick. "Native Sources: American Indian Autobiography." 3–24.

Williams, Gary. "Raymond Carver." 25–33.

Bevis, William W. "James Welch." 33–54.

Renfro, Elizabeth. "Ella Leffland." 55–64.

Bass, Rick. "Review Essay." 65–72.

### Articles and Essays

Anselment, Raymond A. "Elizabeth Freke's Remembrances: Reconstructing a Self." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 16.1 (Spring 1997): 57–75.

Study of self-representation in diary literature from the late 1600s.

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Arthos, John, Jr. "My Voice is Bound to the Mass of My Own Life." *Southern Communication Journal* 63.2 (1998): 113–30.

Questions the conventional dichotomy of public and private discourse within the field of feminist rhetoric.

Balée, Susan. "From the Outside In: A History of American Autobiography." *The Hudson Review* 51.1 (Spring 1998): 40–64.

Contemporary American memoirists are surveyed as they encode within their writings doubts about the nature of reality and the instability of identity in an era of virtual reality.

Barenbaum, Nicole. "The Case(s) of Gordon Allport." *Journal of Personality* 65.3 (Sept. 1997): 743–55.

Describes Allport's idiographic analysis of Marion Taylor, a psychology and biology teacher who kept detailed diaries from the age of nine.

Barresi, John, and Tim Juckes. "Personology and the Narrative Interpretation of Lives." *Journal of Personality* 65.3 (Sept. 1997): 693–719.

Suggests that a narrative approach seems ideally suited for the description and interpretation of lives, especially since lives are structured through experience in a story-like manner.

Bergmann, Linda S. "Widows, Hacks, and Biographers: The Voice of Professionalism in Elizabeth Agassiz's *Louis Aggasiz: His Life and Correspondence*." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 1–21.

Discusses the longing for "truth value" in biography in light of the increasing sense of the genre as a locus for the biographer's discourse rather than as a transparent rendering of the subject's life.

Bethea, David M. "Bakhtinian Prosaics Versus Lotmanian 'Poetic thing': The Code and Its Relation to Literary Biography." *Slavic and East European Journal* 41.1 (Spring 1997): 1–15.

Compares Bakhtin's and Lotman's literary styles, noting Lotman's move from a dialogic to a structuralist-semiotic style, and addressing the consequences for literary biography.

Blake, Debra J. "Unsettling Identities: Transitive Subjectivity in Cherríe Moraga's *Loving in the War Years*." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 71–89.

Reads Moraga's text as suggesting an approach to subjectivity which acknowledges conflict and the rupture of established categories and cultural conditions, and refigures subjectivity as mobile and multiple but also historically and culturally rooted.

Booth, Marilyn. "'May Her Likes Be Multiplied': 'Famous Women'—Biography and Gendered Prescription in Egypt, 1892–1935." *Signs* 22.4 (Summer 1997): 827–90.

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These "Famous Women" biographies form a kind of collective autobiography as well as a model for future generations of women.

Boyd, J. Wesley. "Stories of Illness: Authorship in Medicine." *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes* 60.4 (Winter 1997): 347–59.

Explores medical narrative by reviewing several 1990s accounts of illness by patients and caregivers.

Brasfield, Curtis. "Tracing Ancestors: What's in a Name?" *American Visions* 13.2 (Apr. 1998): 14–18.

A certified genealogical record specialist describes the process of conducting an investigation into an African-American ancestral line.

Brockmeier, Jens. "Autobiography, Narrative and the Freudian Concept of Life History." With comments by Daniel N. Robinson and Jeremy Holmes, and Brockmeier's response. *Philosophy, Psychiatry, and Psychology* 4.3 (Sept. 1997): 175–211.

Suggests a narrative reading of Freud's concept of life history, arguing that the narrative models that underlie Freud's thought are embedded in seven organizing narrative structures from the nineteenth century.

Brookhiser, Richard. "Celebrity Conquers America." *American Heritage* 49.4 (July/Aug. 1998): 30–37.

Discusses the impact of celebrity lives and deaths on their admiring public.

Bruner, Jerome. "A Narrative Model of Self-Construction." *The Self Across Psychology: Self-Recognition, Self-Awareness, and the Self Concept.* Ed. Joan Gay Snodgrass and Robert L. Thompson. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 818. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1997. 145–61.

Reviews a set of indicators of selfhood, showing how they are constituents of well-formed narratives, which are based on popular narratives from a particular culture's fictions.

Burke, Peter. "Individuality and Biography in the Renaissance." *The European Legacy* 2.8 (1997): 1372–82.

Renaissance biographies are not biographies in our sense of the term, but rather anecdotal pieces.

Buss, Helen. "Memoir with an Attitude: One Reader Reads *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts*." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.2 (Fall 1997): 203–24.

Offers new directions in critical consideration, by combining an analysis of the generic marker "memoir" as a discursive practice useful as a women's writing genre, with feminist theorization of the author's place as a reader of the text.

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Carrard, Philippe. "Picturing Minds: Biography and the Representation of Consciousness." *Narrative* 5.3 (Oct. 1997): 287–305.

Taking as examples David Macy's *Lives of Michel Foucault* and Francine du Plessix Gray's life of Louise Colet, explores how contemporary biographers represent the consciousnesses of their subjects, base those representations on archival grounds, and textualize their evidence.

Carter, Kathryn. "The Cultural Work of Diaries in Mid-Century Victorian England." *Victorian Review* 23.2 (1997): 251–67.

Examines why the nomenclature of privacy is increasingly attached to nineteenth-century diaries, and how that affects women's acts of representation.

Cohan, Mark. "Political Identities and Political Landscapes: Men's Narrative Work in Relation to Women's Issues." *Sociological Quarterly* 38.2 (Spring 1997): 303–19.

Analyzes case studies of men with a history of political activism on "women's" issues, describing the interpretive practices by which they construct their individual political identities, as both identity and the context for this identity are seen as narrative constructions.

Comins-Richmond, Walter. "The Polemics of Recollection: Three Russian Futurists Struggle over the Past." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 22–36.

Shows how works by Benedict Livshits, Vasilii Kamensky, and Aleksei Kruchonykh are dialogical and polemical adaptations of memoir and biography that fuse memory and the deliberate reinterpretation of the past because of social pressures at the time of composition.

Couser, G. Thomas. "Raising Adam: Ethnicity, Disability, and the Ethics of Life Writing in Michael Dorris's *The Broken Cord*." *Biography* 21.4 (Fall 1998): 421–44.

Shows how Dorris's mixing of genres raises questions about the ethics of parental life writing and the representation of people with disabilities.

Crewe, Nancy M. "Life Stories of People with Long-Term Spinal Cord Injury." *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin* 41.1 (Sept. 1997): 26–42.

Collects and categorizes life story interviews with fifty individuals who have lived with spinal cord injuries for over twenty-two years.

Daisey, Peggy. "Promoting Equity in Secondary Science and Mathematics Classrooms with Biography Projects." *School Science and Mathematics* 97.8 (Dec. 1997): 413–18.

Biographies are found to be effective teaching tools for promoting equity in secondary mathematics and science education, reducing cultural conflicts and discontinuities and increasing interest for minority students.

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Demory, Pamela. "Ambivalence in Joseph Conrad's *A Personal Record*: The Anti-Autobiographical Autobiography." *Pacific Coast Philology* 32.1 (1997): 54–65.

Argues that Conrad subverts the conventions of the autobiographical genre.

DePaulo, Bella M., and Deborah A. Kashy. "Everyday Lies in Close and Casual Relationships." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74.1 (Jan. 1998): 63–79.

Examines diaries to explore the types, degree, and contexts of lying.

Devadawson, Christel R. "'Shaking Up a Continent': Biography as a Postindependence Response." *Ariel* 20.1 (Jan. 1998): 109–28.

Compares indigenous and nonnative biographers of Nehru to argue that the conversion of biography into autoethnography was important for shaping the cultural contexts of postcolonial India.

Dobie, Madeleine. "Sarah Kofman's *Paroles suffoquees*: Autobiography, History, and Writing 'After Auschwitz.'" *French Forum* 22.3 (Sept. 1997): 319–41.

Explores autobiographical treatments of the Holocaust, centering on Kofman's work.

Ellis, Sarah. "Lives of the Writers: Literary Biographies for Children." *The Horn Book Magazine* 73.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1997): 706–09.

Uses the examples of biographies of Lucy Maud Montgomery from the point of view of her cat, and *Glass Town*, describing the childhood play of the Brontës, to argue that literary biographies for children need particularly imaginative approaches.

Fancher, Raymond E. "Biography and Psychodynamic Theory: Some Lessons from the Life of Francis Galton." *History of Psychology* 1.2 (May 1998): 99–115.

Uses the biography of Francis Galton to survey various personality theories, and to show that a psychologically oriented biographer must be opportunistic in selecting which psychodynamic theories to use.

Farnsworth-Alvear, Ann. "Orthodox Virginity / Heterodox Memories: Understanding Women's Stories of Mill Discipline in Medellin, Columbia." *Signs* 23.1 (Fall 1997): 72–101.

Retold stories are viewed in terms of the shifting line between "what can and cannot be expressed in public."

Fattah, Hala. "Representations of Self and Other in Two Iraqi Travelogues of the Ottoman Period." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30.1 (Feb. 1998): 51–76.

In journeys of self-discovery, shared expectations and outcomes often result in similar kinds of life narratives.

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Fay, Elizabeth. "Wordsworthian Lives: The Commonplace of Extraordinary Emotion." *The Wordsworth Circle* 28.2 (1997): 87–91.

Explores the crafting of a life, the autobiographical act, and the making of biography.

Foldy, Michael. "The Emotional Logic of *Mein Kampf*: Kohutian and Bakhtinian Perspectives on Hitler's Internment in Landsberg Prison." *Psychohistory Review* 26.2 (Winter 1998): 137–58.

Explores what *Mein Kampf* meant to Hitler when he was writing it, and how the book allowed him to rewrite and restore a damaged self.

Forster, Margaret. "Life Lines: Tips on Writing Memoirs." *Times Educational Supplement* 8 Aug. 1997: 20–22.

Emphasizes the importance of structure in memoirs, arguing for a chronological approach and supplying tips on publication.

Fox, Pamela. "Recycled 'Trash': Gender and Authenticity in Country Music Autobiography." *American Quarterly* 50.2 (June 1998): 234–57.

Highlights the narratives of class politics and the creation of imprimaturs of authority in women country music celebrity autobiographies.

Frawley, Maria H. "Elizabeth Gaskell's Ethnographic Imagination in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*." *Biography* 21.2 (Spring 1998): 175–94.

Examines ethnographic strategies and rhetoric invoked by Gaskell, tracing their roots to Brontë's own self-representations and to a specific historical moment in mid-nineteenth-century British culture.

Frenken, Ralph. "The History of German Childhood Through Autobiographies." *Journal of Psychohistory* 24.4 (Spring 1997): 390–402.

Discusses five childhood accounts from fourteenth to seventeenth century German autobiographies, focusing on the parent-child relationship and its consequences for the adult personality.

Gandal, Keith. "A Spiritual Autopsy of Stephen Crane." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51.4 (Mar. 1997): 500–530.

Conducts a spiritual analysis of Crane's patterns of illness and the circumstances leading to his death, considers his poetry as a struggle for personal faith, and connects that inner struggle with the twentieth-century movements of expressionism and modernism.

Gardiner, Judith Kegan. "'Singularity of Self': Cavendish's *True Relation*, Narcissism, and the Gendering of Individualism." *Restoration* 21.2 (Fall 1997): 52–65.

Addresses the treatment of the female self, narcissism, and individualism in Margaret Cavendish.

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Glass, Elizabeth. "Mastering the Memoir: An Interview with Tobias Wolff." *Writer's Digest* 77.7 (July 1997): 25–28.

Interview in which Woolf differentiates biographies from memoirs, and using *This Boy's Life* as a prototype, advocates creative nonfiction techniques and fictive narrative structures.

Goertz, Karein. "Transgenerational Representations of the Holocaust: From Memory to 'Post-Memory.'" *World Literature Today* 72.1 (Winter 1998): 33–38.

Discusses the Holocaust in terms of "post-memory"—distanced memories that reveal trauma's lingering effects on individuals years or generations away from the original events.

Gubrium, Jaber F. and James A. Holstein. "Narrative Practice and the Coherence of Personal Stories." *Sociological Quarterly* 39.1 (Winter 1998): 163–87.

Asserts that the coherence of stories is related to the activities and conditions of storytelling.

Hamad, Bushra. "History and Biography." *Arabica* 45.3 (July 1998): 215–32.

Asks what we can tell from a Muslim dictionary on biography about its author's concept of history.

Hankins, Karen Hale. "Cacophony to Symphony: Memoirs in Teacher Research." *Harvard Educational Review* 68.1 (Spring 1998): 80–95.

Explores the connection between Hankins' personal history and her present classroom teaching.

Harre, Rom. "Pathological Autobiographies." *Philosophy, Psychiatry, and Psychology* 4.2 (June 1997): 99–109.

Explores the expression of self in stories, based on Vygotskian theories of the mind and Wittgensteinian theories of language games, to argue that nonstandard linguistic pathologies may express pathological the structuring of the mind of the speaker.

Hayes, Daniel. "Autobiography's Secret." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.2 (Fall 1997): 243–60.

Explores the careful compromises in autobiographical works between closure and disclosure.

Hedrick, Joan. "The Paradox of Biography." *Humanities* 18.3 (May 1997): 8–9.

While some regard it as the queen of the humanities, others dismiss biography as low-grade history.

Heehs, Peter. "Genius, Mysticism, and Madness." *Psychohistory Review* 26.1 (Fall 1997): 46–75.

Looks at whether scientifically-derived models of genius and madness

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can illumine the life and work of Sri Aurobindo, a spiritual and political leader in early twentieth-century India.

Hillman, James. "Case History: Evolution or Revelation." *The Evolution of Psychotherapy: The Third Conference.* Ed. Jeffrey K. Zeig. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1997. 163–.

Asks what is the nature of a case history, how do we tell our life story, and how do therapists hear the story told, arguing that therapists' constructs and frames depend on how their own biography is formed.

Hirst, William, David Manier, and Ioana Apetroaia. "The Social Construction of the Remembered Self: Family Recounting." *The Self Across Psychology: Self-Recognition, Self-Awareness, and the Self Concept.* Ed. Joan Gay Snodgrass and Robert L. Thompson. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 818. New York: Academy of Sciences, 1997. 163–88.

In considering a larger unit for developing and supporting a self concept—the family—the essay argues that family members often adopt different roles in recounting a shared past, and these roles have a decisive influence over whose version of events is adopted.

Hoekstra, Steven. "Docudrama as Psychobiography: A Case Study of HBO's *Stalin.*" *Psychohistory Review* 26.3 (Spring 1998): 253–64.

Questions the impact television biography may have on people's beliefs about historical events and figures, and wonders whether such docudramas can serve as the everyman's psychobiography.

Hornung, Alfred. "Autobiography." *International Postmodernism: Theory and Literary Practice.* Ed. Hans Bertens and Douwe Fokkema. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997.

Explores autobiography from 1960 to 1997 as a postmodern genre.

Howe, Michael J. A. "Beyond Psychobiography: Towards More Effective Syntheses of Psychology and Biography." *British Journal of Psychology* 88.2 (May 1997): 235–48.

Suggests that psychology has more to offer the study of individual development than is routinely used, and considers the necessary aspects of an approach that would maximize the impact of scientific psychology on understanding individuals.

Howe, Michael J. A., and Mary L. Courage. "The Emergence and Early Development of Autobiographical Memories." *Psychological Review* 104.3 (July 1997): 499–523.

Provides a new framework for integrating the development of autobiographical memories with other early achievements such as gesturing and concept formation, setting the youngest limits for autobiographical memory to about two years of age.

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Jones, D. G. Brian. "Biography as Methodology for Studying the History of Marketing Ideas." *Psychology and Marketing* 15.2 (Mar. 1998): 161–73.

Discusses biography as one of the major approaches to studying management history, using Theodore N. Beckman as an illustration.

Joseph, Betty. "Representation and Representative Politics: Reading Female Insurgency, Subalternity, and Self-Constitution in the Anti-Colonial Text." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 52–70.

Interrogates Kalpana Dutt's *Chittagong Armoury Raiders—Reminiscences* to argue that the autobiographical impulse is crucial to representative politics in the modern nation-state.

Kaplan, Alice. "The Trouble with Memoir." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 5 Dec. 1997: B 4.

Three problems are explored, including examples. The primary focus is that people assume all memoirs "tell all," which makes the audience think the authors will have nothing else left to say about their lives.

Karell, Linda K. "'The Immanent Pattern': Recovering a Self in Mary Austin's *Earth Horizon*." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.2 (Fall 1997): 260–76.

Shows how Austin links two gendered autobiographical forms in *Earth Horizon*, a classic male story of a developing, independent self, and a spiritual autobiographical form often used by women writers.

Keener, John F. "The Last Words of Dutch Schultz: Deathbed Autobiography and Postmodern Gangster Fiction." *Arizona Quarterly* 54.2 (Summer 1998): 135–63.

Presents Schultz's deathbed statements as a type of autobiography, and interrogates their use by later writers, including Robert Morris, E. L. Doctorow, and William Burroughs.

Kerby, Anthony Paul. "The Language of the Self." *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences*. Ed. Lewis P. Hinchman, Sandra K. Hinchman, et al. Albany: SUNY Press, 1997.

Argues that the self is not a metaphysical substance, but is constituted pragmatically, through language, and specifically through the effort to render experience coherent in story form, though that form is conditioned by culturally available myths, rituals, models, and genres.

Kirschstein, Bette H. "The Remasculinization of the Artist and Author in Ford Madox Ford's Life Writing." *Biography* 21.2 (Spring 1998): 153–74.

Demonstrates how Ford's lifelong ambivalence about the "manliness" of his profession led him to "remasculinize" the artists and authors who appear in his life writing.

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Kuhn, Annette, Rosalind Brunt, Christine Geraghty, Jenny Kitzinger, Beth Edginton, and Roger Silverstone. "Flowers and Tears." *Screen* 39.1 (Spring 1998): 67–84.

Six authors survey the impact Princess Di made and continues to make as a story, an icon, an image, and a national symbol.

Lloyd, Rosemary. "Writing on the Self: Mallarme, Redon and Symbolist Autobiography." *Romance Quarterly* 45.3 (Summer 1998): 178–88.

Argues for an understanding of symbolist autobiography as questioning the established Rousseauian representation of self by portraying the self as other.

Loesberg, Jonathan. "Moving Beyond the Deconstructive Impasse in the Criticism of Autobiography." *Prose Studies* 20.1 (Apr. 1997): 119–38.

Asks for an end to the kinds of criticism which argue for the end of the existence of autobiography.

Lovesay, Oliver. "'Postcolonial Self-Fashioning' in Sara Suleri's *Meatless Days*." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 32.2 (1997): 35–50.

Using Pakistani literature as an example, explores the impact of post-colonialism on creating a self.

Lyons, Michael. "Presidential Character Revisited." *Political Psychology* 18.4 (Dec. 1997): 791–811.

Uses the "Myers-Briggs Type Indicator" to analyze the relationship between presidential personality and presidential leadership, with an emphasis on President Clinton's leadership style.

Mahr, Greg. "Pessoa, Life Narration, and the Dissociative Process." *Biography* 21.1 (Winter 1998): 24–35.

Using as an example the impact of a dissociative experience on the creative work of Fernando Pessoa, discusses the implications of dissociation for life narrative.

Malone, Anne Righton. "The Power of Shared Stories: Growing Old in the Company of Other Women's Voices." *Frontiers* 19.1 (1998): 64–74.

Documents the desire in some women during mid-life to tell the stories of themselves and to seek out the stories of other women who are growing older.

Maran, Meredith. "An Open Book: The Late Great Memoir Debate." *Tikkun* 12.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1997): 23–24.

Explores the intense and growing public interest in memoirs, tracing it to a desire for context and community.

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Marshall, Elaine. "Irruptions of the Grotesque in Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.*" *Journal of the Association for the Interdisciplinary Study of the Arts* 2.2 (Spring 1997): 17–34.

Investigates narrative techniques for relating the grotesque.

Marvick, Elizabeth. "Jefferson's Personality and His Politics." *Psychohistory Review* 25.2 (Winter 1997): 127–63.

Reviews psychohistorical analyses of Jefferson.

McGaw, Judith A. "Inventors and Other Great Women: Toward a Feminist History of Technological Luminaries." *Technology and Culture* 38.1 (Jan. 1997): 214–31.

Reviews books written between 1987 and 1994 on women and the history of technology, countering public perceptions of invention as overwhelmingly masculine, and arguing that biography provides more meaningful contexts for women's achievements.

Meissner, W. "The van Gogh Family: A Study in Alienation." *Psychoanalytic Review* 85.2 (Apr. 1998): 269–99.

Argues that van Gogh's "pathological sense of self" was shaped by a pathological family system.

Milech, Barbara H. "Sophisticated Spaces: Fiction, Autobiography, and Reading Elizabeth Jolley." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 90–105.

Elaborates how Jolley's narratives inhibit, but don't prohibit, an autobiographical reading.

Miliora, Maria. "The Personal Myth in History: Richard Nixon and Alger Hiss." *Psychohistory Review* 26.1 (Fall 1997): 19–43.

A psychohistorical study of the Hiss case, focusing on how the personalities of Nixon and Hiss intersected in ways that determined the outcome of the hearings.

Miller, Marlowe A. "Death Gets a B: Addressing Personal Disclosures in Students' Writings." *College Teaching* 46.3 (Summer 1998): 98–100.

Explores the motives and consequences of the pedagogy of self-disclosure, the encouraging of personal disclosures by students.

Miller, Nancy K. "Public Statements, Private Lives: Academic Memoirs for the Nineties." *Signs* 22.4 (Summer 1997): 981–1015.

Miller is proof of the assertion that there is a renewed interest in adding the stories of women's lives to the public record, especially in academic circles.

Morgan, Dan. "Opinion: Ethical Issues Raised by Students' Personal Writing." *College English* 60.3 (May 1998): 318–25.

Confronts the hazards of self-disclosure in classrooms where the

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teacher is not prepared to deal with students' private lives and experiences.

Morgan, Ronald J. "'Just Like Rosa': History and Metaphor in the *Life* of a Seventeenth-Century Peruvian Saint." *Biography* 21.3 (Summer 1998): 275–310.

Shows how Morán de Butrón, the hagiographer of St. Mariana de Jesús, compared his subject to St. Rose of Lima to advertise the merits of his native province of Quito as a worthy companion to the more affluent and esteemed Lima.

Nelson, Katherine. "Finding One's Self in Time." *The Self Across Psychology: Self-Recognition, Self-Awareness, and the Self Concept.* Ed. Joan Gay Snodgrass and Robert L. Thompson. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 818. New York: Academy of Sciences, 1997. 103–18.

Considers how the autobiographical self is developed through conversational narratives between child and others and self-narratives of child with self, and argues that an autobiographical self is necessary for the concept of a self projected forward and backward in time.

Newman, Simon. "Reading the Bodies of Early American Seafarers." *William and Mary Quarterly* 54.1 (Jan. 1998): 59–82.

Explores the ways in which lifelong sailors defined themselves and were defined by others in terms of their scars, tattooed regions, and distinguishing bodily characteristics.

O'Brien, Patrick K. "Political Biography: A Polemical Review of the Genre." *Biography* 21.1 (Winter 1998): 50–57.

Argues that unless biographers contextualize their subjects to deal with problems of validation and dispensability, the genre is not useful for understanding political institutions, historical change, or the role of statesmen in history.

_____. "Political Biography and Pitt the Younger as Chancellor of the Exchequer." *History* 83.270 (Apr. 1998): 225–34.

Surveys the biographies of Pitt the Younger, from those written by his contemporaries to the present day, placing them in historical context and seeing their completion in the recent work by John Ehrman.

Olney, James. "Transmogrifications of Life-Writing." *The Southern Review* 33.3 (Summer 1997): 554–73.

Traces the evolution of lifewriting in the West to Augustine, Rousseau, and Beckett, arguing "each of these is crucial, no others are necessary."

Orbuch, Terri L. "People's Accounts Count: The Sociology of Accounts." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997): 455–78.

Argues that mainstream sociology needs to pay greater attention to

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people's own accounts of their experiences, and to focus on story-like interpretations and their functions and consequences for a social actor, and for understanding cultural, gender, or ethnic groups.

Ozick, Cynthia. "Who Owns Anne Frank?" *The New Yorker* 6 Oct. 1997: 76–87.

Using the publication history of Anne Frank's diary as an example, discusses public reception and transmission of autobiography.

Painter, Nell Irvin. "Writing Biographies of Women." *Journal of Women's History* 9.2 (Summer 1997): 154–63.

Review essay of several recent anthologies in feminist lifewriting.

Patterson, David. "The Summons of the Word and the Speaking of the Spirit in the Holocaust Diary." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 37–51.

Analyzes Holocaust diaries as a call to engage the soul with the self, and as a search both for inner equilibrium and communal salvation, as such diaries contain many voices in one voice.

Peace, William J. "Ethnography and Disability." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 25.4 (Jan. 1997): 500–508.

Review essay on ethnographic and autobiographical works involving discourses of disability.

Peacock, Sandra J. "Biography and Autobiography in Eliza Butler's *Sheridan, A Ghost Story*." *Biography* 21.4 (Fall 1998): 445–62.

Points to Butler's narrative and thematic experiments as anticipating current debates about the interplay of biographer and subject.

Perz, Marianne. "Staging That Summer in Paris: Narrative Strategies and Theatrical Techniques in the Life Writing of Morley Callaghan." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 22.1 (1997): 96–116.

Uses the work of Morley Callaghan to discuss narrative technique, staging, and dramatic adaptation of life-writing works.

Petkovic, Nicola. "Re-writing the Myth, Rereading the Life: The Universalizing Game in Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Edipo Re*." *American Imago* 54.1 (Spring 1997): 39–68.

Analyzes Pasolini's introspective writings to see whether they offer alternate readings of his filmic art, focusing on the most overtly Freudian of his works, *Edipo Re*.

Popkin, Jeremy D. "Autobiography Versus Postmodernism: Alice Kaplan and Elisabeth Roudinesco." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.2 (Fall 1997): 225–42.

Explores Kaplan's *French Lessons* and Roudinesco's *Généalogies* to suggest that postmodernist intellectual self-portraiture has to appeal

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to historical context while meeting challenges to the very premises of autobiography.

Powers, Rosemary F. "Using Critical Autobiography to Teach the Sociology of Education." *Teaching Sociology* 26.3 (July 1998): 198–208.

Suggests that a critical consideration of autobiography can provide a way for students to interpret their memories in a broader context.

Rapaport, Herman. "The New Personalism." *Biography* 21.1 (Winter 1998): 36–50.

Taking H. Aram Veeser's *Confessions of the Critics* as text, contrasts newer forms of personalist writing that emphasize the self as a typical or collectivized subject to older forms that emphasized the uniqueness of the individual.

Reid, Panthea. "Stephens, Fishers, and the Court of the 'Sultan of Zanzibar': New Evidence from Virginia Stephen Woolf's Childhood." *Biography* 21.3 (Summer 1998): 328–40.

Argues that Adrian Stephen, emboldened by Virginia's example and Stephen family habits of rivalry and mockery, may have conceived of the 1905 "Sultan of Zanzibar" hoax.

Rimstead, Roxanne. "Subverting Poor Me: Negative Constructions of Identity in Poor and Working Class Women's Autobiographies." *The Language and Politics of Exclusion: Others in Discourse*. Ed. Harold Stephen Riggins. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997.

Discusses how negative constructions of poor and working-class women are generated culturally, and how lifewriting may offer discursive strategies for subverting negative constructions of identity.

Rintala, Marvin. "Family Portrait: Churchills at Drink." *Biography* 21.1 (Winter 1998): 1–23.

Explores the roots and consequences of the heavy drinking by Winston Churchill and his family and friends.

Rodden, John. "'I am inventing myself all the time': Isabel Allende and the Literary Interview as Public Performance." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 17.1 (Jan. 1997): 1–24.

According to Rodden, celebrities occasionally use the role of interviewee for autobiographical purposes.

Rollyson, Carl. "Biography as a Genre." *Choice* 35.2 (Oct. 1997): 249–58.

Surveys the major recent theoretical and critical studies of biography.

Ronai, Carol Rambo, and Rebecca Cross. "Dancing with Identity: Narrative Resistance Strategies of Male and Female Stripteasers." *Deviant Behavior* 19.2 (Apr. 1998): 99–119.

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Shows that in the world of bodily disclosure, there are degrees of exposure and ways to protect the nonexposed self.

Rosenberg, Seymour. "Multiplicity of Selves." *Self and Identity: Fundamental Issues*. Ed. Richard D. Ashmore, Lee J. Jussim et al. New York: Oxford UP, 1997. 23–45.

Construes self as a multiplicity, using J. M. Baldwin's concept of the "socius," a complex mental structure containing an individual's organized set of multiple self-perceptions and perceptions of important others.

Rosenthal, Richard. "*The Gambler* as Case History and Literary Twin: Dostoevsky's False Beauty and the Poetics of Perversity." *Psychoanalytic Review* 84.4 (Aug. 1997): 593–616.

Takes Dostoevsky's novella as a case history of a compulsive gambler, and speculates about its connection to Dostoevsky's personality and behavior.

Ross-Bryant, Lynn. "The Self in Nature: Four American Autobiographies." *Soundings* 80.1 (Spring 1997): 83–104.

Focuses on those moments in a life-text when the self attempts to make a spiritual connection between itself and the world.

Roudinesco, Elisabeth. "How Does One Write the History of Psychoanalysis?" *Freud Under Analysis: History, Theory, Practice*. Ed. Todd Dufresne et al. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1997.

Starting from Ernest Jones's biography of Freud, uses Henri Ellenberger's work to explore how one can conduct historical investigations of psychoanalysis.

Rowley, Hazel. "That Black Limousine on the Mekong: Marguerite Duras' Chinese Puzzle." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 106–20.

Analyzes the interrelationships and shifts among the three versions of Duras' autobiographical fictions.

Salwak, Dale. "Philip Larkin—An American View." *Biography* 21.2 (Spring 1998): 195–205.

Combines memories of meetings and correspondence with Larkin with an assessment of Larkin's reputation in America since Andrew Motion's biography and the publication of Larkin's *Selected Letters*.

Schaller, Mark. "The Psychological Consequences of Fame: Three Tests of the Self-Consciousness Hypothesis." *Journal of Personality* 65.2 (June 1997): 291–309.

Tests the hypothesis that attainment of fame leads to chronic self-consciousness and to self-destructive behavior, by focusing on the lives of Kurt Cobain, Cole Porter, and John Cheever.

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Scherr, Arthur. "Thomas Jefferson and John Adams' 'Boudoir.'" *Psychohistory Review* 26.3 (Spring 1998): 265–79.

Investigates the meaning of a cryptic letter written by Adams to Jefferson in which Adams uses the term "boudoir" as a signifier for his book, *Defence of the Constitution.*

Schneiderman, Leo. "Arthur Miller's Drama From the Standpoint of Self Psychology." *Psychoanalytic Review* 84.3 (June 1997): 417–35.

Roots the idealism, disillusionment, and self-destruction of Miller's plays in unhealthy "self-object" experiences in childhood.

Schultz, William Todd. "Finding Fate's Father: Some Life History Influences on Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory.*" *Biography* 21.4 (Fall 1998): 463–81.

Describes how Dahl in several of his works used fiction to rescript traumatic life events.

Sherman, Murray. "T. S. Eliot: His Religion, His Poetry, His Roles." *Psychoanalytic Review* 84.1 (Feb. 1997): 74–107.

Relates Eliot's religious observances to his writing and his life-history.

Short, Geoffrey. "Learning Through Literature: Historical Fiction, Autobiography, and the Holocaust." *Children's Literature in Education* 28.4 (Dec. 1997): 179–90.

Examines historical inaccuracies and oversights in literature recommended for teaching the Holocaust.

Shulman, Alix Kates. "Past Intense." *Women's Review of Books* 15.10-11 (July 1998): 10.

Review essay on memoirs which emphasizes how revisions to autobiographies keep certain facts hidden.

Simerka, Barbara. "The Construction of the Liminal Subject: Monica Palacios's Latin Lezbo Comic as Dramatic Autobiography." *MELUS* 22.1 (Spring 1997): 89–104.

Explores the treatment of Mexican-American identity and lesbianism.

Skura, Meredith. "The Reproduction of Mothering in 'Mariam, Queen of Jewry': A Defense of Biographical Criticism." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 16.1 (Spring 1997): 27–56.

Argues for a new acceptance of biographical approaches within feminist criticism, using as an example Elizabeth Cary's early seventeenth-century text, "The Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry."

Smith, Louise Z. "Prosaic Rhetoric in Still-Life Paintings and Personal Essays." *Mosaic* 31.1 (1998): 125–42.

Explores the rhetorics of Dutch still-life painting and the personal essay, and their common interest in the depiction of ordinary life.

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Staten, Henry. "Ethnic Authenticity, Class, and Autobiography: The Case of *Hunger of Memory*." *PMLA* 113.1 (Jan. 1998): 103–16.

Rodriguez's text points toward race and class divisions within Mexican history that call into question the monolithic conceptions of Chicano/a identity on the basis of which he has been attacked.

Steffen, Vibeke. "Life Stories and Shared Experience." *Social Science and Medicine* 45.1 (July 1997): 99–111.

Focuses on the social nature of personal narratives as presented in AA groups, identifying their genre as occurring between autobiography and myth, merging individual and collective experience in a therapeutic process.

Steinberger, Deborah. "The Song of Roland: An Interpretation of Freud's 'A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis.'" *American Imago* 54.1 (Spring 1997): 69–80.

Argues that the most important subtext for Freud's famous disturbance of memory upon his first visit to Athens revolves around Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, and suggests that Freud's trip represented a reenactment of Oedipus's final moments.

Strange, Carney, and Lorraine Alston. "Voicing Differences: Encouraging Multicultural Learning." *Journal of College Student Development* 39.1 (Jan.-Feb. 1998): 87–99.

Examines the technique of having students keep diaries in a voice other than their own to instill an understanding for human differences, particularly in age, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and sexual orientation.

Theakston, Kevin. "Comparative Biography and Leadership in Whitehall." *Public Administration* 75.4 (Winter 1997): 651–58.

Explores the uses, advantages, and drawbacks of a biographical approach to the study of public administration, as biographies can illuminate the changing culture of civil service.

Thomas, Glen. "History, Biography, and Narrative in Don DeLillo's *Libra*." *Twentieth Century Literature* 43.1 (Spring 1997): 107–24.

Explores the narrative structure of *Libra* and the relationship among history, biography, and fictive accounts of Kennedy and Oswald.

Thompson, Charles P. "The Bounty of Everyday Memory." In *Autobiographical Memory: Theoretical and Applied Perspectives*. Ed. Charles P. Thompson and Douglas J. Herrmann. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998.

Discusses current research into everyday memory, autobiographical memory in children, memory and eyewitness testimony, and memory over varying retention periods.

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Tidwell, John Edgar. "Alternative Constructions to Black Arts Autobiography: Frank Marshall Davis and 1960s Counterculture." *CLA Journal* 41.2 (Dec. 1997): 147–60.

Compares two approaches to black personal history: autobiography as personal narrative and life story as representative of a class struggle.

Traver, Rob. "The Lives of Scientists." *The Science Teacher* 65.1 (Jan. 1998): 42–46.

Discusses the benefits to science students from reading biographies for the processes and cultural context of scientific work.

Turpin, Elizabeth R. "The Emergent Genre of Literary Nonfiction: A New Concept of the Personal Essay." *CEA Critic* 60.2 (Winter 1998): 42–45.

The personal essay is viewed as a means to verify the external while at the same time exploring the internal.

Vance, William L. "Mathew Brady's Celebrity Portraiture." *On Paper* 2.3 (1998): 20–23.

Examines the nineteenth-century notion that celebrity can be regarded as history, based on the premise that people's lives are records of events.

Wells, Diane. "Biographical Work with Older People." *Face to Face with Distress: The Professional Use of Self in Psychosocial Care.* Ed. Peter Griffiths, Jacqueline Ord, et al. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998.

Shows how nurses develop psychosocial aspects of care with older people, using literature on social gerontology which promotes a biographical approach to understanding later life.

Weinbaum, Batya. "Shifting Gears in Life History Research: The Case of an Assimilated American Jewish Woman in Palestine/Israel, 1989–1991." *Biography* 21.3 (Summer 1998): 311–27.

An American Jewish feminist scholar examines how her own oral history research in Israel involved an initial identification followed by a separation from her subjects, causing her to change her categories of analysis.

Wineapple, Brenda. "Gertrude Stein: Woman Is a Woman Is." *American Scholar* 67.1 (Winter 1998): 107–12.

The biographer's challenge is to capture the range of a subject's faces even when these poses seem to contradict one another.

Winter, David. "Allport's Life and Allport's Psychology." *Journal of Personality* 65.3 (Sept. 1997): 723–31.

Traces connections between American psychologist Gordon Allport's life and his psychological ideas.

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Yang, Mimi. "Pain and Painting: Frida Kahlo's Visual Autobiography." *a/b: Auto/Biography* 12.1 (Spring 1997): 121–33.

Approaches Kahlo as an autobiographer who produced a hybrid and transgressional genre, visual autobiography, achieving self-consciousness through pictorial self-representation.

Yezzi, David. "Confessional Poetry and the Artifice of Honesty." *The New Criterion* 16.10 (June 1998): 14–21.

The Ted Hughes/Sylvia Plath controversy is a springboard for discussing just how confessional confessional poetry is.

Young, Robert. "Deadly Unconscious Logics in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*." *Psychoanalytic Review* 84.6 (Dec. 1997): 891–903.

Looks at the world of Heller's *Catch-22* in light of Melanie Klein's model of object relations.

Zuss, Mark. "Contesting Representations: Life-writings and Subjectivity in Postmodern and Feminist Autobiography." *Theory and Psychology* 7.5 (Oct. 1997): 653–73.

Investigates postmodern feminist presentations of identity that challenge the limits of modernist representations of subjectivity, as life-writing provides textual sites for representing aspects of experience and articulating relational selves.

## Dissertations

Andrade, Heather Russell. "Writing Biomythography: A Study in Language, Form and Genre in African American Autobiography." Rutgers, 1997.

Focusing on the works of Harriet Wilson, James Weldon Johnson, Zora Neale Hurston, and John Edgar Wideman, explores the complexities in writing from personal and communal memories and empirical and mythic histories, in a way that thwarts readers' expectations.

Antognini, Roberta. "'Placet experiri': Il progetto autobiografico delle 'familiares' de Petrarca." New York U, 1997.

A study of Petrarch's *Rerum Familiarium Libri*, addressing the relationship of letters to autobiography, and linking Petrarch's work to Augustine's *Confessions*.

Borim, Dario, Jr. "Borders and Selves: Contemporary Autobiography of Brazil and the Americas." Minnesota, 1997.

Critiques the literary status and sociopolitical insights of autobiographies from Brazil and the rest of the Americas written between 1960 and 1990, using the concept of symbolic community to discuss the notions of plural selfhood and politically charged allegiance to collective identities and social causes.

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Burroughs, Beverly Jean. "Pauline Autobiography: Theological Content, Rhetorical Function, and Biblical Antecedents." Baylor, 1997.

Explores the literary and historical background of Paul's use of autobiographical letters, arguing that the autobiographical content is integral to the flow of theological argument.

Clark, Stephen John. "Autobiografia y revolucion en Cuba." Colorado, 1997.

Explores the relationship of autobiography to revolution in Cuba, focusing on autobiographies by dissidents.

Cooper, Michaela Bruckner. "Voice, Silence and Authority in Autobiographical Criticism: Reading Margaret Fuller, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Alice James." George Washington, 1997.

Invokes antihierarchical and feminist concepts of critical authority to engage in autobiographical criticism that can change our perceptions of ourselves and others, and our understanding of critical tasks.

Cressman, Jodie Renee. "The Miracle, the Marvel, and the Genius: A Study of Autobiography, Psychology, and Publicity in America." Emory, 1997.

Reads the autobiographical narratives of Helen Keller, Sally Beauchamp, and Gertrude Stein in light of the models of the mind prevalent in American psychology between 1890 and the early 1920s.

Despres, Renee Therese. "'L'Ecriture faim': The Writing of Hunger in Twentieth-Century Women's Autobiography." Indiana, 1997.

Examines how eating disorders are addressed in modern women's autobiographies.

De Vinne, Christine. "Confessional Narrative: The Rhetoric of Guilt in American Autobiography." Ohio State, 1997.

Explores the use and rhetoric of guilt in nineteenth-century American autobiography.

Domina, Lynn Marie. "'Ain't I an American?': Women's Autobiographical Narratives and the Construction of National Identity." SUNY at Stony Brook, 1997.

Argues that Union and Confederate women diarists, and authors of slave narratives, autobiographies about the Battle of Little Bighorn, and Jewish immigrant autobiographies, achieved status as Americans and nation builders by reproducing "America" as myth and symbol.

Diaz-Cid, Cesar. "Sujeto y nacion en la configuracion de la literature autobiografica chilena." Washington, 1997.

Explores notions of subjectivity and nation in nineteenth and twentieth century Chilean autobiographies.

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Gesteland, Becky Jo. "Beyond Cultural Authenticity: The Patterned Identities of Women's Southwestern Autobiographies, 1932–1955." Utah, 1997.

Interrogates the types and constructions of identity in autobiographies written between 1932 and 1955 by women from the southwestern U.S.

Gillespie, Maureen Ellen. "*De tut changea cele vie*: Religious Conversion in French Medieval Saints' Lives." New York U, 1997.

Compares religious conversion in Anglo Norman saints' lives from the Middle English period to 1499, to the French hagiographical tradition.

Huggins, Cynthia Ellen. "The Strange Dialectic of Brontë Biography: Yorkshire Gossip and the Ascent into Myth, 1855–1900." North Carolina at Greensboro, 1997.

Examines the proliferation of nineteenth-century works on the Brontës (seventeen biographies between 1857 and 1900), and explores how Victorian biographers created a Brontë myth.

Glenn, Rochelle Smith. "Reducing the Distance: The Rhetoric of African American Autobiography from Slavery to the Harlem Renaissance to Civil Rights." Georgia, 1997.

Explores rhetorical techniques in African American women's autobiographies, from Harriet Jacobs to Maya Angelou.

Ikach, Lynne Ellen. "Reinventing the Self: Narrative Personae in Five Autobiographical Works of Viktor B. Shklovsky." Illinois, 1997.

Addresses Shklovsky's various self-portraits as acts of literary self-creation, stretching the limits of autobiography by using and misusing the genre to create hard to classify works.

Ire, Jennifer. "Autobiographical Writing as Part of Therapy: A Tool for Self-Understanding and Change." Massachusetts, 1997.

From a phenomenological perspective, examines the use of autobiographical writing by people in therapy, and describes ways this form of writing can facilitate therapeutic change.

Keener, John F. "Magical Disturbances: Biographical Narrative and the Historical Figure in Contemporary Fiction." Kentucky, 1997.

Focusing on the problematic of historical identity, with Dutch Schultz, Lee Harvey Oswald, and Richard Nixon as examples, explores how biographical narrative becomes a cultural project transcending conventional ideas of factual and fictional discourse.

Keller, Albert Henry, Jr. "The Formative and Transformative Power of Autobiographical Conversion in Ministry with People of Science." Princeton Theological Seminary, 1997.

A study of autobiographical and theological genres, focusing on their treatment of religious conversion.

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Keller, Julia Irene. "A Poetics of Literary Biography: The Creation of 'Virginia Woolf.'" Ohio State, 1997.

Examines biographies of Virginia Woolf by Quentin Bell, Phyllis Rose, Lyndall Gordon, Louise De Salvo, and James King to show how literary biographers and postmodern critics might approach the genre.

Kevane, Bridget Anne. "The Autobiographical Voice and the Making of the Self in Bernardo Vega, Sandra Cisneros, Rigoberta Menchú and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega." UCLA, 1997.

Compares the techniques of identity formation in the autobiographies of Vega, Cisneros, Menchú, and Garcilaso de la Vega.

Kimmel, Jessica Carter. "Learning Through a Study of Women's Autobiographies: A Constructivist Model." Texas A & M, 1997.

Applies a hermeneutic circle and constructivist learning model to autobiographical literature to create a framework for individual and social development, which can be applied to adult learning and teaching.

Kimmich, Allison B. "Borders, Bodies, and Secrets: Discovering the Subject in Contemporary American Autobiographies." Emory, 1997.

Reads Annie Dillard, Maxine Hong Kingston, Audre Lorde, and Paul Monette in light of feminist theory, and argues for the relationality of identity categories like race, gender, and sexuality.

Kubala, Juliana Marie. "Reconstructing the Subject: Personal Narrative and Political Critique in Lesbian Autobiographical Anthologies." Emory, 1997.

Explores race, class, religion, and sexual identity in U.S. lesbian and feminist autobiographical anthologies from the 1980s, looking at their relationship to dominant notions of individuality and community.

Limburg-Weber, Lisa Joy. "'These Sacred Names Shall Live': Gender, Biography, and the Victorian Missionary Heroine." Northwestern, 1997.

Shows how biographies of Mary Moffat, Mary Slessor, and Catherine Booth make rhetorical and literary decisions which draw on and modify traditional definitions of evangelical womanhood.

McNee, Lisa Anne. "Selfish Gifts: Senegalese Women's Autobiographical Discourses." Indiana, 1997.

Explores the treatment of national and gender identity in both Wolof and French language autobiographical works by Senegalese women.

Mechling, Kelly Anne. "Creative Dimensions in Autobiographies of Selected Twentieth-Century American Women Writers." Indiana U of Pennsylvania, 1997.

From a feminist context, examines autobiographies by twentieth-century American women writers, focusing on four dimensions of creativity: aesthetics, memory, creative origins, and textual construction.

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Murphy, Sara E. "Public Relations: Women Writers and Autobiographical Practice in Nineteenth-Century England and France." New York U, 1997.

Discusses autobiographies by women writers in nineteenth-century England and France as public texts written for publication, and compares the different kinds of abstractions in the two cultures.

Ngwenya, Thengamehlo Harold. "Ideology and Form in South African Autobiographical Writing: A Study of the Autobiographies of Five South African Authors." U of South Africa, 1997.

Examines the relationship between ideology and autobiographical form in Peter Abrahams, Bloke Modisane, Naboth Mokgatle, Alan Paton, and Sindiwe Magona, arguing that a literary-sociological rather than deconstructive approach allows for meaningful sociopolitical action.

Orton, H. Marie. "De-Storying, Re-Storying: Inscriptions of Violence in the Autobiographical Acts of Auschwitz Survivors, Immigrants, and Political Prisoners in Twentieth-Century Italy." Chicago, 1997.

Explores the relationship between violence and the construction of identity in the autobiographies of Primo Levi, Giuliana Tedeschi, Nassera Chohra, Salah Methnani, Adriana Faranda and Mario Moretti.

Overvold, Angelina Elisabeth. "La Mere de son pere: George Sand entre l'autobiographie et l'autofiction." Brown, 1997.

In interrogating the generic positions of Sand's autobiographical practices, focuses on the treatment of the father.

Pautz, Anne Elizabeth. "Visualizing Autobiography: Intersections of Gender, Representation, Curriculum Theory." LSU, 1997.

Explores using other forms of representation, especially photography, for autobiographies, as women find it problematic to represent themselves beyond or against their bodies, and then using these alternative techniques in curriculum theory and teacher education.

Powell, Elizabeth Anne. "Recognition and Memory in Autobiographical Practices: The Rhetorical Performances of *One Writer's Beginnings* and *Dust Tracks on the Road*." Northwestern, 1997.

Using Welty and Hurston as examples, argues that scholarship on autobiography as a genre has reached a stasis, which students of oral traditions and ethnography can advance by shifting the discussion to a cultural practice perspective which performatizes the texts.

Prosser, Jay Damon. "Transitional Matters: The Body Narratives of Transsexual Autobiography." CUNY, 1997.

Explores the representations of the body in autobiographies by transsexuals.

Ramdas, Mallika Urvashi. "Through Other 'I"s: Self and Other in Russian Women's Autobiographical Texts." Columbia, 1997.

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Focuses on identity formation and the treatment of the self and other in Russian women's autobiographies.

Rashley, Lisa Hammond. "'This Little Life of Mine': American Women's Autobiographies and the Rhetoric of Constructing a Self." Alabama, 1997.

Shows how Mary Rowlandson, Elizabeth Ashbridge, and Kate Drumgoold balance the expectations of their audiences with representations of their narrative selves as individuals and community members.

Schwartz, Jan. "'When the Lamp of Art Is Made to Shine through Life's Foolscap': A Study of the Yiddish Literary Autobiography." Columbia, 1997.

Explores the traditions and characteristics of Yiddish language autobiography.

Simmons, James Richard. "Working-Class Autobiography and Middle-Class Writers: Fictive Representations of the Working Classes in Nineteenth-Century British Literature." South Carolina, 1997.

Shows how autobiographical accounts by nineteenth-century working men, women, and children informed and were informed by the literature of middle-class writers who depicted them.

Spiro, Joanna Emily. "Facing Texts: Autobiographical Reckonings with the Second World War in Woolf, H.D., Duras, and Perec." Yale, 1997.

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Focusing on nineteenth-century women's autobiographies, explores their use of female voices in relation to a first language.

Van Gessel, Nina Henriette. "Re-Casting the Midwives of Modernism: Autobiographies of American Expatriate Women Publishers and Editors." McMaster, 1997.

Examines self-representations by Sylvia Beach, Caresse Crosby, and Margaret Anderson which challenge androcentric models of modernist autonomy.

## Sources

Sources consulted include *Abstracts in Anthropology; American History and Life; Dissertations Abstracts International; Expanded Academic Index; Historical Abstracts; Humanities Index; MLA International Database; PsycLIT* and *Sociofile* databases; *Social Science Index; Uncover;* and *Women's Studies Abstracts.*

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# Reviews

Dale Salwak, ed. *The Literary Biography: Problems and Solutions.* Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1996. 182 pp. ISBN 0-87745-553-8, $27.95.

"You had to be a bookworm," Antony Alpers, one of the nineteen contributors to Dale Salwak's collection of essays about writing biography, says, "Until about 1960 you had to be a bookworm to write biography." He continues, "From now on you will need to be a tapeworm too—a less attractive beast, I think—and you will be dealing in a different kind of truth" (19).

As I write this review, one certain tapeworm, and some would say "less attractive beast," Lucianne Goldberg, ghostwriter and literary agent, has wired Linda Tripp, who recorded a phone conversation with Monica Lewinsky to get the dirt on the President of the United States. The whole nasty incident proves Alpers' words—not just the importance of newer technologies to the biographer's craft (several of the contributors comment on how photocopying has dramatically changed the process of writing biography), but the "different kind of truth" that readers in the modern age seem to hunger for, truths more private and revealing, more fit for the tabloids than the shelves of respected literature and biography. Journalists seem eager to oblige the rapacious public, while biographers, at least the biographers in Salwak's collection, worry about this tendency.

Salwak's collection is a feast for many palates. He has done an excellent job of choosing a wide variety of perspectives on the craft of writing biography, as well as its challenges. Some are light fare, conversational and anecdotal, but always entertaining and revealing, such as those by Alpers and Justin Kaplin. Others engage us through their power and depth, as in Linda H. Davis's autobiographical critical piece, "The Red Room: Stephen Crane and Me." Davis explains why she is drawn to Crane's life and work. She has found uncanny parallels between herself and the writer, including their shared obsession with red, with fires, with disfigurement, and with "the faceless man." Her own father burned to death in a house fire trying to save her, in Alabama in 1961, when she was eight years old. That incident in her own life has opened Crane's life to her, and in turn deepened our understanding of Crane's compulsions and his artistry in such works as "The Monster." Davis's piece is like so many other rich essays in the collection, essays that give us at least a small glimpse into the lives that the contributors have researched at the same time that they are explaining their craft.

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Davis's essay reveals another theme in the book—the autobiographical nature of biography. On this point, the contributors hold contrary views. In her explanation of writing the biography of Anne Rice, Katherine Ramsland advocates engagement with the author and the writing, because "to be a witness means not just to record what happens" (99). So too Eric Jacobs, who recalls fondly "getting quite drunk" some evenings with Kingsley Amis. He defends his self-indulgence: "my informal sessions with Amis were at least as valuable as the formal ones. They helped me to read the man close up so that I could better decipher him in what he had written" (136). Both Ramsland and Jacobs are "authorized biographers" of their subjects. They have been asked to write the biographies, and have relatively free access to the authors' materials.

The language that most of the biographers use, in fact, is the language of closeness and intimacy. Many of the biographers speak of being "tapped on the shoulder." N. John Hall writes of his twenty year "involvement" with Trollope, as though they were lovers. Martin Stannard quotes Michael Holroyd, who compares writing biography with marriage, "in that you commit yourself at the beginning but you really don't know how it will turn out," though Stannard cautions that such intimacy between subject and author "can be construed positively or negatively" (33). All of the writers are deeply concerned, in fact, about the potential for biography to be intrusive.

The most beautiful and poignant account of biography's potential for invasiveness is Andrew Motions's description, in his essay appropriately titled "Breaking In," of breaking into Monica Jones' house in Haydon Bridge in order to retrieve Philip Larkin's letters to her, his long-time lover and companion. Motion renders the vulnerability of the weather-battered house in evocative detail, and describes, with some guilt, his probing into all of the recesses of the abandoned house to find the letters, scattered by the wind and by the curious hands of other intruders. So too, he writes, he had to "ransack" Jones' memory (118).

Hall worries that writing biography can be illicit. Alpers writes about "committing biography," as though it were committing murder, that is, "murdering to dissect": "Having committed biography twice I sometimes wonder, after that, whether it ought to be allowed" (21). Natasha Spender's essay "Public and Private Lives" is the most direct castigation of the exploitation by the biographer, having experienced herself the stings of an unauthorized biography of Stephen Spender. She calls for a revised code of practice, including those interviewed holding copyright to their testimonies.

*The Literary Biography* will be an engaging read for the common reader as well as the serious biographer. It is for anyone who loves literature and is curious about the lives not only of the novelists and

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the poets, but of those who study them. The essays are full of stories about literary sleuthing—the joys of discovery, the challenges, the pitfalls. Sometimes writers carry out their own personal vendettas—Hall repeats verbatim some of his reviewers' comments, especially those that contradict each other. Linda Wagner-Martin complains bitterly about the heavy hand of Ted and Olwyn Hughes in restricting access to and reprinting of Sylvia Plath's papers, poetry, and letters. Jacobs, in his own words, indulges "in a digression" in which he takes Oxford's Bodleian Library to task for making it difficult for him to get Amis's letters to Philip Larkin. John Halperin gets his revenge by having nothing good to say about the deconstructionists. Though he very generously at the end allows that artists with flaws may still achieve great things—"Our knowledge that Beethoven was a nasty character cannot diminish our appreciation of his music" (163)—he shows no such generosity in his assessment of Paul de Man: "Make no mistake about it, deconstruction is fascism" (153).

Though it sometimes reads like academic gossip—all biography could be said to depend on gossip—overall *The Literary Biography* is an important and serious contribution to "metabiography" or "metacriticism," criticism about itself. Biographers used to looking into the hearts of others now look carefully into their own hearts to scrutinize their motives and articulate their practices.

*Olivia Frey*

Carolyn A. Barros. *Autobiography: Narrative of Transformation.* Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1998. 248 pp. ISBN 0-472-10786-0, $42.50.

In *Autobiography: Narrative of Transformation,* Carolyn A. Barros presents a workmanlike and ultimately enlightening rhetorical study of the narratives that result when someone tells someone else that "something happened to me." To her credit, Barros is one of a growing number of theorists specializing in nonfictional narrative who no longer are content merely to collapse the traditional boundaries of fact and fiction. For much of the past two decades, studies have tended to attack the premise and historicity of life writing—what Barros calls "deconstruct[ing] autobiography out of existence" (2). These scholars, sometimes insightfully, have focused on the many ways that biographical texts resemble fictional texts in their creation and representation (even their erasure) of the self. Yet Barros, an associate professor of English and director of the honors program at the University of Texas at Arlington, remains fascinated about what accounts for the power of biographical and autobiographical writing, those texts that dare to reach outside their boundaries and make claims on the histories of

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actual people. She and other recent critics, therefore, seem to be taking a second look at biography, not to fix any permanent generic boundaries around life writing, but to describe as carefully as possible some of the most interesting ways these texts work.

The key to autobiography for Barros, as the title of her study implies, is transformation. "The inscribed *me* of the narrative must come into some kind of conflict with the culture and its values and laws if there is to be a transformation to narrative—a *something happened* worth telling," asserts Barros (6). During the course of her book, Barros reads Victorian-era autobiographical narratives by John Henry Cardinal Newman, John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin, and Margaret Oliphant. Her approach is unapologetically functional and rhetorical; she considers the narrative as a transaction between a speaker and a hearer which aims primarily to influence the hearer. In that rhetorical transaction, which she first outlined in a 1992 essay published in this journal, she wants to explain the "who" of the narrative assertion, which she terms the *persona*; the type of transformation, which she calls its *figura*; and the motive for transformation, which she calls its *dynamis*.

As is true of many rhetorical studies, a fair amount of definition and critical apparatus is necessary to play out Barros' treatise. Perhaps the book's least successful chapter is her rather labored definitions of persona, figura, and dynamis against the backdrop of Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. Her clever analysis of why the book is titled *Sartor Resartus* rather than *Sartor Resartiens* or *Sartor Se Resartiens* provides a first-rate insight into the way this fictive protagonist has both remade himself and been remade in Carlyle's text. But Barros is less convincing as to why we should first examine this fictive text—especially while the reader is negotiating a rather complicated rhetorical framework for autobiography—in a study that elsewhere is unapologetically grounded in what Barros calls the "general understanding of a life: a person is born, things happen—minute by minute or year to year—and then the person dies" (15). If this sense is important, and Barros would seem to argue everywhere that it is, why then begin with a study of a book that cannot demonstrate this assertion? Barros explains that she chooses *Sartor Resartus* because it is the acknowledged classic narrative of transformation for Victorian culture, the period that the balance of her book will examine. But the rhetorical transaction in *Sartor Resartus* is simply too complex for Barros to do it justice here, and its complexity (particularly its fictivity) might distract the reader from her primary aim, which is to understand the nature of narrative transformation in autobiography. This problem, thankfully, is largely overcome by Barros' helpful summaries of the concepts of persona, figura, and dynamis at the ends of several of the chapter's sub-sections.

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Once Barros turns to the four texts that make up the heart of her study, her demonstration of the importance of persona, figura, and dynamis to autobiographical transformation becomes much more clear. In the case of John Henry Cardinal Newman, Barros shows how a shift from *was* to *is* lies at the heart of the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, Newman's account of his transformation from Evangelical, Noetic, Tractarian, and Lay Anglican to Roman Catholic. The complexity of that shift stems from the recognition that Newman's persona is two-fold: both the "I" that is transformed from Anglican to Catholic and the "myself" that is constituted as a mature Catholic cardinal reflecting on the transformation. Here is an example of Barros' clear and effective analysis:

> Has this rhetorical Newman [the "myself"] ever been anything but Catholic then? The answer is not a simple one. The Newman of the *Apologia* has been constituted to defend what seems to many a radical and traitorous change in Newman's religious opinions. Thus, it is necessary for reader and writer to conceive of "Newman" in at least two ways: first, as changing names or identities so as to mark out each new spiritual revelation and, second, as incorporating into each of the identities some aspect of the Catholic persona that will gradually emerge full-blown in the cardinal. We can have it no other way: both Newman and his readers knew (or know) the outcome and "see" Catholic traits in the Anglican, but a narrative of transformation, rhetorically constituted, requires that readers and writers construct personae that convey the notion of transformation through a set of before and after qualities and characteristics. (68–69)

Barros enlists the theological sense of the term "economy"—the notion that God's secret purpose in history is gradually revealed through the development of belief—to explain the figura, or the manner of Newman's transformation. The cardinal's motive, or dynamis, according to Barros, is Newman's "living intelligence," a trait that also empowers his writing with spiritual, rather than logical, signification.

Once Barros has established her method of operations, her book moves rather predictably, but often helpfully, through the next two chapters. The autobiographies of John Stuart Mill and Charles Darwin are introduced, and Barros then offers her analysis of the autobiographical personae that emerge from these texts as well as the manner and motive of the autobiographical transformations. Working within the rhetorical tradition, Barros seems not to be afraid to pose what used to be called an "ideal" reading of each autobiography. That is, she normally makes little effort to play against the text or to qualify

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her opinions as either singular or culturally produced. And she makes no effort to hide this critical confidence, explaining early in the book that "reading with suspicion, with a 'terror of totalization,' or with undue anxiety over definitions of language and reading may cause us to ignore functional perspectives and miss exciting complexities." By contrast, she wishes to read autobiography "with an exploratory aim rather than from the mode of suspicion" so as to "avoid some of the dead ends and reductive quagmires that attend suspicion and anxiety" (10).

Unabashedly, Barros declares that her method allows both she and her readers "to make sense of [the] many and varied forms" of autobiography (7), a claim that places her in the region of ideal reading. Her resulting confidence leads her to conclude that John Stuart Mill writes a persona that shifts from utilitarianism to social romanticism, that the figura of Mill's autobiography is his reeducation, and that his motive or dynamis is to color his thought with feelings. Similarly, Charles Darwin's transformation traces his persona from beetle collector to disciplined naturalist. Not surprisingly, Darwin chooses the organic figura of evolution as the type of his transformation, and reveals an autobiographical motive in which he "sees the environment as an active agency in a transformation characterized by interdependency and struggle" (141).

Barros' discussion of Scotland-born Margaret Oliphant, the prolific author of the *Chronicles of Carlingford* novel series and many other novels and histories, is far and away the most developed and subtle of her four central case studies. Here she seems willing to allow her analytical system to breathe, to complicate the rather formal categories she has built in the preceding three chapters. It is Oliphant herself who seems to give Barros that permission, because the critic discovers that Oliphant's lifelong struggle with both professional and everyday demands provides a multilayered and sometimes ironic texture to her writing. Oliphant's "life was full; she lived in the thick of things," Barros writes:

> When life is full, it is also full of conflicting expectations, and those conflicting expectations are the essence of Oliphant's conception of life and life narrative. They are at the heart of the conflicts, ambivalences, and ironies that dominate her autobiographical discourse. (149)

Barros here seems willing to contest her own notion that any autobiographical transformation might be contained in rather tidy descriptions of persona, figura, and dynamis. Moreover, she traces the autobiography's publication history in a way that opens it to a specific cultural analysis of the way Victorian womanhood was

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constructed by Oliphant's contemporary publishers. Or more specifically, "when the culture's demands on the mother and writer are in conflict," Barros asks rhetorically, "will not the construction of the autobiographical persona involve the untangling of these questions?" (151). As proof, she catalogues the many aspects of Oliphant's persona in a more detailed and subtle way than she demonstrated in previous chapters. Oliphant's refusal "to accept easy explanations" causes a nuanced response toward power. Thus, her autobiographical persona is enmeshed in her conflicting roles of mother and writer. The figura becomes the issue of over-production as the widowed Oliphant cranks out books to meet her family's financial needs. And the dynamis or motive of her autobiographical transformation is the conflicting demands of artistic fervor and economic necessity. "Hers is a persona of amplitude rather than certitude," Barros discovers, "and she constructs her narrative around forms that are appropriate to the ordinary life rather than to a myth of progress" (194).

Barros' brief concluding chapter is far more successful in its summary of the importance of autobiography to Victorian literature than in her rather preliminary musings about some of the contributions that autobiographical writing has made to discourse in the age of Roland Barthes and Maxine Hong Kingston. But her central position remains powerful and is a fitting conclusion to this interesting and often profound study. "An autobiography is life discursive, it stands as the universal *word* for human transformation," she contends. "Autobiography is about transformation, and yet *transformation* is a perverse term that will not itself stand still. Autobiography declares that change itself changes" (209).

*Daniel W. Lehman*

Marta Dvorak, ed. *La Création biographique/Biographical Creation*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1997. 315 pp. ISBN 2-86847-222-2, 145F.

In her introduction (written in French, followed by an English translation), Marta Dvorak provides a welcome overview of this very diverse collection. The thirty-five contributions—sixteen in English, nineteen in French—come from an international colloquium organized in 1995 by the Centre d'Études Canadiennes at Rennes, which attracted a wide range of specialists in the humanities and social sciences, all working on French or Canadian material. Broadly speaking, the volume incorporates a "double perspective":

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> There is the point of view of the *user* or *consumer*—the literary critic or teacher, the historian, the sociologist, or simply the reader. But there is also the point of view of the writer, the one who generates biography (from historical and critical to fictional, in all its different modes). (19)

That parenthetical "definition" of biography announces the remarkable breadth of material included in this enterprise. Running through the collection, Dvorak adds, readers can expect to find a strong emphasis on women's writing as well as a "comparative Franco-Canadian perspective" (21). She goes on to comment briefly on each of the contributions, which should help prospective readers decide whether or not to pursue individual offerings; the following remarks amount to a selective sampling of what the volume as a whole has to offer.

An initial section, "Theory," consists of eight articles, the first three in French, the last five in English. (This editorial strategy of organizing blocks of material in one language or the other is apparent throughout.) It opens appropriately enough with a fine essay by biographer Colette Cosnier; acknowledging that her peers are often held in low esteem (notably by their subjects), she offers a very forthright discussion of the "traps" of the trade: in some cases a paucity of material, in others an abundance that poses problems of selection; the challenge of holding in check one's own feelings towards the subject; and above all the temptation, ever present, to "faire oeuvre d'un dieu . . . ou d'un romancier" (32) by reducing the characteristic complexity of a life to an artificially coherent story. Other contributors to this first part take up a variety of topics: the extent to which an author's correspondence or journal can provide insight into the creative process, the impact of "auto-performance" on recent Canadian theater, the application of "standpoint theory" to autobiographical texts, or the fiction of Alice Munro.

Seven essays (six in English, the final one in French) make up Section II, "Literature." The first four focus, in part or in their entirety, on the work of Michael Ondaatje; of particular note is Josef Pesch's study of *Running in the Family*, which traces the interplay of biographical, autobiographical, and fictional impulses. The last three deal with works by Daphne Marlatt, Gail Scott, Emily Carr, Margaret Laurence, Alice Munro, and Margaret Atwood. Frank Davey's treatment of Marlatt and Scott merits mention for its measured consideration of individual novels against larger concerns of genre.

Section III, "Text and Culture," groups together ten essays (the first six in French, the rest in English). Of these, Michèle Kaltemback's assessment of "autobiographies rapportées" is especially noteworthy (162); drawn to the collaboration of researcher and native informant, she raises the key question of voice and ponders the balance to be

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struck between the competing pulls of "l'assimilation et l'acculturation" (167). In a different vein, Donna Bennett explores the shifting boundaries between biography, history, and fiction in the English-Canadian biographical novel; recent examples, she concludes, have helped "create an imaginative, even a mythic, Canadian past, a past that enables the contemporary reader to regain a continuity with a history that otherwise seems disconnected to contemporary experience" (207–08). This particularly rich section also features studies both of well-known authors (Louis Hémon, Pierre Loti, Michel Tremblay) and of the under-recognized but integral role of women among the "automatistes" (153), a militant group of French-Canadian artists active in Quebec in the 1940s and 1950s. It seems fitting to recognize as well the editor's own engaging essay on *Never Cry Wolf*, the "auto-biographical work of non-fiction, or . . . fictionalized autobiography" by Farley Mowat (229).

A final set of ten articles (all but one in French) brings the volume to a close under the rubric "History and Society." For Michel Lagrée, the uneasy situation of French bishops under the Vichy regime illustrates one of the central issues of modern biography: "la délicate articulation du personnage individuel avec la sociéte de son temps" (258). Equally stimulating is Allan Greer's look at hagiography as practiced by French Jesuits in search of Amerindian subjects. As Greer deftly shows, such writings, read "backwards" as it were, reveal much about the effort on the part of their authors to elaborate an edifying version of the "mythe européen du bon sauvage" (274). Those two excellent studies aside, this closing section is the least impressive of the volume; in a number of instances, the presentations seem either not as well developed or simply not as carefully done as one might have expected.

The contributions highlighted above should indicate the diversity of approaches represented in the volume, and indeed of the subject matter itself; for readers not already familiar with Canadian literature and scholarship, a look at this collection will prove enlightening in that respect as well. On the whole, the work is of high quality (as is the editing, judging from the few typographical errors). The format of individual essays can vary—some include bibliographies, others rely on footnotes—but in all cases pertinent bibliographical information is provided. Given the eclectic nature of this undertaking, however, a comprehensive index would have been a welcome addition. All in all, *La Création biographique/Biographical Creation* reflects the dynamic state of biographical studies today, and anyone working in the field will surely find here something of professional interest.

*John T. Booker*

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# Reviewed Elsewhere

Contributing Editors Brian Cassity, Michael Fassiotto, Gloria Fisk, Corey Hollis, Noel Kent, Gabriel Merle, Forrest R. Pitts, and Paula Willoquet-Maricondi provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *Albion, American History, American Scientist, Cineaste, Film Quarterly, The French Review, The Historian, Journal of British Studies, Los Angeles Times Book Review* (*LATBR*), *Le Monde des Livres, New York Review of Books* (*NYRB*), *New York Times Book Review* (*NYTBR*), *The New Yorker, Science, Sight and Sound, Times Literary Supplement* (*TLS*), *Washington Post National Weekly Edition* (*WP*), and *Women's Review of Books.*

**Allan, Maud**

*Oscar Wilde's Last Stand: Decadence, Conspiracy and the Most Outrageous Trial of the Century.* Phillip Hoare. New York: Arcade, 1998. 250 pp. $25.95.

"If Hoare wants his intuitions about Maud Allan to be taken seriously, he must reconcile the paradoxes of her dance history, and that requires all of the available information. He needed one more trip to the library."

Mindy Aloff. *NYTBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 13.

**Ampère, André-Marie**

*André-Marie Ampère: Enlightenment and Electrodynamics.* James R. Hoffman. New York: Cambridge UP, 1996. 406 pp. $49.95.

This is "a rich, well-written account of an interesting scientific figure that is rewarding both for the history and the philosophy of science that it contains. . . . Hoffman's presentation of Ampère's philosophy of science is balanced and convincing."

Henry J. Steffens. *Albion* 29.4 (Winter 1997): 681–82.

**Austen, Jane**

*Jane Austen: A Life.* Claire Tomalin. New York: Knopf, 1997. 341 pp. $27.50.

"Tomalin enriches [Austen's] slender narrative with so much information about [her] large and diverse family that the book takes on the character of a highly readable social history. . . . Although not strictly speaking a critical biography . . . [it] suggests the way in which the works and the life may have informed each other, [and] the connections are plausible."

Nancy Mairs. *Women's Review of Books* 15.8 (May 1998): 22.

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**Bacon, Francis**

*The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon, 1561–1626.* Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart. London: Gollancz. 637 pp. £25.00.

*Francis Bacon.* Perez Zagorin. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998. 280 pp. $29.95.

Jardine's and Stewart's "biography deals mostly with Bacon's political career and his private life, as far as it can be reconstituted." They don't provide "the contextualization necessary to understand his actions. They also fail to provide any sustained analysis of Bacon's character or personality." Zagorin's "concise but detailed analysis of [Bacon's] whole range of thought . . . has openmindedness, a sense of proportion and a readiness to engage in a dialogue with previous Bacon scholars."

Brian Vickers. *TLS,* June 19, 1998: 12–14.

**Beckett, Samuel**

*Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist.* Anthony Cronin. London: Flamingo, 1997. 645 pp. £8.99.

"Eager to sort out the facts from the myths associated with the last modernist writer who created a style of his own, Cronin does not shrink back in defeat when facing Beckett's astounding complexity. (His book comes equipped with a useful subject and name index.) The result is a biography that is likely to endure."

Ernest Sturm. *The French Review* 71.6 (June 1998): 1066–67.

**Behn, Aphra**

*The Life of Aphra Behn.* Janet Todd. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1997. 550 pp. $40.00.

"This account of Behn's life is a story of sex and politics. . . . Todd prepared for writing [it] by editing Behn's work. . . . [Todd] has had to piece together Behn's lengthy and complicated story from scraps and hearsay, references in state papers and the correspondence of contemporaries."

Ruth Perry. *Women's Review of Books* 15.7 (Apr. 1998): 14–15.

**Bell, Alexander Graham**

*Alexander Graham Bell.* James McKay. New York: Wiley, 1998. 320 pp. $30.00.

"After reading James McKay's admirably concise and lucid biography 'Alexander Graham Bell,' which gives a careful account of the importance of undulatory current, variable resistance, and electromagnetism to the invention of the telephone, I can make a better pretense of comprehending its functioning."

Joseph Epstein. *The New Yorker,* Apr. 13, 1998: 70–74.

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"McKay's publisher touts the book as the 'first biography of the inventor to fully explore Bell's humanitarian as well as scientific works,' but this is an unjustifiably brave claim, given the book's indebtedness to Robert V. Bruce's 564-page biography 'Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude' (1973). McKay's documentation is sparse (four pages of notes versus 45 in Bruce), and the most recent work he cites in his 24-item bibliography is from 1976. Worse, those readers familiar with Bruce's work are likely to experience déjà vu while reading McKay's, given the similarities throughout the book in organization, presentation of information, and sources cited."

Bruce A. White. *WP*, May 5, 1998: 33.

*Alexander Graham Bell: The Life and Times of the Man Who Invented the Telephone.* Edwin S. Grosvenor and Morgan Wesson. New York: Abrams, 1997. 304 pp. $45.00.

"Watching Bell advance from childhood to old age in these photographs, one is struck by his openness and serenity, in public as much as in private, and even in glimpses of failed experiments."

David Walton. *NYTBR*, May 3, 1998: 21.

"Although the text of Grosvenor and Wesson's book constitutes a well-written, competent biographical and historical treatment—of interest to those looking for an informed, but not scholarly, account of the inventor of the telephone and of the first decades of his invention—it is not the text that makes the book truly worthwhile. . . . Informal pictures of the young Aleck and his brothers provide glimpses of childhood that few biographers see, much less get to display. . . . [Bell's] wife, Mabel, turns out to have been every bit as eager in experiments as her husband, and the photographs reveal that the passions that led to giant kites, the invention of the hydrofoil, and numerous other less showy adventures were very much part of a family affair."

Robert Friedel. *Science* 280, No. 5362 (Apr. 17, 1998): 392–93.

**Bernanos, Georges**

*Bernanos le mal-pensant.* Jean Bothorel. Paris: Grasset, 1998. 358 pp. F138.

Some documents, hitherto unpublished in France, including correspondence, archives, and conversations with close relations, allow the author to renew the portrait of an unclassifiable man whose hatred of imposture, passion for justice, love of freedom, and sense of honor dragged him into a dog's life, a man who was, in the full sense of the word, free.

Pierre-Robert Leclercq. *Le Monde des Livres*, Apr. 24, 1998: 4.

**Binyon, Laurence**

*Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West.* John Hatcher. New York: Oxford UP, 1996. 345 pp. $72.00.

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"Thanks to John Hatcher's critical biography, the first to appear, we can now appreciate Binyon's standing as scholar, internationalist, museum curator, connoisseur, translator, and playwright as well as public poet. . . . A careful, responsible scholar, Hatcher has used family and public archives to create a finely nuanced, well-informed discussion of his subject's interests. . . . Hatcher writes sensitively and appreciatively of Binyon's personal life."

Laurence Davies. *Albion* 29.4 (Winter 1997): 714–15.

**Boigne, Adele de, Comtesse**

*La Comtesse de Boigne*. Françoise Wagener. Paris: Flammarion, 1997. 480 pp. F150.

This biography is a history book, retracing seventy years of a society which knew a succession of eleven reigns or regimes, two invasions, and three revolutions. Naturally, it also draws the portrait of a memorialist who kept a salon during the Restoration and the July Monarchy, a generous, intelligent, sometimes underrated woman, whose *Mémoires* (still available) have a Balzacian and (even more so) a Proustian flavor to them.

Jacqueline Piatier. *Le Monde des Livres*, Mar. 27, 1998: 5.

**Bowles, Paul**

*You Are Not I: A Portrait of Paul Bowles*. Millicent Dillon. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 342 pp. $27.50.

Dillon "has written a maddening, exhilarating, category-defying 'portrait' of Paul. She dispenses with the biographical summary of his life and achievements in the first few pages and moves on to something altogether different: a record of her usually hapless efforts to pry something out of Bowles, whether it be an insight into his own works, acknowledgment of his feelings or just a simple recognition of Dillon's existence."

Edmund White. *LATBR*, June 21, 1998: 8–9.

**Brooks, Cleanth**

*Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren: A Literary Correspondence*. Ed. James A. Grimshaw, Jr. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1998. 472 pp. $39.95.

"Brooks and Warren individually left prodigious legacies. Their joint endeavors, however, are what preoccupy this collection of 55 years of correspondence (edited by James A. Grimshaw Jr. who teaches English at Texas A & M), which necessarily expends itself on what Warren called the 'grim business' of exhaustive publishing detail. Since the real conversation between the two men remains in the heavily worked manuscripts the letters discuss, we are left mostly with a mood of profound connection."

Renee Tursi. *NYTBR*, June 28, 1998: 18.

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**Buckley, William F., Jr.**

*Nearer, My God: An Autobiography of Faith.* William F. Buckley, Jr. New York: Doubleday, 1997. 314 pp. $24.95.

"There is not a trace of hypocrisy in his book. I also came away with the sad realization that Buckley . . . has never considered it worthwhile to learn much about modern science or recent biblical criticism. . . . 'Nearer, My God' is a tribute to the awesome power of a great religious tradition to undergo uncritical transmission from parents to offspring."

Martin Gardner. *LATBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 10–11.

**Buñuel, Luis**

*Buñuel.* John Baxter. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1998. 324 pp. $24.00.

"John Baxter, the Paris-based Australian biographer of Fellini, Kubrick, Ford, Russell, and Spielberg, has produced the first definitive and engrossing—albeit flawed—biography of that reclusive director [Luis Buñuel]. However, the wary reader may well be forewarned by the errors and distortions on the first two pages. . . . Worse than the lamentable sentence structures are the inaccurate generalizations."

Judy Stone. *LATBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 8.

**Butts, Mary**

*Mary Butts, Scenes from the Life: A Biography.* Nathalie Blondel. Kingston, NY: McPherson, 1997. 554 pp. $35.00.

" . . . Nathalie Blondel's solid biography [is] a book that impresses one with its reconstruction of a largely unchronicled life, and more poignantly, with its evocation of Butts's sinking sense that she was failing to achieve her ambitions or make a lasting mark. . . . Blondel, the Mary Butts Research Fellow at the University of West England and a translator, has written a book without agenda—which is both its charm and its flaw."

Janet Byrne. *NYTBR*, May 31, 1998: 17.

**Byrd, Richard E.**

*To the Pole: The Diary and Notebook of Richard E. Byrd, 1925–1927.* Ed. Raimaund E. Goerler. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1998. 161 pp. $19.95.

"Goerler's evenhanded presentation of the document 'To the Pole' contains verbatim transcriptions of pertinent parts of the Byrd diary, along with photocopies of the entries themselves, including Byrd's controversial erasures. . . . 'To the Pole,' which also contains Byrd's diary of his 1925 Greenland expedition, is not a comprehensive history of polar exploration or even of Byrd's career. But it helps to penetrate some of the mythology shrouding the Byrd persona, and both supporters and detractors of Byrd will relish it."

Malcolm W. Brown. *NYTBR*, June 7, 1998: 12.

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**Camus, Albert**

*Albert Camus: A Biography*. Herbert R. Lottman. Corte Madera, CA: Gingko, 1997. 805 pp. $24.95.

"The paperback reprint of this biography, which first appeared at Doubleday in 1979, gave rise to the hope that a few substantive changes might have given it the standing it deserves. The new edition, however, contains little more than cosmetic alterations—such as an update of the illustrated pages, a new foreword, a more legible index, and a translation of the excerpts used as an exergue—of which none address the problems of the earlier version."

Ulrike Inge Stroszeck. *The French Review* 71.4 (Apr. 1998): 666–67.

**Carter, Jimmy**

*The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House*. Douglas Brinkley. New York: Viking, 1998. 586 pp. $29.95.

"Douglas Brinkley has told the story of Jimmy Carter's second and subsequent comings with critical sympathy and a wealth of research. On occasion he seems, like his subject, a little naïve about the wicked world out there. Certainly the reader is sometimes brought up with a start by the ethnocentric nature of his take on the world."

Godfrey Hodgeson. *NYTBR*, June 7, 1998: 11.

**Carstairs, Marion**

*The Queen of Whale Cay*. Kate Summerscale. London: Fourth Estate, 1997. 248 pp. $21.95.

"This small jewel is a biography of Marion (Joe) Carstairs, a Standard Oil heiress who built and raced one of the fastest motorboats of the nineteen twenties."

*The New Yorker*, June 15, 1998: 76.

**Cass, Lewis**

*Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation*. Willard Carl Klunder. Kent: Kent State UP, 1996. 416 pp. $39.00.

"With scholarly thoroughness, Klunder has written an informative biography of the 'father of popular sovereignty.' . . . With judicious use of the increasingly available Lewis Cass papers, Klunder has crafted a convincing case for his assertions. . . . This book is highly recommended."

Joseph C. Morton. *The Historian* 60.3 (Spring 1998): 635–36.

**Céline**

*Lettres de prison à Lucette Destouches et à Maître Mikkelsen, 1945–1947*. Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Edition established, presented, and annotated by François Gibault. Paris: Galllimard, 1998. 403 pp. F150.

The anti-Semite Céline fled to Denmark in 1945, and was imprisoned there for two years. These letters are a plea pro domo: he was innocent,

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he was a victim. They show throughout that he refused to see a link between his anti-Semitic writings and the Jewish genocide. He seems to defend the position of "the great writer's transcendental irresponsibility."

Michel Contat. *Le Monde des Livres*, June 12, 1998: 3.

**Chekhov, Anton**

*Anton Chekhov: A Life*. Donald Rayfield. New York: Henry Holt, 1997. 674 pp. $35.00.

*Chekhov, the Hidden Ground: A Biography*. Philip Callow. New York: Ivan R. Dee, 1998. 430 pp. $30.00.

"Rayfield's book should not be given to anyone who wants to learn about the man: he emerges as a misogynist . . . and a man with no humanitarian activism to his credit. . . . 'Chekhov: The Hidden Ground' is easier to read than Rayfield's new book; there is less clutter. But, depressingly, there is again talk about Chekhov's misogyny, garbled readings of stories and plays and the search for the sources of plots in the lives of Chekhov's relatives and friends."

Simon Karlinsky. *LATBR*, May 24, 1998: 8.

**Chopin, Frederic**

*Chopin in Paris: The Life and Times of the Great Composer*. Tad Szulcz. New York: Scribner's, 1998. 444 pp. $30.00.

"'Chopin in Paris' is a sober, well-researched and carefully constructed chronicle of the events and experiences that figured most prominently in the composer's life, at once a biography of the artist and a history of the social setting in which his art emerged. . . . Small but significant mistakes also crop up. . . . Still, Szulcz's account . . . conveys much that is valuable and useful."

Ted Libbey. *LATBR*, May 10, 1998: 8.

"[Chopin's] eighteen years in Paris are the focus of this smart and reverent study, which finds the composer at the center of a brilliant whirl of Romantic art and revolutionary politics."

*The New Yorker*, June 15, 1998: 76.

**Cooper, Gary**

*Gary Cooper: American Hero*. Jeffrey Meyers. New York: Morrow, 1998. 324 pp. $26.00.

"Meyers impressively chronicles the events of Cooper's life, but leaves the man himself unexamined, less an actor than one acted upon."

Michele Orecklin. *NYTBR*, June 28, 1998: 18.

**Corning, Erastus, II**

*Mayor Corning: Albany Icon, Albany Enigma*. Paul Grondahl. Albany: Washington Park, 1997. 624 pp. $36.00.

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"Like Robert Caro's 'The Power Broker,' this biography centers on a protean patrician, who came into his own in the rough-and-tumble of urban politics, and Grondahl evokes his subject with novelistic assurance."

*The New Yorker*, Apr. 13, 1998: 77.

**De Gaulle, Charles**

*Charles de Gaulle: A Brief Biography with Documents*. Charles G. Cogan. New York: St. Martin's, 1996. 256 pp. $35.00.

"... the best introduction extant in English to the career of the foremost French statesman of the twentieth century. ... Some of this book's main strengths reside in the clarity and incisiveness with which the author presents the data available to us today in the work of the many historians who have studied the subject up to now (e.g., Jean Lacouture in his *De Gaulle*) and in de Gaulle's own writings (e.g., his *War Memoirs*)."

Eliza Miruna Ghil. *The French Review* 71.4 (Apr. 1998): 705–06.

**Destouches, Louis-Ferdinand.** See **Céline.**

**Du Courdray, Angelique Marguerite le Boursier**

*The King's Midwife: A History and Mystery of Madame du Courdray*. Nina Rattner Gelbart. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 360 pp. $35.00.

"Against the backdrop of the Enlightenment, Madame Angelique Marguerite Le Boursier du Courdray worked as a midwife during the reign of Louis XV. Du Courdray was officially registered as a midwife in Paris in 1740. Her skill was noted by the king, who commissioned her for more than three decades to travel through rural France teaching midwifery to 10,000 illiterate peasant women. ... Gelbart worked for over a decade unraveling du Courdray's life history through the use of hundreds of official records such as letters from provincial academics to medical schools and local parish records. ... Gelbart takes the reader through du Courdray's life by including excerpts of official letters that piece together du Courdray's lecture-trail through rural France. ... The place of du Courdray as a central figure in French history and as a role model to women is finally secure with the publication of this biography."

Pamela June Weatherhill. *American Scientist* 86, No. 4 (July-Aug. 1998): 390.

"Interested in processes as much as product, Gelbert focused on the telling of the story, making clear what she knew, how she knew it, and what she did not know. She attempts to create an emotional bond between the reader and the subject by making vivid the personal life of Madame du Courdray."

Londa Schiebinger. *Women's Review of Books* 15.9 (June 1998): 14–15.

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**Durrell, Lawrence**

*Lawrence Durrell.* Ian MacNiven. New York: Faber and Faber, 1998. 802 pp. $46.95.

"MacNiven's [book] is an affectionate, obese, coarsely written, viscous, poorly edited and gallant attempt at a biography."

Patricia Storace. *LATBR,* June 21, 1998: 5.

When MacNiven (very rightly) points out Durrell's double culture—English and Irish—or when he describes places and reports anecdotes in felicitous pages, he makes his book pleasant reading, but as he spares us no minutiae, no trivia, pleasure at times gives way to boredom.

Martine Silber. *Le Monde des Livres,* May 8, 1998: 4.

This is an unauthorized biography with "richly evocative prose." MacNiven has "worked assiduously in archives and he has made unrestricted use of published and unpublished writings by Durrell." Relying heavily on quotations from Durrell's letters, MacNiven makes a persuasive argument about Durrell's childhood in India being the key to his attitudes toward other colonial peoples.

Robert Irwin. *TLS,* May 1, 1998: 25.

**Eastwood, Clint**

*Clint Eastwood: A Biography.* Richard Schickel. New York: Knopf, 1996. 557 pp. $27.50.

"Based on four years of interviews and conversations with its subject and extensive interviews with Eastwood's friends and colleagues, Schickel's book is the most comprehensive source of biographical information on the filmmaker/star ever assembled."

Kathie Coblentz. *Film Quarterly* 51.3 (Spring 1998): 66.

**Eisenstein, Sergei**

*Eisenstein: A Life in Conflict.* Ronald Bergan. London: Little, Brown, 1997. 384 pp. £22.50.

"Admirable biography." "Bergan is first-rate on all the technical aspects of Eisenstein's achievements, and his enthusiasm for the man and his work is infectious."

John Bayley. *TLS,* Apr. 10, 1998: 36.

**Faron, Fay**

*Hastened to the Grave: The Gypsy Murder Investigation.* Jack Olsen. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 288 pp. $24.95.

"'Hastened to the Grave' is not only a jaw dropping true account of how far a Gypsy family would go to separate marks from their money, it is also a cautionary tale about the perils of loneliness in a society that has ceased to value old age."

Judith Newman. *NYTBR,* May 31, 1998: 46.

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**Fischer, Bram**

*Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary.* Stephen Clingman. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1998. 500 pp. $29.95.

"Clingman, who chairs the English department at the University of Massachusetts and is himself South African, spent more than a decade researching Fischer's life, and the result is a mass of important new material that future students of the apartheid era will find of great value."

Glenn Frankel. *WP,* June 1, 1998: 28.

**Fontane, Theodor**

*Über Fontane.* Gordon A. Craig. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998. 294 pp. DM38. (Forthcoming from Oxford UP in 1999.)

"Two elderly gentlemen look out benignly from the dust cover of the German edition of Gordon A. Craig's critical biography of Fontane. Both wear bow ties, mustaches, and mutton-chop whiskers. One is Theodor Fontane, the German writer who lived from 1819 to 1889. The other is Craig himself, Emeritus Professor of History at Stanford University. They could be brothers, and I think the impression is intentional. A sense of affectionate affinity with his subject emanates from Professor Craig's book and explains its peculiar charm. . . . [Craig] announces that being a historian, he will emphasize Fontane's historical achievements. Amateur historians (like Fontane), he says, are often the best; most academic historians are bores. This is a cheering thought, but all the same, I doubt whether his chapters on Fontane as a war correspondent and military historian, on Fontane's attitude toward Bismarck, and even on the history in his historical novels will persuade many newcomers to read the original texts; not at all because Professor Craig suffers from what he sees as the professional historian's *deformation professionelle,* but because it is Fontane's 'novels of society' that are his ticket into world literature."

Gabriele Annan. *NYRB,* June 25, 1998: 29.

**Garbo, Greta**

*Greta Garbo: A Life Apart.* Karen Swenson. New York: Scribner's, 1997. 640 pp. $32.50.

"[It] is nothing if not big, but little of it is new or timely. Swenson's angle, insofar as she presents it, is the Swedish one. . . . But the reader may also begin to notice what becomes a convention as irritating as Swenson's Swedophilia: her tendency to cite already-published information as firsthand within the text."

Amy Villarejo. *Women's Review of Books* 15.7 (Apr. 1998): 17.

**Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire**

*Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.* Amanda Foreman. London: HarperCollins, 1998. 449 pp. £19.99.

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"Foreman's book is a reversion to the old biographical format and in certain respects suffers from this. But she has carried out broad archival research on both sides of the Atlantic . . . and writes intelligently as well as sympathetically about her subject."

Linda Colley. *TLS*, May 29, 1998: 15–16.

**Godden, Rumer**

*Rumer Godden: A Storyteller's Life.* Anne Chisholm. London: Macmillan, 1998. 333 pp. £20.00.

This is an "extremely sympathetic and well written biography" of the British writer. "Clearly she has an affection for Godden and an admiration for her books . . . but inevitably one wonders whether certain incidents may not have had to be suppressed and certain judgements modified."

Francis King. *TLS*, June 19, 1998: 27.

**Greenberg, Clement**

*Clement Greenberg: A Life.* Florence Rubenfeld. New York: Scribner's, 1998. 336 pp. $30.00.

"Florence Rubenfeld [has written a] surprisingly readable biography (we're talking the life of an art critic here)."

Peter Plagens. *LATBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 12.

**Greer, Germaine**

*Greer: Untamed Shrew.* Christine Wallace. Sydney: Macmillan, 1998. 386 pp. $35.00 (Aus.).

"*Untamed Shrew* takes the view that the events of Greer's personal life have been of decisive import to her work." It focuses "on painful episodes from the early part of Greer's career."

Karl Miller. *TLS*, June 19, 1998: 15–16.

**Hearst, William Randolph**

*William Randolph Hearst: The Early Years, 1863–1910.* Ben Procter. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 345 pp. $30.00.

"[This] book is earnest and loaded with minute facts, and in some instances [Procter's] assessment of his subject is perceptive, but his writing is hardly better than that in the worst of Hearst's own publications, and he seems to have had the benefit of no editing counsel whatsoever; the book has an oddly snide, sarcastic tone, and it has more gratuitous exclamation marks than a comic strip in a Hearst newspaper."

Jonathan Yardley. *WP*, May 11, 1998: 33.

**Heidegger, Martin**

*Martin Heidegger: Between Good and Evil.* Rüdiger Safranski. Trans. Ewald Osers. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. 474 pp. $35.00.

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"Safranski's biography is far from uncritical of Heidegger. . . . The strength of Safranski's study is that . . . he displays an excellent grasp of Heidegger's notoriously hermetic philosophy. . . . When Safranski sticks to his subject matter, he's informative. When he digresses to settle old political scores with the '60s generation, he merely beclouds his narrative focus."

Richard Wolin. *LATBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 6.

"Rüdiger Safranski's evenhanded study, 'Martin Heidegger: Between Good and Evil' (in a capable translation by Ewald Osers), is equally successful at illustrating its subject's pettiness and at displaying the vast power of his imagination. It is the first comprehensive biography of the man, and supersedes both Victor Farias's 'Heidegger and Nazism' and Hugo Ott's 'Martin Heidegger: A Political Life.'"

James T. Patterson. *WP*, May 11, 1998: 32.

**Jesus**

*The Human Christ: The Search for the Historical Jesus.* Charlotte Allen. New York: Free Press, 1998. 383 pp. $26.00.

"Despite minor shortcomings, 'The Human Christ: The Search for the Historical Jesus' offers superb intellectual entertainment, nearly 400 pages replete with conspiracy theories, academic rivalries, deranged wish-fulfillments, and monumental works of scholarship. Once I started, I couldn't stop reading—and that's the gospel truth."

Michael Dirda. *WP*, May 25, 1998: 33.

**Johnson, Lyndon**

*Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961–1973.* Robert Dallek. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 754 pp. $35.00.

"'Flawed Giant,' the concluding half of Robert Dallek's authoritative two-volume biography, bucks the anti-Johnson trend. Dallek, a professor of history at Boston University, once described himself as an old-fashioned liberal. When he started studying Johnson's life, he has remarked, he heartily disliked his subject, only to discover, as he sat down to write, that his opinions had grown more nuanced."

Sean Wilentz. *NYTBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 5.

" . . . Dallek offers a somewhat narrow vision. Still, his research is prodigious and his portrait of LBJ thought-provoking. His now completed volumes on Johnson represent a significant scholarly achievement."

James T. Patterson. *WP*, May 11, 1998: 32.

**Joyce, James**

*James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of "Ulysses."* Paul Vanderham. New York UP, 1997. 242 pp. $34.95.

"[Vanderham] argues that Joyce develops an increasingly complex prose style as a deliberate strategy to circumvent the censors."

Joele Zois. *NYTBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 23.

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**Kennedy, Robert F.**

*The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of the American Aristocracy.* Michael Knox Beran. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 275 pp. $23.95.

"Beran, a New York lawyer, argues that what Sirhan Sirhan ended the night Kennedy won the California primary was not a reinvigoration and restoration of Roosevelt liberalism. Rather, he believes, the loss was larger than that because Kennedy was by then a more original force than liberals understood or can yet comfortably acknowledge. If Beran is correct, what was stopped in the kitchen of the Ambassador Hotel was Kennedy's unenthralled reassessment, tantamount to rejection, of what liberalism then was. Kennedy's criticism, as Beran tickles it from his words and deeds, looks like a close cousin of conservatism."

George F. Will. *NYTBR*, May 24, 1998: 5–6.

**von Liebig, Justus**

*Justus von Liebig: The Chemical Gatekeeper.* William H. Brock. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997. 374 pp. $79.95.

"A biographer could not wish for a more intriguing subject than Liebig. Born in a middle-class household in Darmstadt, Justus von Liebig went on to the University of Bonn at age 17, despite not having completed his studies at the Gymnasium. He then followed his chemistry professor to the University of Erlangen, where he became involved in a scuffle with local police and a brief but passionate affair with the poet August von Platen. . . . Liebig shaped the path of chemistry's emergence as an independent discipline. Brock describes the small, but important, ways in which Liebig tended this gate. . . . As a whole . . . Brock's work brings to the English-speaking world a long-awaited biography of one of the most important figures in the history of chemistry."

Mark R. Finlay. *Science* 280, No. 5363 (Apr. 24, 1998): 540.

**London, Jack**

*Jack London: A Life.* Alex Kershaw. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 368 pp. $25.95.

"Kershaw, a freelance journalist, brings to life this talented but self-destructive man, whose personal demons caused him to drink and drug himself to a terminal point where he dies 'drowning in his own poisons.'"

Dennis J. Carroll. *NYTBR*, Apr. 19, 1998: 25.

**Mah, Adeline Yen**

*Falling Leaves: The True Story of an Unwanted Chinese Daughter.* Adeline Yen Mah. New York: Wiley, 1998. 288 pp. $22.95.

"[This] is the tale of a child, told by a woman who in many ways remains that child for her entire life. While much of the story takes

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place in the context of the major moments in modern Chinese history, China itself serves merely as the backdrop to a wholly personal tale."

Kate Gilbert. *Women's Review of Books* 15.8 (May 1998): 1–2.

**Malcolm X**

*On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X.* Louis A. DeCaro, Jr. New York: New York UP, 1996. 361 pp. $29.95.

"This is probably the most definitive work to date on the controversial but celebrated civil rights advocate. Louis DeCaro is a skillful researcher and deserves the commendation of anyone who is interested in comprehending the phenomenal transformation of Malcolm X from a dope dealer, thug, and hustler to a major African American civil-rights leader."

Hassan B. Sissay. *The Historian* 60.3 (Spring 1998): 620–22.

**Mandela, Nelson**

*Nelson Mandela: A Biography.* Martin Meredith. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. 596 pp. $29.95.

"Writing in the shadow of Mandela's autobiography, Meredith—a former Africa correspondent for the London Observer and Sunday Times who has written several books about the subcontinent's modern history—faces the difficult task of telling us something we didn't learn already from that account. He succeeds not so much in the larger portrait—the broad outlines of Mandela's journey from his rural tribal origins to his emergence as a lawyer, political activist and leader of the liberation struggle are familiar, and Meredith adds few surprises—but in the details."

Glenn Frankel. *WP,* June 1, 1998: 28.

**Mann, Heinrich and Thomas**

*Letters of Heinrich Mann and Thomas Mann, 1900–1949.* Ed. Hans Wysling. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998. 444 pp. $50.00.

"Nowhere near all their letters survive. There is though, a kind of dramatic progression in the book. Until page 122, or September 1914, we get only Thomas's letters. Then comes a period when Heinrich's preponderate, leading eventually to a more or less even dialogue."

John Simon. *NYTBR,* Apr. 12, 1998: 12–13.

**Marshall, John**

*John Marshall: Definer of a Nation.* Jean Edward Smith. New York: Marian Wood/Henry Holt, 1997. 738 pp. $17.95.

"If George Washington founded the country, John Marshall defined it," writes Jean Edward Smith. Indeed, while relating the life and destiny of one of the greatest figures of the Supreme Court, the author relives the genesis of the young American democracy.

Florence Noiville. *Le Monde des Livres,* Mar. 27, 1998: 2.

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**McCormack, Robert**

*The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormack.* Richard Norton Smith. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 612 pp. $35.00.

Smith "has been granted full access to the McCormack papers and he works heroically to bring order and clarity to an incredbly overstuffed life. . . . But the Colonel's life, which was so filled with adventure, lies flat on the page."

David Brooks. *TLS*, May 8, 1998: 32.

**Minkins, Shadrach**

*Shadrach Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen.* Gary Collison. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. 294 pp. $27.95.

"[This] compelling narrative situates Minkins' odyssey within the context of the abolitionist movement and the larger political currents in the nation. Dispassionate in tone, the book provides a credible picture of the texture of life for blacks in Norfolk, Boston, and Montreal. The result is a major contribution to the history of black resistance, unembroidered and free of romantic condescension."

Colin A. Palmer. *American History* 33.2 (June 1998): 371–72.

**Moon, Lorna**

*My Secret Mother: Lorna Moon.* Richard de Mille. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 311 pp. $25.00.

"Richard de Mille, whose previous books include 'The Don Juan Papers' and 'Casteneda's Journey,' tells his haunting tale in a cool voice that is precise without being fussy. He's looking for an elusive truth, not trying to settle old scores. The book isn't a tell-all, but rather an attempt to understand all. There's lovely detail here of a child's view of 1920's Hollywood, and a wisdom that helps him to see the circumstances of his life and to know that it was better as it was than as it might have been."

David Freeman. *NYTBR*, Apr. 19, 1998: 12.

**Muggeridge, Malcolm**

*Muggeridge: The Biography.* Richard Ingram. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. 264 pp. $27.50.

"As Richard Ingram amply documents in his affectionate biography, Muggeridge became in his old age everything that he despised in his youth."

D. L. LeMahieu. *Journal of British Studies* 37.2 (Apr. 1998): 222–27.

**Murphy, Gerald and Sara**

*Everybody Was So Young; Gerald and Sara Murphy: A Lost Generation Love Story.* Amanda Vaill. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 470 pp. $30.00.

"In 'Everybody Was So Young," her exhaustively researched and brilliantly rendered biography, Amanda Vaill documents how by

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doing what they did best—by 'living well'—the Murphys became 'godparents' to the Lost Generation."

Paul Alexander. *LATBR*, June 28, 1998: 12.

"Amanda Vaill, a skillful and compassionate writer, gives us their story in a marvelously readable biography, 'Everybody Was So Young.' It is not the first telling of the tale, but it is the most important—more comprehensive than Calvin Tompkins's 'Living Well Is the Best Revenge' (1971) and more graceful than the telling by Honoria Murphy Donnelly, the Murphys' daughter, and Richard N. Billings, 'Sara & Gerald: Villa America and After' (1982)."

Brooke Allen. *NYTBR*, May 24, 1998: 12–13.

**Nansen, Fridtjof**

*Nansen: The Explorer As Hero.* Roland Huntford. London: Duckworth, 1997. 610 pp. £25.

"But here the sense is of Huntford reaching the limit of his biographical skill. . . . Huntford integrates narratives beautifully, not characters." While much data is amassed, little of it is evaluated in terms of importance.

Francis Spufford. *TLS*, Apr. 3, 1998: 27.

**Nietzsche, Friedrich**

*Nietzsche in Turin: An Intimate Biography.* Lesley Chamberlain. New York: Picador, 1997. 256 pp. $23.00.

"In *Nietzsche in Turin* Lesley Chamberlain declares her intentions in the first line of her preface: 'This book is an attempt to befriend Nietzsche.' Naturally, the reader's heart quails a little, and Chamberlain knows it. 'Philosophers may smile,' she writes, '. . . But it seems to me important to know, approximately, what it was like to walk down the road with this strained, charming, malicious, and misunderstood thinker so important to the present age.' She succeeds to a surprising degree in communicating a sense of the man and the thinker, in all his strangeness. . . . She displays an almost maternal sympathy and fondness for Nietzsche as she traces the increasingly desperate trajectory of his final months before the collapse into horror and madness."

John Banville. *NYRB*, Aug. 13, 1998: 22.

"In this fascinating 'intimate biography' of the critical year Nietzsche spent in Turin from 1888 to 1889, Chamberlain discovers that the philosopher of the Übermench was actually 'Human, All Too Human.'"

*The New Yorker*, Apr. 27 & May 4, 1998: 161.

**Oates, Joyce Carol**

*Invisible Writer: A Biography of Joyce Carol Oates.* Greg Johnson. New York: Dutton, 1998. 492 pp. $34.95.

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"Mindful of the many warnings in Joyce Carol Oates's journals and letters that her quiet life of writing and teaching might prompt a biographer to embellishment, Greg Johnson, who teaches English at Kennesaw State University in Georgia, adheres steadfastly to the facts. The result is an exhaustive, if exhaustively detailed, chronicle that provides a fine introduction to Oates's life and work but lacks a compelling critical vantage point."

Johanna Berkman. *NYTBR*, May 24, 1998: 16.

**Percival, John**

*Headmaster: The Life of John Percival, Radical Autocrat.* Jeremy Potter. London: Constable, 1998. 217 pp. £20.00.

Percival was a headmaster of Oxford College and later Bishop of Hereford. "The late Jeremy Potter's admirable biography of John Percival rescues from oblivion a formidable Victorian reformer."

J. H. C. Leach. *TLS*, Apr. 17, 1998: 26.

**Rabin, Yitzhak**

*Soldier of Peace: The Life of Yitzhak Rabin, 1922–1995.* Dan Kurzman. New York: HarperCollins, 1998. 555 pp. $30.00.

"'Soldier of Peace,' by Dan Kurzman, a former Washington Post correspondent and the author of a biography of David Ben-Gurion, is hagiography, deep when it is discussing Rabin's failure to rid the family residence of a rodent intruder, but superficial when dealing with the more controversial issues in Rabin's political life."

Amy Wilentz. *NYTBR*, May 24, 1998: 9–10.

**Ray, James Earl**

*Killing the Dream: James Earl Ray and the Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Gerald Posner. New York: Random House, 1998. 446 pp. $25.00.

"Gerald Posner, who tackled the Kennedy conspiracy in 'Case Closed,' now takes on the claims advanced by James Earl Ray and his supporters. With 'Killing the Dream,' he has written a superb book: a model of investigation, meticulous in its discovery and presentation of evidence, unbiased in its exploration of every claim. And it is a wonderfully readable book, as gripping as a first-class detective story."

Anthony Lewis. *NYTBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 7.

". . . Posner is back with an effort to put the blame solely on Ray for the shot that was fired at dusk on April 4, 1968, as King stood on a Memphis motel balcony talking to friends. Does Posner entirely reject the possibility of a conspiracy? He comes close."

Robert Sherill. *WP*, Apr. 27, 1998: 32.

**Reeve, Christopher**

*Still Me.* Christopher Reeve. New York: Random House, 1998. 310 pp. $25.00.

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"'Still Me' is really two books in one. Half of it is a standard Hollywood memoir—the story of Reeve's swift and seemingly smooth ascent. . . . We read this, however, in light of the other half, an excruciatingly detailed account of Reeve's injury and convalescence. . . . Though Reeve talks about despair, he seldom makes us feel it. . . . He's too much the Man of Steel to let the Kryptonite of the soul weaken him for long."

Michael Harris. *LATBR*, June 28, 1998: 10.

**Rockefeller, John D., Sr.**

*Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* Ron Chernow. New York: Random House, 1998. 778 pp. $30.00.

*Titan* "is an illuminating and detailed gateway into that earlier but far-from-distant world, constructed not as the period's history, but as the biography of one of its singular figures. . . . Chernow's gift is for providing us with an immense, almost baroque detailing of a complex human life. . . . But it is in handling the very accusations of villainy . . . that this book seems strangely, almost hauntingly, bereft."

Richard Parker. *LATBR*, May 31, 1998: 12.

"Have the comparisons between Rockefeller and Gates been overdone? Ron Chernow, a writer with previous biographies of J. P. Morgan and the Warburgs to his name, has provided more than ample material to answer this question. In a prodigiously researched new book, Chernow surveys almost everything that is already known about his subject (the footnotes and bibliography alone come to nearly seventy pages) and also unearths some original material. He begins without hostile intent, billing his work as the first 'fully rounded portrait' of Rockefeller, but ends up providing an object lesson in why forceful government intervention is sometimes necessary to maintain the healthy competition that business executives and editorial writers inevitably claim to favor."

John Cassidy. *The New Yorker*, May 11, 1998: 98–106.

**Rodgers, Richard**

*Richard Rodgers.* William G. Hyland. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. 362 pp. $30.00.

"In the first act of Rodgers and Hart's 'Pal Joey,' Vera Simpson, a bored, randy socialite, poses the question biographers must address: 'What is a Man?' Despite the dogged effort and manifest admiration Hyland has invested in Richard Rodgers, the question remains unanswered."

Joel E. Siegel. *WP*, June 15, 1998: 33.

**Rothmere, Ermond**

*The Reluctant Press Lord.* S. J. Taylor. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1997. 240 pp. £25.00.

This is a study of the former publisher of the *Daily Mail*. "*The Reluctant Press Lord* is less a coherent biography than a compilation of stories,

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some relevant, some not, extracted from Mail journalists' memoirs or from Taylor's interviews with survivors."

Michael Davie. *TLS*, Apr. 17, 1998: 27.

**Saroyan, William**

*The World of William Saroyan.* Nona Balakian. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1997. 294 pp. $45.00.

"Even if this painstaking study does not rekindle widespread interest in Saroyan's writing, however, it does offer a frequently engaging overview of his career and of the mid-century American literary scene in which he worked and, on occasion, thrived. Not the least of his achievements, surely, was to inspire the fierce loyalty of a critic as intelligent and impassioned as Nona Balakian."

Greg Johnson. *NYTBR*, May 3, 1998: 27.

**Shawn, William**

*Here But Not Here: A Love Story.* Lillian Ross. New York: Random House, 1998. 240 pp. $25.00.

" . . . Ross's book offers another, surprising Shawn, one who may have been hidden to everyone but her and her adopted son, Erik. This Shawn is intrepid, tooling around in a brand-new Triumph TR3, for example, and ice-skating at Grossinger's; he was a sensualist (who 'longed for the earthiest and wildest kinds of sexual adventures'), a lover of rich food (no wonder he only had corn flakes for lunch!) and a bit of a dandy (who enjoyed dressing up like Fred Astaire); he even used obscenities and went to pornographic films. Ross suggests that this Shawn was the truer one, and that he felt trapped in his other, official life."

Charles McGrath. *NYTBR*, June 7, 1998: 9.

**Simpson, Don**

*High Concept: Don Simpson and the Hollywood Culture of Excess.* Charles Fleming. New York: Doubleday, 1998. 288 pp. $23.95.

"[T]he Hollywood heavy hitters who were Simpson's friends . . . refused to talk to [Fleming] and discouraged others from doing so. . . . Fleming's tour of the Hollywood inferno is by no means without interest. . . . But at the end of the day . . . Fleming has to rely too much on the preexisting Simpson literature, too much on laundry lists of barely relevant material . . . and endless stories of Simpson's wayward peccadilloes."

Peter Biskind. *LATBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 6.

"'High Concept,' Charles Fleming's biography of the late co-producer (along with Jerry Bruckheimer) of mindless masterpieces like 'Flashdance' and 'Top Gun,' at times reads like a Jackie Collins novel with footnotes. No peccadillo is too trivial. . . . Fleming, a freelance

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entertainment reporter, fails to get under the skin of this perverse, larger-than-life man."

Eric P. Nash. *NYTBR*, May 10, 1998: 20.

**Sinatra, Frank**

*Sinatra: The Artist and the Man.* John Lahr. New York: Random House, 1997. 156 pp. $32.50.

"For true fans, the 100 black-and-white photographs are the book's biggest asset. Particularly in the behind-the-scenes photographs by Bob Willoughby and William Read Woodfield, these dramatic images give us a glimpse of the aura that attracted Presidents and bobby-soxers alike. Lahr's essay (a shorter version of which originally appeared in the New Yorker, where he is a drama critic) is an appreciation of Sinatra's gifts that does not shy from delving into the subject's raging dark side."

Ted Loos. *NYTBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 16.

**Singer, Isaac Bashevis**

*Isaac Bashevis Singer: A Life.* Janet Hadda. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 243 pp. £22.50.

"Janet Hadda spices her text with malice and gossip, some of it of catchpenny irrelevance." Her strategy "is not the most fruitful method of evaluating a writer, for whom the beauty was always in the details."

Frederick Raphael. *TLS*, May 8, 1998: 31.

**Sitwell, Osbert**

*Osbert Sitwell.* Philip Ziegler. London: Chatto and Windus, 1997. 397 pp. £25.00.

"This scholarly and readable biography is the first to be written on Osbert alone. . . . Philip Ziegler has made magnificent use of much unpublished material in the Renshaw archives to recreate Osbert's baroque world."

Sarah Bradford. *TLS*, May 29, 1998: 14.

**Stewart, James**

*Pieces of Time: The Life of James Stewart.* Gary Fishgall. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner's, 1997. 416 pp. $27.50.

"Fishgall sticks to the films—and refuses even to speculate about those potentially darker currents in Stewart's personality that directors he worked with later in life, such as Alfred Hitchcock and Anthony Mann, picked up on."

Peter Matthews. *Sight and Sound* 8.5 (May 1998): 30.

**Styron, William**

*William Styron, A Life.* James L. W. West III. New York: Random House, 1998. 506 pp. $30.00.

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"West, a professor of English at Pennsylvania State University, excels in describing the arduous creative process by which Styron developed an architecture for each of his novels. He falters, however, when he moves beyond his subject's intellectual life, using dispassionate prose to describe a man he knows quite well."

Johanna Berkman. *NYTBR*, May 3, 1998: 21.

**Tecumseh**

*Tecumseh: A Life.* John Sugden. New York: John McCrae/Henry Holt, 1998. 492 pp. $34.95.

"'Tecumseh: A Life' is a richly detailed, utterly scrupulous account that is as poignant as it is informative—for Tecumseh seems to have been doomed from the start. Indeed, the story of this failed champion may have been the most classically tragic in all of American history."

Barry Gewen. *NYTBR*, Apr. 19, 1998: 11.

**Tipton, Dorothy "Billy"**

*Suits Me: The Double Life of Billy Tipton.* Diane Wood Middlebrook. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. 326 pp. $25.00.

"The reader can't help marveling at the dearth of first-hand information, as time and again Middlebrook resorts to supposition and conjecture. There are entire paragraphs in which all the verbs are conditional, and lengthy descriptions of photographs that should have served as mere illustrations. Middlebrook makes too much of details that any biographer with a decent amount of material would have passed right over."

Holly Brubach. *NYTBR*, June 28, 1998: 9.

**Tocqueville, Alexis de**

*Correspondance familiale.* Alexis de Tocqueville. Established and edited by Jean-Louis Benoît and André Jardin. Oeuvres Complètes, tome XIV. Paris: Gallimard, 1998. 704 pp.

Tocqueville's remark that letters reveal the state of mind existing at the time of writing rather than the depth of thoughts applies to his own correspondence. In these some four hundred letters, covering forty-five years, we can see the many facets of Tocqueville's personality, follow his evolution, and know his private life. And also taste some reflections connected with or preparatory to the great texts of that famous historian.

Laurent Theis. *Le Monde des Livres*, May 8, 1998: 5.

**Tree, Marietta**

*No Regrets: The Life of Marietta Tree.* Caroline Seebohm. London: Simon and Schuster. 447 pp. £17.99.

This is a study of an American socialite who involved herself with U.S. and British political figures. "In *No Regrets*, Seebohm has painted

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the portrait of a truly ghastly woman." "Most of the book is leaden and poorly written, studded with careless cliche."

Selina Hastings. *TLS*, Apr. 17, 1998: 27.

**Truman, Harry S.**

*Man of the People: The Life of Harry S. Truman*. Alonzo L. Hamby. New York: Oxford UP, 1995. 760 pp. $35.00.

"Conceived in empathy, based upon substantial Truman Library research, and rooted in a distaste for cold war revisionism, *Man of the People* expresses affection and respect for its subject, but also acknowledges many of Truman's personal and political shortcomings. . . . The treatment of the White House period . . . is skimpy on foreign policy and seldom gives serious attention to competing interpretations. . . . This book will be essential to those who seek to understand Truman the man."

Barton L. Bernstein. *The Historian* 60.3 (Spring 1998): 632–34.

**Tynan, Kenneth**

*Kenneth Tynan Letters*. Ed. Kathleen Tynan. New York: Random House, 1997. 665 pp. $30.00.

"I had always known that Kenneth Tynan was very funny. What I had not realized, until I read these letters, was that he was also very sad."

Wendy Lesser. *NYTBR*, May 10, 1998: 9.

**Vaux, Calvert**

*Country, Park, and City: The Architecture and Life of Calvert Vaux*. Francis R. Kowsky. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 378 pp. $45.00.

"Poor Calvert Vaux, even the title of his own biography gives him second billing. The story of his life. 'To F. L. Olmsted, everything; to C. Vaux, the cut direct,' he once complained. F. L. Olmsted was Frederick Law Olmsted, with whom Vaux designed and built some of the best-known—and best—urban parks in the country, perhaps in the world. Vaux had cause to complain for it was he who was responsible for Olmsted's becoming a landscape designer in the first place. Vaux invited Olmsted to take part with him in the competition to design Central Park. They worked together and won. Yet, from the very beginning, it was Olmsted who received public recognition as 'the man who made Central Park.' . . . Now, Francis Kowsky, a professor of art at Buffalo State college, has published the first full-length account of the architect's life and work. This scholarly study will hardly make the name of Calvert Vaux into a byword. Vaux did not leave a diary or a significant collection of personal papers, and Kowsky, a careful researcher but not an imaginative writer, resists reading between the lines. The result is that Vaux, who was a shy man, remains a curiously distant figure in his own biography. Yet, I think he would have liked Kowsky's book. It treats him seriously, not

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only as a landscape designer but also as an architect, which is all he ever really wanted."

Witold Rybczynski. *NYRB*, Aug. 13, 1998: 37.

**Walker, Muriel**

*The Romance of K'Tut Tantri and Indonesia: Text and Scripts, History and Identity.* Timothy Lindsey. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997. 362 pp. £27.50.

A "thoughtful . . . investigation of a life," this is a study of the Scottish-born hotel owner in Bali who became involved in the 1940s struggle for Indonesian independence. "With his formidable, if slightly solemn book, Timothy Lindsey has done her more than justice."

Anne Chisholm. *TLS*, May 8, 1998: 36.

**Warren, Robert Penn.** See **Brooks, Cleanth.**

**Waugh, Evelyn**

*The Life of Evelyn Waugh.* Douglas Lane Patey. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998. 448 pp. £25.00.

Patey "argues that Waugh was a 'Christian moralist' right from the start of his career." "All Waugh's novels are subjected to close readings, and at his best Patey is illuminating." If "occasionally ponderous," the book is "a valuable addition to a growing body of critical works on this twentieth-century master."

Peter Parker. *TLS*, May 29, 1998: 17.

**Wayne, John**

*John Wayne, American.* Randy Roberts and James S. Olson. Omaha: U of Nebraska P, 1998. 772 pp. $25.00.

"There doesn't appear to be a shred of irony in the title—the authors aren't just Hawksians, they're also hawks. They gleefully remind us woolly liberals that when Wayne's country was momentarily embroiled in anti-war protest and other such unpatriotic activities, the silent majority stood by him (placing his pro-imperialist *The Green Berets* among the top ten box-office hits of 1968)."

Peter Matthews. *Sight and Sound* 8.5 (May 1998): 10.

**Welles, Sumner**

*Sumner Welles: FDR's Global Strategist.* Benjamin Welles. New York: St. Martin's, 1997. 438 pp. $35.00.

"'Sumner Welles' [is] a compassionate but ruthlessly honest biography by his son Benjamin."

James Chace. *LATBR*, May 10, 1998: 8.

**Weston, Edward**

*Through Another Lens: My Years With Edward Weston.* Charis Wilson and Wendy Modar. New York: North Point/Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 376 pp. $35.00.

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"As in his camera work, Weston is blunt and candid, his style disarmingly lean and straightforward."

Nicholas Fox Weber. *NYTBR*, June 7, 1998: 26–27.

**Wilkes, John**

*John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty*. Peter D. G. Thomas. New York: Clarendon/Oxford UP, 1996. 280 pp. $45.00.

"Peter D. G. Thomas provides . . . the most authoritative biography of John Wilkes. . . . Thomas offers the reader no guidance about the character, texture, and interrelations of any radicalisms beyond those that impinged directly on Wilkes. Perhaps it could not be otherwise. . . . But the omission—if omission it be—suggests a future book that no one is better prepared than Thomas to provide."

Reed Browning. *Albion* 29.4 (Winter 1997): 684–85.

**Wilson, Woodrow**

*Wilson: Un Croisé à la Maison Blanche*. Charles Zorgbibe. Paris: Ed. Presses de Sciences Po, 1998. 410 pp. F195.

Supposed to think of himself as Christ (Clemenceau), severely criticized for his utopian views (Kissinger), unmentioned among the hundred most important political and revolutionary men of the century (*Time*), this much discredited man was nonetheless the first who, twenty-five years before Roosevelt, tried to found a world order "safe for democracy." This biography does him justice.

André Fontaine. *Le Monde des Livres*, June 12, 1998: 2.

**Woodhull, Victoria**

*Notorious Victoria: The Life of Victoria Woodhull, Uncensored*. Mary Gabriel. New York: Algonquin, 1998. 372 pp. $24.95.

*Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*. Barbara Goldsmith. New York: Knopf, 1998. 531 pp. $30.00.

"Mary Gabriel's 'Notorious Victoria: The Life of Victoria Woodhull, Uncensored' is a straightforward, lucidly narrated biography. Barbara Goldsmith's 'Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull' is, as its title implies, a more ambitious text—an often brilliant, multi-tentacled exploration of Victorian sexual politics. If the subject appeals to you, read Gabriel first, to get the basic facts, or you may have trouble with Goldsmith's numerous digressions."

Francine Du Plessix Gray. *The New Yorker*, Apr. 20, 1998: 94–98.

**Woolf, Virginia**

*Granite and Rainbow: The Hidden Life of Virginia Woolf*. Mitchell Leaska. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998. 514 pp. $35.00.

"Missing entirely from 'Granite and Rainbow' is an appreciation of Woolf's great and prodigious productivity. . . . Also absent are her

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capacity to delight her friends . . . her inquisitiveness . . . her fascination for, and with, small children; her fondness for beautiful houses and gardens; her almost mystical love of the English countryside . . . and her passionate devotion to the English language."

Michael Frank. *LATBR*, June 16, 1998: 16.

**Wordsworth, William**

*The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy*. Kenneth R. Johnston. New York: Norton, 1998. 966 pp. $45.00.

"The book . . . has the limitations of its chosen aim: It tells you more about where the mature Wordsworth was coming from than about what he was. But within its limits, it paints a convincing portrait, and . . . it justifies its length. There were times . . . when I resented the hundreds of pages still stretching ahead. But whenever I got back to it, I was quickly won over again by the sheer fascination of the detail and by the feeling that I was being brought remarkably close to the grain of Wordsworth's life."

John Gross. *LATBR*, June 28, 1998: 8.

**Xuanzang**

*Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road*. Sally Hovey Wriggins. Boulder: Westview, 1996. 263 pp. $32.50.

This book "will fulfill the role of the standard high popularization. . . . [Wriggins'] account . . . synthesizes the scholarly works on both the historical and anthropological-archaeological sides that have appeared since [Rene Grousset's *In the Footsteps of the Buddha* in 1971]. . . . This work is destined largely to replace Grousset's earlier study."

Edward H. Kaplan. *The Historian* 60.3 (Spring 1998): 658–59.

**Yang, Rae**

*Spider Eaters: A Memoir*. Rae Yang. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997. 296 pp. $27.50.

"[This] is a political memoir first and last. Rae Yang's aim is to show how the passions of the political realm and the specific incidents of Chinese history have shaped her life."

Kate Gilbert. *Women's Review of Books* 15.8 (May 1998): 1–2.

**Young, Whitney M., Jr.**

*Militant Mediator: Whitney M. Young, Jr.* Dennis C. Dickerson. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1998. 384 pp. $30.00.

"Not only does Dickerson find Young uncompromising in his advocacy of the civil rights agenda, but he holds the mediating role Young played was vital to the lasting accomplishments of better-known figures like Martin Luther King Jr. and James Farmer. Dickerson, the Stanfield Professor of History at Williams College, stretches to make his case, but the effort is still a rewarding one,

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because Young's job-focused economic goals are today so obviously central to the solution of the racial problems that still haunt the nation."

Nelson Lichtenstein. *NYTBR*, April 21, 1998: 28.

**Zanuck, Darryl**

*Twentieth Century Fox: Darryl F. Zanuck and the Culture of Hollywood.* George F. Custen. New York: Basic, 1997. 436 pp. $27.50.

"In true biopic fashion, Custen has produced a compelling portrait of a great man. A work of nostalgia itself, the book glosses over recent history (the mid-1950s to 1979, when Zanuck died) in order to savor the past when Zanuck was God."

John Belton. *Cineaste* 23.3 (May 1998): 48.

## Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Interest

**Africa**

*Africa: A Biography of the Continent.* John Reader. New York: Knopf, 1998. 801 pp. $35.00.

"Overall, the book, with its 682 pages of tightly written narrative, is a bit too long. Nevertheless, it is packed with truly fascinating and useful information laced with sound interpretations. It should prove to be one of the most important general surveys of Africa that has been produced in the last decade, a must for both academics and laypersons."

Richard W. Hull. *WP*, June 1, 1998: 28–29.

**Autobiography**

*When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography.* Jill Ker Conway. New York: Knopf, 1998. 205 pp. $23.00.

"Conway, a former president of Smith College who is now a visiting scholar in M.I.T.'s program in Science, Technology and Society, seems torn between the urge to trace the genealogy and theory of autobiography and the urge to write something much more popular. In a book just over 200 pages, these competing urges cannot both be fully satisfied."

Deborah E. McDowell. *NYTBR*, Apr. 19, 1998: 14.

**Baseball People**

*In the Ballpark: The Working Lives of Baseball People.* George Gmelch and J. J. Weiner. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1998. 254 pp. $21.95.

"Gmelch and Weiner's book is a gem. Although most of the interviewees may never stand at the plate come spring training, bat in hand, the jobs they perform make it possible for fans to enjoy watching the players who do."

Carolyn T. Hughes. *WP*, May 25, 1998: 33.

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**The Brontës**

*The Brontës: A Life in Letters.* Juliet Barker. New York: Overlook, 1997. 448 pp. $35.00.

"Juliet Barker, who wrote the group biography 'The Brontës,' provides a gripping documentary chronicle of this extraordinarily brilliant and insular family in 'The Brontës: A Life in Letters.'

Diane Cole. *NYTBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 16.

**Conservative Women**

*The Right Women: A Journey Through the Heart of Conservative America.* Elinor Burkett. New York: Lisa Drew/Scribner's, 1998. 288 pp. $23.00.

Burkett "shows some refreshing candor, but her discovery that conservative women really do exist (and that they are not all morons) shows just how dreadfully isolated we can all become in our own self-righteousness."

Douglas A. Sylva. *NYTBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 23.

**German Jews**

*Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany.* Marion A. Kaplan. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. 290 pp. $30.00.

"This is a devastatingly powerful book. By vividly illustrating how the Holocaust began with seemingly inconsequential acts of humiliation, Kaplan offers readers a message of contemporary relevance."

Deborah E. Lipstadt. *NYTBR*, Apr. 26, 1998: 20.

**Jewish Gangsters**

*Tough Jews: Fathers, Sons, and Gangster Dreams.* Rich Cohen. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998. 271 pp. $25.00.

"From the evidence presented here [Cohen's] very fortunate, though, to have had the best of both worlds—an appreciation of the Jewish gangsters, of whom too few of his contemporaries are aware, but in a world where the gangsters themselves are safely buried."

Vincent Patrick. *NYTBR*, Apr. 12, 1998: 15.

"Cohen shows how the story of [Jewish gangsters'] turf battles—primarily a long, colorful body count—is also the story of prewar America, from the early labor wars to the breakup of pro-Hitler rallies."

*The New Yorker*, June 1, 1998: 80.

**L. A. Gangs**

*East Side Stories: Gang Life in East L. A.* Joseph Rodriguez. New York: Power House, 1997. 192 pp. $39.95.

"'East Side Stories' is ultimately a profile of a family, whether it is a nuclear family, the gang, or the entire Mexican-American population in East Los Angeles. Various gangs are brought together in the book—

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appropriately, because underneath the rivalries, they are members of the same community; Rodriguez reminds us this community is also part of our country."

Christian Cho. *NYTBR*, June 7, 1998: 23.

**Neuroscientists**

*The History of Neuroscience in Autobiography*. Vol. 1. Ed. Larry R. Squire. Washington, D.C.: Society for Neuroscience, 1998. 607 pp. $49.00.

"Anyone interested in the history of science in this century will find the 17 autobiographical essays collected in [this] volume rich in both facts and in the sociology of science. . . . The volume also documents the serendipitous and frequently prolonged series of events that lead to the development of powerful new technologies. . . . Although the essayists in this book are frequently referred to as pioneers of their field, that label is somewhat misleading. The actual initial practitioners of modern brain science were in the generation that came before them. . . . What the 17 scientists in this book pioneered was a vision of a single brain science—a science that has in the last 30 years successfully incorporated multiple explosions in molecular biology and genetics, in imaging, and in recordings from the synapses of single cells."

Martha Constantine-Paton. *Science* 280, No. 5366 (May 15, 1998): 1032–33.

**Scientists**

*Portraits of Genius: Profiles in Scientific Genius*. George Greenstein. New York: Wiley, 1998. 232 pp. $24.95.

"In writing about the lives and accomplishments of ten scientists in the 19th and 20th centuries, Greenstein tells more than the history of a few people who struggled and succeeded or sometimes died thinking they had failed. . . . Most of us would have picked a different cast. . . . But the selection is not as important as what the stories reveal: the excitement and dedication of scientists."

Thomas L. Isenhour. *American Scientist* 86.3 (May-June 1998): 298.

**Supreme Court Justices**

*Closed Chambers: The First Eyewitness Account of the Epic Struggles Inside the Supreme Court*. Edward Lazarus. New York: Times Books/ Random House, 1998. 576 pp. $27.50.

"'Closed Chambers' is a worthwhile book for students of Supreme Court history, but it is not a book a general reader should rely upon for an accurate and dependable contemporary portrait."

David J. Garrow. *NYTBR*, Apr. 19, 1998: 26–27.

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# Lifelines

## Upcoming Events, Calls for Papers, and News from the Field

**MA in Biography.** The University of Buckingham is offering an MA course in biography, the first in the UK. The program requires three core courses and a dissertation on a biographical subject of the student's choice. The courses include a Special Paper on Biography, which surveys the development of the subject, examines methods and approaches, and discusses individual case studies; a Research Methods course, providing training in bibliography, biographical research, archive work, and electronic research; and an Autobiography course. The program combines the disciplinary approaches of history and literature. For further information, contact the Admissions Tutor and Course Coordinator, Jane Ridley, at the University of Buckingham, MK 18 1EG, UK, or by email at jane.ridley@ buck.ac.uk.

**New Web Site.** "Domestic Goddesses: AKA Scribbling Women," a web site on nineteenth-century women writers, is available at lonestar.texas.net/~kwells/dgl.html. Site designer Kim Wells is seeking in particular papers, from 3 to 40 pages, discussing the literature and lives of Louisa May Alcott, Kate Chopin, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Willa Cather, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Edith Wharton. For more information, contact Kim Wells at kwells@texas.net.

**New Online Journal.** The *WWW Journal for Online Education*, affiliated with the World Association for Online Education, is seeking submissions for its first edition. The journal is concerned with issues related to teaching and researching online and in cyber-enhanced classes, as well as with how traditional knowledge and concepts of self are transformed in cyberspace. Multidisciplinary and eclectic, with both academic and nonacademic pieces, the journal in particular seeks articles on how the internet changes the way we think, particularly in the areas of cyberrhetoric versus traditional rhetoric; cybernarrative and cyberdrama, including cyberperformance; hypertext; hyperdrama; MODs, MUDs, and so on; and deconstructing the self in cyberspace, including issues of privacy, the transformation of the body, and the organic professor on the inorganic net. For details on form and content, consult www.nyu.edu/classes/keefer/waoe/waoej.html. Send a brief bio, an abstract, and the URL where your paper can be peer-reviewed to Julia Keefer at jk12@is3.nyu.edu.

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**New Journal.** *Men and Masculinities*, a new quarterly journal from Sage, seeks empirical and theoretical articles, written for a multidisciplinary audience, that explore issues in masculinities. For submission information, contact the editor, Michael S. Kimmel; Department of Sociology; SUNY Stony Brook; S-406 Social and Behavioral Sciences; Stony Brook, NY 11794; or visit the homepage at www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/details/jo244.html.

**Call for Articles.** "Aging and Identity: An Eighteenth-Century Perspective," a special issue of the *Journal of Aging and Identity*, is seeking 6,000 to 10,000 word studies that focus on representations of aging in the arts and humanities of the eighteenth century, and how those representations can contribute to our understanding of aging and identity in the late twentieth century; 6,000 to 10,000 word studies of older artists of the eighteenth century that consider the relationship between their creative processes and their identity; 500 to 1,000 word book reviews; and 1,000 to 3,000 word review articles. For more information, contact Catherine M. Rodriguez, Guest Editor; *Journal of Aging and Identity;* Continuing Education, Educational Outreach; University of South Florida; 13301 Bruce B. Downs Boulevard, MHH-116; Tampa, FL 33612-3899. Phone: (801) 974-8031; Fax: (813) 974-5732; Email: JAI@conted.usf.edu. **Deadline:** January 1, 1999.

**Call for Articles.** "Food and Gender: An Anthology on Women and Cooking." The volume editor seeks essays that explore the complex relationships between U.S. women and food in the twentieth century, and in particular, that examine how food culture and its discourses have shaped cultural mores for women. Informed by cultural studies and its methodologies, papers should be of broad interest to scholars in many academic disciplines; essays that explore cookbooks, recipes, cooking contests, TV cooking shows, advertisements, and other issues related to food, cooking, and gender, and that discuss race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class are encouraged. Articles should be 25 to 30 pages, not including notes and works cited; accompanying photographs are welcome. For more information, contact Sherrie A. Inness; Department of English; Miami University; 1601 Hamilton Boulevard; Hamilton, OH 45011 (inness@muohio.edu). **Deadline:** For completed paper, 250-300 word abstract, and CV, January 1, 1999.

**Call for Articles.** "Re-Viewing Race and Ethnicity in American Literature." The coeditors of a volume of essays invite proposals or completed essays that explore new ways of interrrogating "race" and "ethnicity" in American literature (including performance pieces and films). **Deadline:** March 15, 1999, for 250 word proposals or completed papers. For further information, contact Audrey B. Thacker; 5230 Zelzah Avenue, Unit 6; Encino, CA 91316 (2thackers@compuserve.com)

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or David Goldstein-Shirley; Liberal Studies Program; University of Washington; 22011 26th Avenue SE; Bothell, WA 98021-4900 (davidgs@u.washington.edu); or visit weber.u.washington.edu/~davidgs/Book.html.

**Call for Articles.** "Hayford Hall." Elizabeth Podnieks and Sandra Chait seek contributions for a volume of essays on Hayford Hall, the English baronial space in Devonshire which became the literary, sexual, and spiritual center for a group of American and British writers supported by Peggy Guggenheim in the Thirties; the project will focus specifically on Djuna Barnes, Emily Coleman, and Antonia White, but will also include their friends and the Hall's other visitors, including Dylan Thomas, David Gascoyne, George Barker, Peter Hoare, Humphrey Jennings, John Holms, Edwin Muir, William Gerhardie, and Peter Neagoe. Contributions may be biographical, critical, or theoretical. For further information, contact podnieks@utoronto.ca or schait@ u.washington.edu. **Deadline:** April 5, 1999, for two page abstracts; send one copy to Sandra Chait; English Department; Box 354330; University of Washington; Seattle, WA 98195 and one to Elizabeth Podnieks; 40 MacPherson Avenue; Toronto, ON M5R 1W8; Canada.

**Call for Papers.** "Writing the Journey: A Conference on American, British, and Anglophone Travel Writers and Writing." June 10-13, 1999. University of Pennsylvania. Proposals are welcome on all aspects of travel writing, including individual writers and the following themes and subjects: the teaching of travel literature and travel writing; travel writing and the canon; travel and national identity; travel writing and genre; travel writing and history, folklore, comparative literature, and area studies; travel and empire or postcolonialism; travel writing and concepts of home; African-American travel narratives; gender and travel; class and travel; ethnicity and travel; tourism; and travel and historical periods. Send an abstract of about 500 words, for a 20-minute talk, to David Espey at despey@ english.upenn.edu, or the English Department, 119 Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104. **Deadline**: First review, December 15, 1998; final, February 15, 1999.

**Call for Papers.** "Image Ethics in the Digital Age." Information and Society Program, Annenberg Public Policy Center, University of Pennsylvania. In January 1984, a conference on Image Ethics at the Annenberg School explored the moral rights of those whose images are used by photographers, film-makers, and video producers (see *Image Ethics: The Moral Rights of Subjects in Photographs, Film, and Television*, ed. Larry Gross, John Stuart Katz, and Jay Ruby; Oxford

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UP, 1988). *Image Ethics in the Digital Age* will address the ethical, moral, and legal dimensions of image production and use in contemporary society. Submissions are invited on any ethical question about the making or use of images. **Deadline:** January 1, 1999, for initial proposals of approximately 150 words with a brief biographical sketch. The most promising will be invited to submit a second and more detailed description of the paper. About 15 writers will be asked to prepare drafts of their final papers for circulation prior to an invitational, working conference to be held in the Spring of 2000. Most of the papers presented and discussed at the conference will be revised and submitted for publication, by September of 2000. For more information, consult astro.ocis.temple.edu/~ruby/ethics. Inquiries prior to submission are encouraged; contact John Stuart Katz at jkatz2@dept.english.upenn.edu.

**Call for Papers.** "Literature and Transnationalism: Immigration, Migration, and Diaspora." Conference of the New York College English Association. April 10, 1999. Iona College. The conference theme is designed to focus attention on the increasingly complex constellation of issues that surround definitions of nationhood, citizenship, and ethnicity. Papers are invited on any aspect of the conference themes, whether in the work of a particular author, in contemporary political discourse, in political culture, or in the classroom. For further information, contact Deborah Williams; Department of English; Iona College; New Rochelle, NY 10801; Dwilliams@iona.edu. **Deadline**: January 15, 1999.

**Call for Papers.** The Association for the Study of American Indian Literatures invites proposals for its three sessions at the 1999 American Literature Association conference. Panel 1: A General (Open Topic) Session. Panel 2: "Native American Literary Criticism and Theory at the Turn into the 21st Century." This panel invites participants to address current critical-theoretical debates in the field, and to propose new approaches, concerns, theories, connections, or research areas and projects. Panel 3. "The Safe Space of Community." This panel focuses on the importance of the spoken word to Native cultures in the eastern United States and Canada, and will be dedicated to exploring the culturally distinct styles of Native speakers and writers from those areas. **Deadline:** January 11, 1999. Please send 250-word proposals to Eric Gary Anderson; Department of English; 205 Morrill Hall; Oklahoma State University; Stillwater, OK 74078-4069; fax (405) 744-6326; email: ericag@osuunx.ucc.okstate.edu.

**Call for Papers.** "Construction of Victorian Class(es)." The *Journal of Victorian Literature and Culture* is seeking submissions for the journal's

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"Special Topics" section to be devoted to the construction of Victorian class and classes. Send submissions to Maria Jerinic; Assistant Editor for Topics; *Victorian Literature and Culture*; Department of English; College of Mount Saint Vincent; 6301 Riverdale Avenue; Bronx, NY 10471. **Deadline**: February 1, 1999.

**Call for Papers.** "Remembered Lives." The Twenty-Sixth Wyoming Conference on English. June 16–19, 1999. The Wyoming Conference on English invites submissions on all aspects of autobiography and biography, and particularly welcomes theoretically conscious work from creative writers, rhetoricians, and scholars in other fields. The plenary speakers, who will also host conference workshops, will be Nancy K. Miller, Keith Gilyard, and Tom Andrews. The conference will also feature an "Autobiographical Orgy" of readings by creative writers. **Deadline:** March 1, 1999. Please send proposals of no longer than two double-spaced pages to Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Conference Director; Department of English; Box 3353; University of Wyoming; Laramie, WY 82071. For further information, contact Shelley Straley at Straley@uwyo.edu.

*Biography* welcomes items for Lifelines. People wishing to contribute items should contact us at biograph@hawaii.edu, or at the address on the inside back cover.

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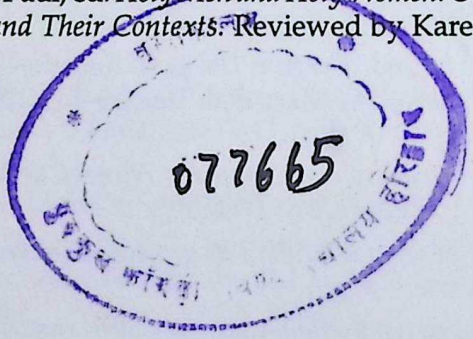


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